

SOME
ACCOUNT
GREEK CHURCH

LECTURES on their Present
DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE.

Particularly of the EUCHARIST,

And the Rest of their

DR. COVEL'S

ACCOUNT

OF THE

GREEK CHURCH.

CAMBRIDGE.

Printed and Sold by James Kneass, and Robert Knapplock,
in New-Street, and William F. Brown, 16 Peter-Street, Row,
LONDON. MDCCLXXII.

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GREEK CHURCH
OF THE
ACCOUNT
D. CONE

S O M E
A C C O U N T
Of the PRESENT
GREEK CHURCH,

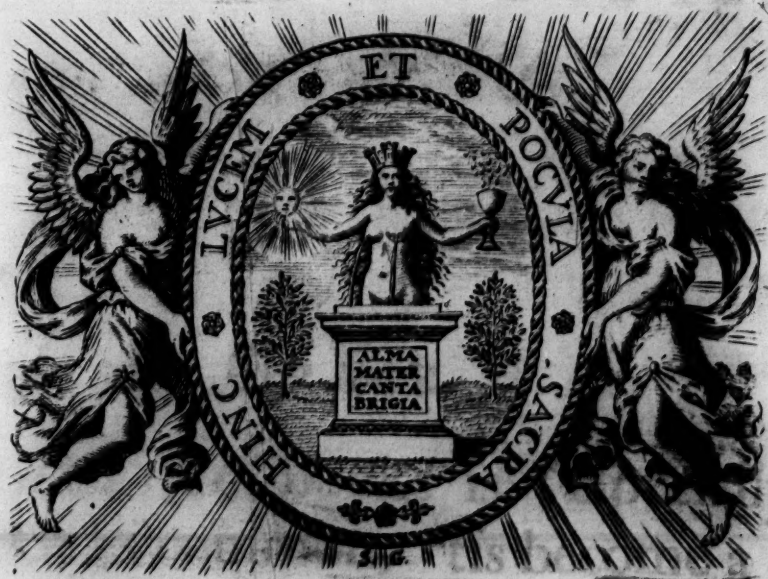
With REFLECTIONS on their Present
DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE;
Particularly in the EUCHARIST,
And the Rest of their

SEVEN PRETENDED SACRAMENTS,

Compared with *J. AUGOAR*'S NOTES upon the
GREEK RITUAL, or ΕΥΧΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ,

By *JOHN COVEL*, D.D. and Master of CHRIST College in
CAMBRIDGE.

More Majorum hereto, non cito.



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LONDON. MDCCXXII.

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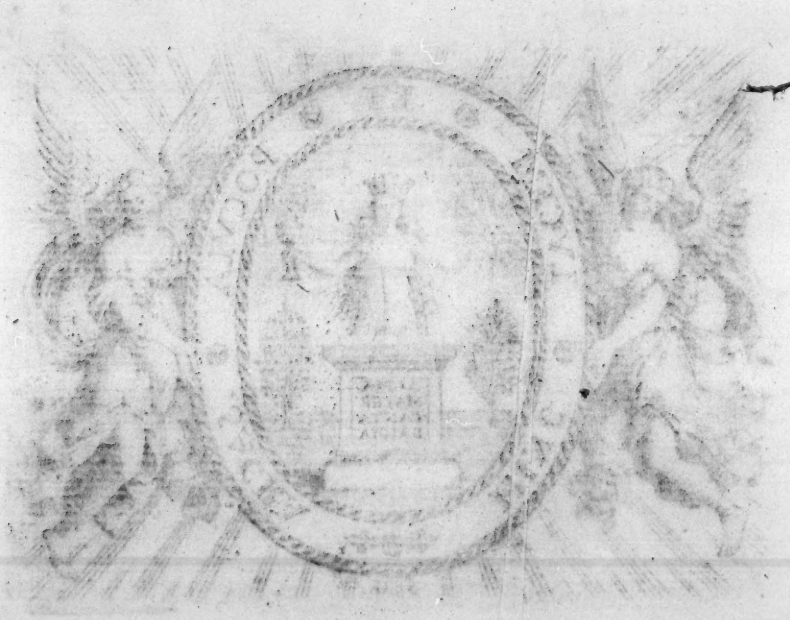
SEVEN PRETENDED SACRAMENTS

Compared with the
 GREEK RITUAL
 BY JOHN COVEL, D.D. and Master of Christ College in
 CAMBRIDGE.



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More Modern Works, now also.



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TO HIS GRACE
JAMES
DUKE OF
CHANDOS,
MARQUIS AND EARL OF
CARNARVAN,
BARON CHANDOS
OF
SUDLEY-CASTLE,
AND
GOVERNOR OF THE
TURKEY COMPANY,
Esq. Esq. Esq.

May it please your GRACE,

DEDICATING Books is (especially of late) grown so common, 'tis become a settled Fashion; every Writer makes his Addresses to some Person of Quality or Fortune, whose Name and Patronage are designed to give some real, or at least a seeming Credit to his Performance with the Publick; which Addresses according to the various Ends
and

DEDICATION.

and Designs of those who Address, and the several Dispositions of the Persons Addressed to, are of very different Natures and Importance.

ONE Author whose Talent is Wit and Eloquence, endeavours to display it by Mustering up the Honours of an Antient Family, or by a pompous Description of all the Virtues necessary to constitute a truly great Man; which he is sure positively to ascribe to his Patron, by his shewing rather what he should be, then what he really is.

ANOTHER in mean Circumstances, whose view is Preferment or a good Reward, largely Expatiates on his Patron's Liberality and most generous Soul; the true meaning of which is, to give him to understand, he is not without hopes of tasting the good effects of these noble Qualities.

THESE are Motives, by which, I bless God, I cannot be Influenced, and I should certainly incur the Censure of the World should I take upon me to acquaint the Reader with the great worth of your Family, or of those Personal Qualifications which Shine in your Grace; and are known sufficiently by their own Brightness to the World. No, the Motives I have are of a different and far higher Nature, and indeed are such as rather oblige, than invite me to make so singular an attempt.

I have had the Honour and Happiness of being well known to both your Right Honourable *Father* and *Mother*, before they went to *Turkey*, and since their return have been frequently treated with both Freedom and Respect by them at their own House,
and

DEDICATION.

and in their Company at Mr. *Alex. Jacob* his Table and elsewhere. My several Observations and Notices in the following Treatise, were by degrees Collected and laid by as Opportunity offer'd. There was Brick and Stone and Timber, and all Materials ready for a Building, but the Architect wanted much time and leisure to put every thing in good Order and set the Finishing hand to it.

HAD I had Time and Conveniency to have Finished and Published this present Book in the Life time of your Right Honourable Father, I had Dedicated it to no other Person in the World but himself. But now since your Grace is Elected Governor of the *Turky* Company, a Company which from the many Excellent Qualities of the Gentlemen of which it is Composed, is far the most Honourable, and from the Nature of its Institution and Trade the most Beneficial of any in the Nation; and because I can never forget, that during the space of seven Years (under those two Embassadors Sir *Dan. Harvey* and Sir *John Finch*) I have owed to them a very handsome Subsistence; I should certainly appear guilty of great Ingratitude and Disrespect towards them, if I did not with my humblest Duty lay this Treatise, which (whatever it is,) has been the Product of my Studies, during my Residence at *Constantinople*, at your Grace's Feet, whom they have so worthily set at the Head of them.

It has lain by me a long while, being only a successive and therefore imperfect Collection; had I been so Happy after my Return to have had some mean Preferment, which would have supported me,

DEDICATION.

me, and not Sequestred me from my Books, but settled me down to them and my Papers, I should long ago have ventured to have Published my Travails and this Performance; but I have been forced to live a kind of Itinerant Life, at *York*, in *Holland* and elsewhere; and find my Self at last Chained to a perpetual College Bursar's place, which takes up at least three quarters of my time.

THO' these Papers have passed a last review and have been new Modelled, I fear some few things may yet appear Defective, and others Confus'd and Indigested. These I hope will be ascribed to the Interruptions I have had not only from my own private Affairs, but from those of a more publick Nature. But after all if there be any thing in this Work which may deserve or endure the Light, I most humbly beg your Grace's candid Interpretation and Acceptance of it, being ever

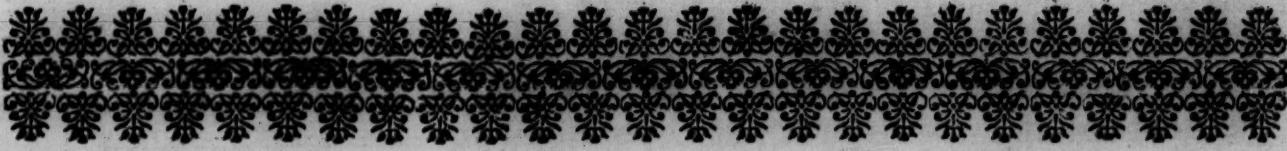
My LORD,

Your Grace's most

Faithfull and most

humble Servant

JOHN COVEL.



LECTORI.

SI quis in Lemmate nostro, More majorum hæreto non citò, tibi injectus sit Scrupulus, ut eum ex animo evellam sic ejus sensum capias explicatiorem.

Verbum Hæreere, passim in omnibus Lexicographis, duo præcipuè significare notatur; Primum, Alicui Rei arctè insidere ac conjunctum esse. Sic etiam, semper in mente esse. Item non nunquam, Idem ac coherere, ejusdem esse sententia. Secundo, Dubitare, Ancipitem esse. Hæret hæc Res, ea est dubia.

Non citò, hoc est, non citò ac cursim agere; vel non temerè & inconsultè.

Cum itaque per totum hunc librum omnis in hoc sim, ut Ecclesiæ Latinae ac Græcæ Doctrinam ac Disciplinam (seu Ritus) apertè ac candidè exponerem; ingenuè fateor Plurimos esse in utraque Articulos quos toto pectore amplector; Quosdam quos prorsus explodo; Multos denique de quibus dubitem meritissimè.

Singula autem hæc aggredi non ausus sum citò, absque præcunte explorato consilio ac discreto judicio.

Nullum itaque Axioma mihi occurrit, quod melius, plenius, planiusque mentem meam exprimere possit, quam hoc, sensu meo supra dicto sumptum.

Vetera ista in XII. Tab. verba, Herctum Citum, non est quod hic quicquam morarer, cum Lemma nostrum ad ea nihil respexerit.

Tu vero, O Bone, in quocunque authore vel loco id inveneris, fruiere (per me licet,) vel tuis, vel meis, vel aliorum ratiocinationibus; Nam

Velle suum cuique est, nec voto vivitur uno.

At ne vel tuas, vel meas, vel alias tibi nimis cito deligas. Vale.

* *

T H E

LECTORI

N. B.
LIBRI, Epistolæ, Chartæ, Membranæ, & reliquæ
res omnes, *Manu* scriptæ, quæ in hoc libro ad
Marginem Laudantur, olim fuerunt meæ; jam vero
sunt in amplissima & Augustissima Bibliotheca, quam
Honorabilissimus Dominus, *Edwardus* Dominus *Har-*
ley, nuper in usum literati Orbis adornavit in villa
de Wimpole prope celeberrimam *Cantabrigiæ* Acade-
miam.

P R E F A C E

Some account of the Occasion and Intention of these following Papers.

MANY learned Men all over Europe have been very inquisitive, especially in these last two Centuries, about the Constitutions and Doctrines of the Eastern Churches, especially that of the Greeks; and we have had several Treatises and Narratives Printed upon that Subject. At last arose that famous Controversy between those two Eminent French-men Monsieur Arnold, Doctor of the Sorbonne, and Monsieur Claud, Minister of Charenton, about the real Presence in the Eucharist. The first positively asserting, that the Greeks and all other Christians in the East did own it in the very Sense of the School Term, *Transubstantiation*, according to the Council of Trent, and that it was handed down to them, by an uninterrupted Tradition even from the Apostles themselves; the second, as positively denying it.

All Greeks who Travailed or Stragled this way amongst the Europeans, were every where nicely Catechised and Examined about this Point; and I remember that about the year 1668, 1669, there was one *Ieguias Reguados, Jeremias Germanus* here in England, at Oxford (well known to Dr. Woodroof) and elsewhere, who told every Body that the Greeks believed no such thing, but that they owned the Elements to remain after Consecration, as our Church doth, *still meer and true Bread and Wine*.

In the year 1670 I was appointed and sent as Chaplain to his Excellency Sir Dan. Harvey, then Ambassador from King Charles the Second at the Ottoman Port; This caused the Reverend Dr. Gunning and Dr. Pearson (then our two Publick Professors at Cambridge) Dr. Sancroft, Dr. Womock and several others to importune me strictly to enquire into this Matter after I arrived at Constantinople.

Dr. Woodroof sent out, by the Ship which carried me, a present of Books to the above-said *Jer. Germanus*, which I delivered to him; and on Feb. 7th. 1671. a young *Papas*, called (as he wrote his name down with his own hand, and I have it still by me,) *D. Hilarione Bubuli*, came to me from *Papas Jeremias Germanus* to know if any Letters were design'd for Venice from our Ambassador, or my self, or any of our Merchants by the *Bailo* of Venice his *Messo*, which we, upon occasion, did often make use of for our dispatches for England. Amongst other Discourses he unwarily made a very great discovery to me. He was Habited as a *Basilian* or Greek *Papas*; he was in Priests Orders; a *Venetian* Born, and bred under the Greek Arch-Bishop there. He being not well informed by *Jeremiah*, (who in England and to me seem'd a Greek of another stamp) and taking me for a Romanist, told me, that there were many Metropolitans now Romans in their Hearts; and that since Money would do any thing amongst them, they question'd not but shortly to make Metropolitans enough of their own way. He said this present Patriarch was a Lay-man, with cropt Hair, bare; but by Money and Friends he was made a Deacon one day, a Priest the next, a Bishop and Metropolitane of *Larissa* the third. The design was this, they under-hand (by Mediation of the King of France, and his Ambassador here; of the Emperor, and his Resident at *Adrianople*, of the *Bailo* of Venice and others) first

Calumniate

- * p. 1. ' Calumniate the present Patriarch, and are now plotting his removal; next
' they have here (now obscurely) the Metropolitane of *Paros* and *Nixia*, who
* p. 2. ' they design shortly for Metropolitane of *Ephesus*; a true Man in his heart for
' them. Next to make him Patriarch. The business is committed to the Itali-
' an Arch-bishop now at the new Church (St. *Francesco* in *Galata*,) He
' told me that the Jesuits, the Capuchins know of it, and he knew I would
' be secret too. He said *Papas Jeremias* was ignorant of it wholly, though
' he knew him well affected. I mention'd *Panagiotis* at Court, he told me
' that he was not acquainted with it, neither must he; but he had a
' a very great kindness for this Metropolitane, and he himself have Copied out all
' their letters of late Correspondency, and he will be ready to make him Patri-
' arch they question not.

All this is in a manner word for word, what I that time set down, immediately after he had left me, in my common Journal or Memorial, which I have yet by me; afterwards he never came at me, neither could I ever light on him again in any place.

In the year 1674. I received a Letter from the Reverend Mr. *James Crawford*, then Chaplain to his Excellency Sir *Thomas Higgins* our English Ambassador at *Venice*, dated Aug. 22. It is something long, yet I think it very convenient to give it to the Reader in this place, as followeth. *Venice* the 22. of *August* 1674.

' Sir, Though my never having Studied at *Cambridge* have deprived me of
' the happiness of your Acquaintance, who are (as I am informed) a worthy
' Member of that University, and a Fellow of *Christ College*; yet I cannot
' forbear to trouble you at present, if I may call that a trouble, which is a bu-
' siness of such universal extent and Importance, that all those of the Reformed
' Churches ought to be equally concern'd in it. I am confident, Sir, you are
' no stranger to that great Controversy, which has now for several years been
' so hotly debated, by two of the most eminent Divines of France, Monsieur
' *Arnold* Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, and Monsieur *Claude* Minister of *Charenton*.
' The former not being content, to say that the Church in all Ages did believe
' Transubstantiation, doth also positively affirm, that all the Eastern Churches
' do at this very day believe it, in the same Sense, as the Council of *Trent* did
' define it. This gave Monsieur *Claude* occasion to write against him, where he
' brings most authentick proofs of the contrary; upon which the Doctor set
' the whole Missionaries of the East a work to procure Testimonies for him,
' wherein they have had so good success, that there is already a large Quarto in
' French printed at *Paris*, full of the names of Patriarchs, Bishops, and Do-
' ctors of those Churches, who all approve the Roman Doctrine. But after all,
' Monsieur *Claude*, though destitute of all such helps, yet by the means of a
' French Gentleman, as I remember at *Colchis*, had most certain Information,
' that some of these Testimonies are meer Fictions, and others quite otherwise
' then they are told; and, as he told me, he doubts if the whole were diligent-
' ly enquired into they would prove little better; but that herein there was
' need of a great deal of Prudence and Discretion to distinguish betwixt those
' who are purely of the Sentiments of those Churches, and these who have any-
' wise drunk in the Roman principles, by their frequent Communication with
' these Emissaries who are more subtle then they; and who (as we are credi-
' bly informed) cunningly do at the same time Anathematize the Pope to gain
' them credit, and yet receive his pension together with his Doctrine, to enrich
' themselves and propogate his Authority. Now therefore, Sir, as you are a
' Person better fitted by your Parts and Education to get a particular and
* p. 3. ' exact account of this then any of our Nation there, so I am confident your
' Love and Zeal for Truth on whatever side it is, will prompt you forward
' in it. I know it were a work too great for any one Man to detect all
' the Impostures of those many Testimonies from all parts; but to supply that,
' you may I hope easily procure others of equal authority with the former;
' for

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• for though, *contra argumentari non est respondere*, according to Logicks, yet
• *Testimonia contra-testimonia* may be admitted in this. Sir, I need not, I know,
• use any Arguments to recommend this farther to you, seeing the very naming
• of it is sufficient to have influence upon any ingenuous vertuous person;
• only let me tell you, Sir, (and I hope you will excuse my freedom) your
• own Honour and the ashes of your late noble Patron requires your care and
• diligence herein; for he and you make up one entire page of Doctor *Arnold's*
• Book; my Lord Ambassador for having promised to testify under his Hand and
• Seal that the Greeks did believe Transubstantiation, but when the French Am-
• bassador (who was mightily active in this business) urg'd the performance of
• it, he did excuse himself, telling him he would willingly do it, but they would
• then look upon him in England as a Catholick; upon which the French Am-
• bassador reply'd, *my Lord I know it is your Chaplain hinders you to do it*;
• and that when he came to dine there, you absented your self, which gave him
• occasion one day to tell the Ambassador, that he believed you fled from the
• house when he came. Now therefore let us know the truth of that for your
• own Justification, and for the memory of that worthy Gentleman to whom
• you ow that friendly office. I have here sent you a Memorial which I
• brought from Monsieur *Claude*, and which may be very usefull to you in this
• affair. Sir, I would be heartily glad to keep an intercourse of Letters with
• you, and if there be any thing in this place wherein I can serve you or any
• of your Friends, you may very freely command,

Sir, your most Affectionate and humble Servant

J. Cranford.

In his Postscript he recommended me to the assistance of Mr *Tho. Cook*, then
at *Constantinople*, in the *Turkey Company's* Service; of whose worthy Chara-
cter he had been well advised in his Passage through *France* and *Italy*, and
pressed me to communicate the whole design to him, and to the English Chap-
lains at *Smyrna* and *Aleppo*.

Nov. 17. 1674. I return'd him this Answer, 'Sir, I received a Letter from
• you dated the 22. of *Aug.* 1674, and counting my self endebred to your civi-
• lity for an answer, I make use of this first opportunity to pay it. Meer
• curiosity of Learning some things abroad, whereof I thought we had but a
• slight account at home, was one of those motives which brought me hither;
• and I must confess that that, together, with those grounds, which you happi-
• ly pitcht upon, *a love and Zeal for Truth, on whatever side it is*, prompt-
• ed me to an enquiry (amongst other things) after the Opinions of the Greek
• Church, especially about the Eucharist. Several eminent Men in England,
• both at my coming out and since, have likewise recommended the same to me
• as a peculiar charge; with whom all along I have kept Correspondence.
• Neither have I been altogether a stranger to the Controversy between *Claudius*
• and *Arnoldus*, meeting with the news of it soon after my arrival here.
• I shall now double my diligence and quicken my research; and upon the re-
• sult, if my observations may any ways conduce to the evidencing of Truth,
• and the establishing of pure Religion, or may be advantageous to any good
• pious Man, I shall be very Communicative of them, and think my labour and
• cost well plac'd. In the mean time I would gladly see that Book in Quarto
• of Printed Testimonies which you mention; it would give me no small light
• into a (perhaps something better) Method of proceeding; and likewise I
• have an earnest desire to read the very words therein, which concern my dear
• Lord *Harvey*, and my self; that I may enter into a just Vindication upon
• surer grounds than *I hear say*. I have long since put the Ministers of *Aleppo*
• and *Smyrna* (who both came out with me) upon the like enquiries; and shall
• now reinforce the same design. The Consul of *Smyrna* hath been many years
• about

* p. 3.

* p. 4.

* p. 4.

about a Book concerning the Greek Church, and for certain cannot be wanting in his search after this point; If amongst us all it may be at length cleared, I perceive now it will give no small satisfaction to others, as well as to me.

Sir, your most humble Servant

John Covel.

I received a second Letter from Mr. Crauford dated Dec. 7. 1674. wherein I perceived that he had not received my answer of Nov. 17. 1674. He there preſt me again earnestly to the same enquiry, and told me that a Book was Printed in France with the Names and Testimonies of more Patriarchs, Bishops and Doctors of the Eastern Churches, in Defence of the Romish Doctrine of Transubstantiation, then there were in any of the four general Councils; That the Marquis de Nointel, the French Ambassador then at Constantinople, had been most instrumental in this glorious work; that the Marquis pretended to have had the promise of Sir Dan. Harvey, the English Ambassador, to subscribe the same; that the Venetian Bailo there, had refused to do it; as Signor Bauni (whom I knew) had told him; that I had hindered Sir Dan. Harvey to do it, though both of us were convinced of the truth of it; that when the Marquis came to dine with Sir Dan. Harvey I absented my self.

Before I had opportunity of writing to him again, I received a third Letter from him dated Mar. 2. 1674. wherein he told me That he had received my Letter of Nov. 17. foregoing, and said he was very joyfull that I had engaged my self in a business perhaps of some trouble, that if by my means we could have any certain account either of the Opinion of the Greek Church about the Eucharist, or of the great Impostures of the Roman Catholicks in those many Testimonies they pretend to, I should not only gratify one worthy Person (I suppose he meant Mr. Claude,) but the whole Reformed Churches. He was sorry that he could not send me Monsieur Arnold's Book, where he speaks of my late Lord Harvey and my self; but what he speaks of us is just what he wrote in his first Letter to me, only expressed in more words. He desired a short account of what I had done, and what I thought could be done in this affair. That there is a great deal of time spent in getting opportunities for writing and answering and therefore preſt all possible speed; that he might be able to give some account to his Friends in England and France.

At the first opportunity by the Bailo's Messo, I return'd him an answer to both these Letters, wherein I told him, That I had seen several of the French Ambassador's Testimonials, but as yet they were but very few and handed about in writing; that Sir Dan. Harvey never promised to assert that the Greek Church held Transubstantiation; that Sir Daniel and I would never deny that we had seen such Testimonials, but that in our discourses with the Marquis, we often told him, that we thought all those, and five hundred more such, would signify nothing to the Roman purpose; of which Discourses, I told Mr. Crauford, that in due time the World should have a full account; after these Discourses the Marquis never askt either Sir Daniel or my self any more for any Attestations at all. That it was true, that I was not at dinner the first time the Marquis dined with Sir Dan. Harvey, being then in bed very dangerously sick of a Fever; that I knew that neither the Resident of Holland, nor the Bailo of Venice had then subscribed any thing.

* p. 5.

As to his third Letter of Mar. 2. 1674. I told him, That I should make all the enquiry I could about these matters to gratify, and I hope, satisfy Mr. Claude, and all other Reformed Christians; that to give him particular accounts how I proceeded, would be both troublesome and tedious to him as well

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well as to my self, and at best very imperfect; that a full account must be defer'd till I could compleat it, and when that was done, my present Hopes and Thoughts were, that it would tend to the uttermost shame and confusion of these Jesuitical practices and designs.

I never heard more from Mr. Cranford, and am to this day perfectly ignorant whether this Letter ever came to his hands. I shall in the next place set down Mr. Claud's Quæres sent to me; for they may gratify the Learned enquirers into these matters, and the Reader will find most of them particularly treated of in the following work and these preceding Papers.

Enixè precatur D. Claudius Reverendos & Clarissimos Pastores Anglos in partibus Orientalibus degentes, ut pro suo in Religionem Reformatam zelo (quisque pro rata sua parte) velint adire Græcos cæterosque Christianos Orientales melioris notæ, eos scilicet qui cum Romanensibus nullum favent Syncretismum, qui non sunt Romanæ, caræ alumni, nec Missionariorum discipuli, quorum denique nullo modo suspecta fides, eosque rogent ut ad sequentes articulas clare & rotundè respondere dignentur.

1. *An apud eos dogma Transubstantionis, putandum, hoc est conversionis realis & Physicæ totius Substantiæ panis in eandem numero substantiam corporis Christi, quod est in cælis, nuper definitum a Romanis in suo consilio Tridentino, habeatur pro Articulo fidei cui contrariari nefas & Hæreticum.*

2. *An pro Articulo fidei suæ habeant eandem numero materiæ Physicæ particulam, ex qua constat corpus domini nostri Jesu Christi, illammet, inquam, quam gestavit dum in terris versaretur, quamque intulit cælis, existere per se & immediate, simul & semel, tum in cælis, tum in altaribus per multiplicationem præsentia suæ in pluribus locis, ut Latini somniant, adeo ut hoc non credere hæresis sit & piaculum apud Græcos aliosque Christianos Orientales.*

3. *An apud eos articulus fidei sit illud ipsum substantiale & Physicum corpus Christi, illud ipsum, inquam, quod est in cælis in varia membra distinctum, nempe caput, collum, brachia, femora, pedes, &c. a communicantibus edi ore corporeo, non tantum Mystice sed Physice & realiter, adeo ut hæc omnia corporis Christi membra caput, brachia, &c. una cum ipsas anima per se & immediate existant tum in ore tum in stomacho & ventre communicantium, & an tantum portentum non credere hæresis sit.*

4. *An apud ipsos articulus fidei sit illud ipsum substantiale corpus Christi ab impiis edi ore corporeo, imo & a muribus posse rodi, a canibus vorari, quando nempe contingit sacramentum edi ab ejusmodi animalibus, quod sæpius factum est.*

5. *An apud eos articulus sit fidei in conversione panis in corpus Christi nullum remanere subjectum præjacent usque adeo ut materia ipsa Physica, quæ ante consecrationem erat panis, non existat amplius.*

6. *An credant figuram externam panis & vini, saporem, odorem, aliæque id genus, quæ ante Consecrationem erant accidentia panis & vini, post consecrationem sint accidentia mera existentia sine ullo subjecto adeo ut figura sit sine ullo figurato, quantitas sine ulla re quantæ, sapor sine ulla re sapida, color denique sine colorato.*

7. *An pro hæresi habeant dicere Jejuniæ Ecclesiasticum solvitur sump-tione Eucharistia, quodque corpora nostra nutriuntur ex substantia Eucharistica.*

8. *An adorent panem sanctificatum, hoc est, post consecrationem, non tantum adoratione relativâ, sed absolutâ & summâ quæ dicitur latræ, quæ soli Deo debetur quamque Christiani omnes exhibent ipsimet æternæ sapientiæ patris.*

9. *Quid sentiant de solempni Feste corporis, in quo Pontifici circumferunt sacramentum suum per viscos & plateas magnâ sequente populorum catervâ.*

10. Uno

* p. 6.

* p. 6.

10. Uno verbo, an credant Sacramentum Eucharistiæ, panem nempe sanctificatum esse revera deum ipsum substantialiter creatorem cœli & terræ, hoc est, substantiam illam panis sanctificati quam sumunt ore corporeo, esse eandem & numero particulam materiæ creatæ quam secunda trinitatis persona, verbum Patris, assumpsit in unitatem personæ per unionem Hypostaticam.

11. An ejusmodi doctrina sancita sit in aliquo consilio Græcorum, & Anathema dicitur contrarium sentientibus.

12. An memoria Cyrilli Lucaris sanctissimi Ecclesiæ Constantinopolitanæ Patriarchæ Græcis sit execranda, eo quod in sua fidei confessione Latinorum *μυστικὴν* rejecit.

13. Quid sentiant de duobus consiliis habitis adversus Cyrillum Lucarim, alterum anno 1639. Constantinopoli sub Cyrillo Beroensi Patriarchæ Cyrilli Lucaris successore, alterum anno 1642. sub Parthenio Cyrilli Beroensis successore in quibus damnatur Cyrilli Lucaris doctrina.

14. Quid sentiant de Confessione quadam fidei, cujus titulus est, Confessio fidei Ecclesiæ orientalis, cujus auctores fuerunt Petrus Mogilas Archiepiscopus Russiæ & Meletius Surigus Ecclesiæ Constantinopolitanæ Theologus, anno 1642. ubi Transubstantiationis dogma definiunt, quamque, si credere fas est, quatuor Patriarchæ subscripserunt, anno 1643. hanc confessionem Panagiotæ imprimendam curavit apud Batavos & disseminari jussit per orientem ipse Græcus Latinizans. Multum interest scire an Græci moderni habeant ejusmodi fidei confessionem pro Authentica. Item quid sentiunt de Catechismo protosyncelli edito Venetiis 1642. adversus Cyrillum Lucarim.

15. Opera pretium etiam foret intelligere quâ viâ quibusve artibus Missionarii Romani tot Testimonia a Græcis aliisque Christianis Orientalibus extorserint, & si quâ fieri posset eorum fraudes detegere. Quod ut facilius fiat Græcorum aliorumque, qui testati sunt suas Ecclesias Transubstantiationem præsentiamque realem credere, nomina subdam.

Then follows a Catalogue of Testimonies, (some of which I saw in the hands of the Marquis de Nointel, as is said,) and of many Subscribers; with several of them I have had the opportunity and favour of discourse; I was acquainted with all the Patriarchs of Constantinople that were there successively in my time, and with most of the Expatriarchs; with many of the Metropolitans, Archbishops and Bishops which came in my way; particularly with Methodius when he was at our house; and afterwards at Venice, where I found him Archbishop at my return; with the famous Dositheus himself, who is mention'd by Monsieur Claude in his Queries as Patriarch of Jerusalem, but not named. Parthenius was Patriarch when Sir John Finch first arriv'd, I discours'd with him and procur'd him an Audience with Sir John; likewise I procur'd Dositheus an Audience (being then at Constantinople) with the same Sir John, as also again when our Court went to Adrianople; for I knew before Sir John arriv'd, that there was a design laid by the Latin Friars and party, to turn the Greeks out of the Holy places at Jerusalem; and in my very heart I thought it but just to keep them in, who were Natives and then in possession of them; of all which I shall at large give an account in relating our Audience at Adrianople. Moreover I had many opportunities of Conversing with the Governors of Monasteries, and with several of the prime Fathers at Mount Athos and elsewhere.

* p. 7.

Monsieur Claude supposed by his Queries, that the Greeks, and Easterlings, were learned and well vers'd in this Controversy; whereas I never met with one amongst them who ever pretended fully to understand, much less ever offer'd clearly to answer any of them. I have here and there met with an Easterling, brought up in the College de propaganda Fide at Rome, or elsewhere in Italy, who would sometimes venture at a solution to some difficulties about the grand Dogma; but it was ever done only by some scraps of the common Evasions and Jargon of the Schools, and never with any satisfactory or solid reason.

But

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But from a Native Greek, or Easterling, who never was out of his own Country, (though he was there a Man of some Dignity) I never could meet with any tolerable reasoning or answer towards the clearing of the Point. Many of my Acquaintance would avoid any set discourse about these matters, desiring rather to be quiet and not to embarrass themselves about these, *φειτὰ μυστήρια*, (as they called them) *dreadfull or hidden Mysteries*. Some few who had pickt up any scatter'd notions in the East, or elsewhere, from the Romish Emisaries, would offer them very Imperfectly and as ill apply them. But as for the bulk of their Clergy, (the far greatest part of their Prelates and topping Ministers,) I do positively assert that they are in general profoundly ignorant in these points; and not one of a thousand amongst the ordinary *Papas*, or common Priests, knows any thing of the matter. They have no Books to read but their hours of Prayer, and common Church Offices, which are very numerous, and in Country Churches you will rarely find any of these except their common Eucharologium, their ordinary Prayers and Liturgies; and these, like Parrots, they commonly mumble and hurry over by heart, and use them very imperfectly, with strange variety and confusion.

Methodius, when he was at our House, presented me with *Panagiotas's Book*, which I have still by me. Amongst other Discourses I have askt him and many others *this*; since they there tell us, *that ὅλα ὅσα συντείνονται πρὸς ἡμετέραν πίστιν, ἀπόκρ. σ. p. 19.* all things which belong to our Faith are clearly delivered in the two first general Councils of Nice and Constantinople, and that we ought to believe neither more nor less than what is there, nor otherwise than as those Fathers understood them; I say, I have often askt, *why other, κατωτομήματα ἢ κατωτομίας, new Institutions and Inventions of Men, about matters of Faith, have been obtruded upon us as necessary, of which those good Fathers never dream'd?* But I was commonly shuffled off only with the words there following, or after their meaning, *πνευματικοὶ οὗς μυστικὰ εἰς ἑαυτὰ, They obtained or prevailed, and were received, as things being in themselves Mystical, that is, unintelligible.*

I have desired them to reconcile, that one Passage there, to it self, *ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπόκρ. σ. p. 77.* εἶναι μόνον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, *Christ is only in Heaven, and not upon Earth, after the manner of the Flesh which he bare about him, and with which he was conversant here on Earth; but after a Mystrious way as it is found in the Holy Eucharist, κατὰ μετασώωσιν, by Transubstantiation; the very substance of Bread being changed into the very substance of his holy Body, and the substance of Wine into the substance of his precious Blood. The Latin Metusiores positively declare that, the very true, real, Flesh and Bones and Blood, and entire Body of Christ, is received and eaten in the Eucharist on Earth; But these Latinized Greeks tell us as positively, that after this manner he is only in Heaven. The, σῶμα ἀληθινόν, the true Body or Flesh is only in Heaven, the, σῶμα μυστικόν, the mystical Body only on Earth; yet both these and these disown and explode the mystical Body which is only maintain'd by Protestants; the real manner of Christ's Bodily Presence is only in Heaven, his Presence on Earth is then only Mystical.*

From a home-bred Greek, I never met with any answer but these misunderstood Axioms, *God is Omnipotent; since Christ hath said, this is my Body, though it still seems only meer Bread, yet, it is, ἀληθινόν σῶμα, the true Body and Flesh of Christ, κατὰ τὴν θεῖαν ὁικονομίαν, by the Divine disposal; I must rather believe in the Word and Power of him, than believe my own deceitfull, or unjust Senses. If you ask him about those Expressions, Christ is called a Door, a Rock, a Vine, or the like, this Cup in the New Testament in my Blood; I with the Finger of God cast out Devils. This is the hand that is stretched out over all Nations; this is the way, walk ye in it; I say, if you ask a true Greek, (who never studied abroad, though he be a topping Man) about these Expressions, why all of them and many many more such must be all Expounded in a figurative Sense, but our Saviour's words,*

This

* p. 8.

This is my Body, are by them taken only literally? You must expect only the vulgar, popular, amusing answers above, or something as little to the purpose. I have askt some Greeks educated in *Italy*, whether *the Bread by it self*, and *the Wine by it self*, after Consecration, were made *the true and perfect Christ* that suffer'd upon the Cross; the common answer was, *that each of them by themselves were then*, ὁλόκληρος ὁ χριστὸς διὰ τὴν μυστικὴν κοινωνίαν, *entire Christ by a Mystical concomitancy*; which is the very Scholastick subtilty, that is u-

De Sac. Eu-
charist. l. 3. c.
5. C.

sed by Bellarmine and others for divers purposes. We need not wonder at the want of Learning amongst the Greeks, and other Easterlings, who had no Academies or Schools for instructing Students in any points of Philosophy, Divinity, Mathematicks, or any other part of the polite Literature of Europe; for if we truly consider the present state of the Latin Church, where all the advantages for Learning are to be had, Books, Professors in all Faculties and the like; amongst the whole Clergy from the Popes themselves to the common Priests, you will find, for the greatest part, as meanly provided with any stock of general Learning or understanding, as amongst the Easterlings themselves; nay I dare boldly say, that the common Priests on both sides are for Learning much at a *Par*. Not one Easterling of ten thousand understand one word of Latin, and as few Latins understand one word of Greek. It is well known how even that great Champion of the Latins, *Tho. Aquinas* himself, hath most shamefully blunder'd in his Treatise against the Greeks, by writing *Icumeraycos*, for, οἰκουμενικός, *œcumenicus*; which with many other such notices which I could add, makes me suspect him to have known but little Greek, if any at all. It is the known Policy of all the several Academies and Fraternities amongst the Latins, that every where if they have one or more of pregnant parts, who are addicted to the Study of any particular Science, Art or Faculty, they shall be assisted with all the helps that can be given them, and furnished with all the Intelligence that can be procured from all parts of the Learned World, where they have some constant Correspondence; so that there are here and there to be found, in their Academies particular Professors; and in the Fraternities, Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, and the like kept up as great Masters in most parts of Learning, chiefly to maintain the Glory and Reputation of their respective Schools, Orders, and Societies. But I appeal to all inquisitive and judicious Travailleurs, whether amongst the common Herds of all those Fraternities they met with one in ten thorough paced in general Learning or any particular Faculty; or in common matters of Controversy between us and the Latins. We had three or four Latin Convents at *Galata*, and I was acquainted with several of the Brethren in each of them, and have occasionally been often in the Company of Father *Carnizaris* the Commissario of *Jerusalem*, and *F. Andreas Rudolphi*, (whom we commonly called the Bishop of *Galata*, or in *partibus Infidelium*,) and some others of chief note; and should I be so disingenuous, I could give many pregnant Instances of this Truth. Even amongst the Jesuits themselves, every where abroad and at home, you will find most of them subtle, cunning, intreaguig Persons, and prying into every Man and every Matter; otherwise they would not be fitting Instruments to carry on the *Directions and Instructions* of the General of their Order; (many of which are in print, and I have by me a peculiar MS. of them, which luckily fell into my hands from one, who had been all along bred up amongst them;) But as to what may be called solid, accurate, or general Learning, either Civil or Ecclesiastical, yet amongst even them, will find the Mustering but small and weak. The Latins well knowing the Ignorance of the Greeks, and what advantages they can take from it, have for a long while caused, at several times and places, Books to be Printed in *vulgar Greek*, at *Venice*, *Rome*, *Paris*, and elsewhere; which being dispersed amongst them might by degrees Poison them with their new Doctrines, of Purgatory, the seven Sacraments, *Auricular Confession*, *Image-Worship*, and the rest, as I have here and there taken notice in the following Treatise. The meaning of this is very evident; their Modern Writings

Writings being published in vulgar Greek very mean Scholars amongst them may pick out their Sentiments, though imperfectly, and be acquainted with their *Cant*; whereas if they had been in the learned Greek, very very few of their Priests would have been able to understand it or been perverted by it. They have several presses set up in *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, where, since I left *Turkey*, they have Printed several large Volumes and other Books. These only at present are come to my hand. * p. 8.

A Synod or Conciliabulum held at *Jerusalem*, anno 1691. 8^{vo}. held against *Joannes Cariophilles*, a Disciple of *Corydalis*, for denying *Transubstantiation*.

Καταλλαγή, Reconciliation, ἐν γλασκῳ, *Giasii* or *Jasii* in *Moldavia*, ann. 1694, fol. They there declare that the *Latin Church* is corrupt and much in the wrong, and in a desperate Condition, and therefore desire them to be reconciled to God. And that is given as the reason of the name of the Book by *Dositheus*, who there amongst many remarkable things tells us, that *Leo Allatus* died, biting out his own Tongue, and swallowing it down for his extream Blasphemies. Epist. dedicati p. 8.

The pieces therein contain'd, are *Anonymus Constantinopolitanus contra Latinos*. *Johannes Nomophylax, frater Marci Eugenici, contra Synodum Florentin*. *Georgius Corefius, de Processione*. *Macres Monachus, contra Processionem*. *Apologia Patrum Græcorum, a Synodo Florentina redeuntium, contra Processionem*. *Theodorus Agathanus de Processione, comparat Latinorum opinionem cum illa S. Maximi*. *Excerpta ex anonymo de Processione*. *Excerpta e Blastare contra Latinos*. *De septem Synodis quas approbant Græci*. *Excerpta contra Latinorum Novitates*. *Non licet cum Latinis Eucharistiam percipere, nisi præstiteris quibusdam conditionibus*. *Non licet Phrancum (i. e. Occidentalem) vel Armenum, vel Monothelitam, vel Nestorianum, esse Compatrem in Baptismo*. *Non licet cum Armenis, Jacobitis, Nestorianis, aut aliis advenis, sancta percipere*. *Synodus ultima sub Constantino ultimo Joannis Palæologi fratre*. In this Synod *Bessarion* is noted as a betrayer of the Greek Church for a Cardinal's Cap. Athanasius's Creed is own'd as corrupted. The Pope's Infallibility, Headship, universal Pastorship, Power and Monarchy, are all exploded, with Purgatory, &c. The Elements in the Eucharist are truly, Ἀντίτυπα, only Types, as before, so after Christ's words; they are changed only by the Priest's Invocation. The substance of the Bread and Wine, φθειρέται, is corrupted and the true Body and Blood remain. Against all Images or Pictures of God. Against λατρεία, divine Adoration to the Cross or Image of Christ. Against carved Images. *Bessarion* again noted as a Traitor to the Greek Church.

Χαρὰ, Rejoicing, ἐν Βουκουρεστῳ, at *Bucurestium* in *Walachia*, anno 1705. fol. It is now an Academy, whereof the Reverend Mr. *Edm. Chishul*, who hath been there, can give a full account. I long to know what Readers or Professors they have there; the Latins may easily set up another College, de propaganda Fide there; and much more commodiously then at *Rome*; it being, if I may so say, as it were in the very center of all the Greeks, where-to all they, and the *Armenians*, *Persians*, and others in the East, may readily resort and drink in the Latins Potions with pleasure and less expence, then by coming into *Europe*; for one way or other there never would be wanting a Fund; and let the Roman Emissaries alone for making their Markets by it. The volume is called *Χαρὰ, Joy*, because, as *Dositheus* there tells us, the Greeks rejoice to see all the Doctrines, Sophistry, evil Practices, Opposition, Innovations, Blasphemies, and prodigious assertions of the Papists there dissolved and shatter'd to pieces like Cobwebs. *Photius* is there defended at large. *Pope Nicholas* and his abettors were Excommunicated and Anathematized in a Council at *Constantinople*. The Fathers in Councils are there own'd to have sometimes subscribed with the Wine or Blood, of the Eucharist instead of Ink. Popery is there said to be, nothing else but a separation from the true God, and the (Polish or Russian) Union with the Papists, is

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* p. 8. no otherwise then manifest agreement with the Devil. In this Volume are, first, five Epistles of Photius. Next the Synod held under him, with Dositheus his notes upon it. The Objections of the Latins against it, answer'd by Dositheus. Nicholas, *νεπαμύνης*; Figulus, Meletius Alexandrinus, Hieronemon's Dialogues; all against the Supremacy of the Pope.

p. 4

'Αγάπη, *Charity*, in Γιάσι, *Giasii*, in Moldavia, 1698, fol. Dositheus there in his Preface gives us an account of about five and twenty several pieces written against the Latins, which he hath published. Amongst other Observations he saith, *the Latins write with Madness and Sophistry, with Railing and Reproaches, and other foul Language; for when they cannot oppose the Truth, they fall to reviling and Blasphemy; but the Easterlings write against them, σμῦναι καὶ μετ' Ἀγάπης, Courteously and with Charity.* Wherefore this Tome is called, 'Αγάπη, *Charity*. Most of these pieces are old writings against the Latins; and they are now set out together by Dositheus. Now he having been made at last so perfect a Metusiast, or at least publicly professing himself to be so, by declaring so absolutely for Transubstantiation, I must confess it makes me apt to suspect, that the present Publishing of all these Books, is only a fair cloak to set off a fouler purpose, being cunningly designed to give a brighter Lustre and finer Gloss to his positive Assertion of this new Doctrine. As if he had said, that although he had indeed declared his utter Aversion from the Latin Church in other Points, and testified it by Publishing all these pieces against it; yet it was meer Conviction of Conscience that now forced him to embrace this Important Article, *Transubstantiation*, in the very Sense and Explication given of it by the Schoolmen and the Council of Trent. By this fair shew he may make the World the better believe him to be in good earnest; yet I find his Notion backt by the common Subterfuge, *If we confess God to be Almighty we cannot doubt of it.* He tells us *these Books were Printed at his own expence and by the Contribution of others*, in which I doubt not but that there were found good store of Italian Pistoles, and French Luidores. There have been, and, without question, there are still Men enough, who will, *in loco*, upon occasion, designedly call the Pope, *Antichrist, the Whore of Babylon*, and what not; and yet at the same time receive a Salary from him for dark and secret Service; It is possible that the topping Greeks, who still retain their antient Genius and Wit, know how to make a Market of the Pope and us in our differences about Religion, as well as the Turks know how to make a Prey upon us all as occasion offers. I am loath to say, what yet indeed seems to me very remarkable, that Dositheus plays fast and loose in all his Writings; He cries out against the *λατινίζοντες, the Latinized Greeks*, and say they are, *μιζόβηδες καὶ ἡμι-ποχέριται, Mongrels, half Men half Beasts, and the like Monsters*; and yet, with one of his Predecessors at Jerusalem, he explodes the Pope's Monarchy, and equals the Authority of the other four Patriarchs with him; He declaims against all *Innovations*, yet admits, *μετεστώσις, Transubstantiation*; a word which the Fathers never heard of; and asserts a monstrous thing, a *substantial change of the Bread into the Body of Christ*, which seems still upon all Tryals the very same Bread, it did, and was, before. This to me makes him like the Satyr in the Fable, who blew hot and cold with the same Mouth. I must a little pretend to know something both of the Greeks and Latins Politicks, having lived so long amongst them; if I guess amiss, good Reader, let it pass for a sudden Surprise, or as only my own private and present Conceit.

p. 471.

* p. 8.

p. 471.

The main bulk of this Tome is a Treatise of Philotheus Patriarch of Constantinople against Nicephorus Gregoras, with a large Preface of Dositheus to it. It would be a very tedious work to give but a small extract out of all these several pieces; yet running it cursorily over, I could not but note some few odd things for my own diversion. It is a familiar Practice both with Greeks and Latins to oppose one another with Calumnies, which be they true or false they sufficient-

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sufficiently shew the temper of them both. It is an old report that *Arrius* * p. 8. died thrusting out his Bowels; and it is here said of *Josephus* the Greek Patri- p. 12. arch, that died at *Florence* vomiting up his Excrements. The like is said of *Marcus Eugenicus* and *Palamas* by the Latins; as bad is said of *Leo Allatius* by *Dositheus*, that he Eat his own Tongue as is above noted. We and the Greeks have the current Story of *Pope Joan*, and the Latins have one of a She Patriarch at *Constantinople*. The Greeks inveigh bitterly against the La- p. 25. tins and our Priests in Europe for not wearing Beards. The *Gregorian Calen-* Pref. 3. §. 315. der was a long time boggled at, and at last rejected by a solemn Council. Se- 538. veral Synods Anathematized the Council of *Florence*. *Arcudius* noted as a p. 17. 18. Traitor to the Greek Church, and was expelled publickly. *Georgias Scholari-* p. 21. 22. us every where vindicated, and his true works own'd, and the spurious ones named and rejected. At last comes a peculiar Office and Ceremonies to be used, p. 568. 583. when any Latin renounceth his Heresy and turn to the Greeks. The chief controversies in all these pieces, are the old ones *de Additamento Filioque*, *Monarchia Papæ*, *ἑσώτα*, and the late one, *Lumen Taborium* or Christ's Transfiguration. I have some little Books also lately Printed in those parts, but they are of lesser moment then to be mention'd here.

I shall now proceed, according to my Journal, to what concerns my dear Patron, Sir *Dan. Harvey* and my self. Dec. the 23. 1671. I was much indisposed, and on the 26. I fell ill of a continued Fever which held me 17 days; I lost above thirty ounces of Blood. By my Lord's kindness, *Alexandro Maurocordato* (as I find that Family named in *Crusius*, μαυρογορδάτῳ; *Maurogordato*) was Turco Grac. employ'd as my Physitian; He was afterwards chief *Turgeman* to the Grand L. 4. P. 285. Seigneur, and continued so all my time. Whilst I was thus Sick in Bed the French Ambassador came and dined with my Lord, and seeing that I was not at the Table, he made as merry Reflection upon it, as if I had absented my self on purpose to avoid the force of those Subscriptions, which he had then procured. What was the whole Discourse which then pass'd between them, I cannot tell; but Sir *Daniel* never own'd any thing more of it then this, that the Marquis gloried much in those Testimonies, and earnestly urged him to subscribe the same; to which Sir *Daniel* (as he constantly all along averred) answer'd, 'That he would never deny that he had seen those Attestations, but as 'for himself he was not at all acquainted with any of the Greeks Opinions; 'and therefore it would be a very rash and extravagant thing in him positively to 'attest any such thing; Nay, for him to give it under his hand, only that he 'had seen such Subscriptions, even this might be of very bad consequence to 'him, and give a just occasion for the busy World to think him an Abet- 'tor, or at least a Favourer of that design; and all Men would at least 'condemn him for a very Imprudent and over forward Person, if he should 'any ways seem to countenance a matter of that Nature, which he did 'not in the least understand. The Marquis afterwards repeated his suit to him, but soon gave it over when he saw that he could not prevail; and this gave occasion to the Report, that Sir *Daniel* had subscribed, had not I hindred him. Soon after my Recovery I went alone and waited upon the Marquis; to whom I had the Honour to be well known before, as being with him at the Creation of *Dionysius* of *Larissa* (being made Patriarch Nov. 8th. just before-going,) and otherwise; and afterwards whenever the two Ambassadors met, after their private discourses about matters of State were over, I was continually admitted into their Company, where this Point of the Greeks Subscriptions was certainly one of the common Themes in our Conversation; and the sum of what I said to the Marquis in all our Conferences was to this purpose.

These Articles, especially That about the Eucharist, were all either fairly in Dis- course or otherwise proposed and declared to those who subscribed them, that first they might well understand and consider them and then give and set down their Opinion in their own Sense and Words; or Else, they were first drawn up and model'd by the Latins themselves, and then offer'd to the Greeks for their Subscriptions. * p. 9.

* p. 9.

When I seriously consider either of these two ways (for I cannot reasonably conceive any other third way,) I must freely confess that I cannot see how either of them can signify any thing to the end for which they were by the Latins design'd.

I.

For as to the first, it is impossible by what hath already been said, that one in a hundred, I may say a thousand, of those Subscribers, should be capable of thoroughly apprehending or duly weighing the full Sense and meaning which the Latins put upon them. Were they solemnly askt whether they believed that the whole Bread undivided, and every one of the *Margarite*, (as they call all the least Mites of it,) when divided, are every one of them by it self after Consecration made the entire Body, Head and Members, the very Flesh and Bones of Jesus Christ which he bare about him here on Earth; whether every particle of the Bread was also by it self then made his very entire Blood by *Concomitancy*; whether every one of the least drops of the Wine by it self was then made his entire Body by the like *Concomitancy*; or lastly whether the whole Bread whilst it was entire, and whether every particle of it, when afterwards it was crumbled into Millions of Grains of insensible dust, were every one of them still the entire undivided Body and Blood of Jesus Christ which is in Heaven?

If these and the like questions (according to these in Monsieur Claude's instructions) had been first askt them, and after due Deliberation and strict enquiry into them, they had given and set down their own answer plainly and fully in the Affirmative to them all, this had then been something to your purpose, and had given a specious resemblance of some kind of an imperfect Union with the Latin Church; but for some to say only, (like Parsons) that there is, *veritas, a Transubstantiation*; or for others to own a *real Presence*, without the Expression of its *Mode* or *Manner*; or for all to say that it is made not by the words of Christ, but by the *Priest's Invocation*; all this is far enough off from the Latins point. Our Church of England owns plainly, that the Body and Blood of Christ, are, *veritas & agay-martus*, verily and indeed taken and received by, the Faithfull, in the Lord's Supper; we, (according to the words of Bishop Andrews,) *Præsentiam realem non minus quam vos, veram agnoscimus, modum vero nescimus*, do no less then you acknowledge a real Presence, but we know nothing at all of the *Mode*, or *Manner*, of it. Therefore it is a meer vain and empty thing for a Greek to say only, *I believe a real Presence*; for unless he expresseth himself fully by your very Explication of its *Mode*, or *Manner*, he comes no nearer to your *Transubstantiation*, then our Church doth by owning the *Presence*, without one word of the *Mode*.

Your Excellency told me your self, That in some Monasteries the chief of the Monks refused to subscribe by reason their, *ἡγούμενος*, Abbot or prime Governor was not at home; and that several of the most noted Priests, here and there, refused to do it, without the knowledge and approbation of their Metropolitans or Bishops; nay, that some said (what are my own very thoughts) that the belief of a Church, is not to be gathered from the Opinions of private Men, but taken from the decrees of full and general Councils, made by all the Patriarchs and Prelates of it, where there hath been, *ἐκκλησία*, a solemn debate, a serious deliberation, and judicious examination of all particulars before they subscribe them. In all the general Councils, that ever have been, there were (especially at their first meeting,) strange differences of Opinion and Judgment amongst the Members; what had their Sentiments signified, if they had been only gathered separately, or in private Junts; and yet much more fruitless had the private Subscriptions been of each particular Man.

* p. 10.

Nectarius in his Letter to Paisius Patriarch of Alexandria, (which I received from your Excellencies own hand, and which I have now by me) doth severely blame the boldness of that Latin Emissary, Monk Lazarus; who durst demand any such Declaration or Subscription from him. These are his

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xlj

very words, τὸ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ μὲν Λάζαρος, who is this Monk Lazarus, that he should, ἀναβυδισθῆναι, so arrogantly dare to ask from you a Confession of Faith, and that, μετὰ δόλου καὶ ψευδοῦς, with deceit and dissembling, when the Pope himself was refused the like request; And he tells Paisius that the Greeks belief is sufficiently and manifestly to be seen in the Writings of their Fathers.

Next it is very remarkable, that he there cautions Paisius solemnly, (πρὸς Θεοῦ, for Gods sake,) against giving any Declaration or Subscription whatever to the Latin Emissaries; no, not so much as how the Greeks said the Lord's Prayer; for they come not sincerely but subtilly, that taking hold of any the least Phrase (being meer, knavish Criticks, catchers at words, καὶ συκοφαντεῖν ἐπιμενοὺς ἔχοντες, and being always ready to bespatter and falsely accuse whom they do not like;) they might slander us; moreover Nectarius there tells Paisius rightly, that Cyril's Confession alone, as his own private Act, could signify nothing to the belief of the whole Greek Church; and for my part I can see no reason why any of the rest of the Patriarchs Confessions, or pretended Councils can be lookt upon, in like manner, as sufficient declarations of the true sense of all the Prelates under them; for they were manifestly contrived by the open and malicious Enemies of Cyril, animated and managed by the Latins, or only by Latinized Greeks; and therefore they must be counted by all discreet Men, as meer Conventicles and Junto's composed by only Partizans and Persons dependent upon them; and not by a fourth or a fifth part of all the real Prelates of that Church; and those never solemnly or impartially debating matters, or being indeed ever able fully to apprehend or judge of them.

Your Excellency knows very well, that both by the Civil Law, and by common Reason, poor, hungry, indigent, Persons are at best very suspicious Witnesses; for they are most likely to be bribed. But those who are declared Enemies to the adverse Party, or who are absolutely under the Command of the Managers of their own; or who are purely Ignorant of the matter in Question, are utterly excluded from being Witnesses in any Cause; but this is plainly the present Condition of the Greeks.

Your Excellency hath truly observed in your account to me of your Visits to the Greeks, that most Priests have no Books by them, but only their Church Offices; and that all their Study is only to get them by Heart, which takes up so much of their time as they cannot attend to read or Study other learned Books if they had them; neither have they Judgment to understand them. I my self have seen vast heaps of MSS. (for I never found them on shelves or in good Order) of the Fathers and other learned Authors in the Monasteries at Mount Athos and elsewhere, all cover'd over with dust and dirt, and many of them rotted and spoil'd; not a Monk ever touch them, or read them, or look after them to preserve them; they take no Books into their hands but their Liturgies and their several, ἀκολουθίας, Church Offices; and the greatest part of their, μεγαλόθυνοι, chief Monks spend their time only in rudely and erroneously copying of them out, for their own use; and hence it is that we meet with such numbers of them every where. You truly own, what I have every where observed my self, that the only Knowledge of these Church Offices is all the Learning that is required of them to fit them for holy Orders; how many then of these Subscribers are truly qualified to give their Testimony of the Belief of their whole Church, in any Article that is controverted?

Nectarius in the forenamed Epistle doth honestly confess, that the Latins and Greeks do manifestly differ about the use of Fermented Bread, and the unfermented Wafer in the Eucharist; and likewise about the words of Consecration, the Latins assert it to be done only by Christ's words (which yet in Consecrating the Wine they have mangled and corrupted by an arbitrary Form

* p. 10.

ff. de testib. l. 1. c. 6.

* p. 11.

* p. 11. ' Form of their own,) the Greeks as peremptorily affirm it to be done only by
 ' the Invocation of the Priests. When there is so weighty a Difference as this
 ' between them in these substantial Points; how can the Greeks testify that the
 ' belief of both Churches about the Eucharist is the same, when not one of a
 ' thousand of them understand Latin, or know any thing of the matter? And
 ' to say, that notwithstanding all this, they however both believe the thing (or
 ' rather the word) *μετεσώσις*, *Transubstantiation*, is the same as to say that a
 ' Pye or a Parrot believe or know what they say, when they Prattle the same
 ' words. From all this then you see, my Lord, that *Nectarius* was utterly a-
 ' verse then from any such Subscription; and he as much condemn'd and under-
 ' valu'd them, as being both useless and dangerous.

II. ' As to the second Case, let us consider whether these Articles were not first
 ' drawn up by the Latins themselves before they were offer'd to the Subscribers;
 ' next how these Subscriptions were procured; and lastly of what Authority
 ' or Value they can be. It is manifest in all the Subscriptions which I have
 ' yet seen, that the Articles were first Modell'd and set down or contrived by
 ' the Latins themselves, and then offer'd and urg'd upon the Subscribers. In the
 ' Preface to most of these Testimonies, is set down a complaint, that they had
 ' heard from credible Persons, that the Greeks and Eastern Churches had been
 ' *Impudently and Outragiously* slandered and misrepresented by Monsieur *Claude*,
 ' and his Calvinists in *France* and elsewhere. It is plain that they had these
 ' informations only from the Jesuits and other Emissaries of *Rome*; for the East-
 ' erlings understand nothing of the Latin, and altogether as little of French, or
 ' any other European Western Language; and let these Agents alone to tell
 ' their Tale in Narrations and Expressions horrid and foul enough as well
 ' as false; and to make and press the Forms to be Subscribed accordingly.

' The greatest part of the Easterlings Oeconomy and Discipline, especially of
 ' the Greeks, consist first in their Pomp and amusing Ceremonies at their Litur-
 ' gies and other Offices. Their Priests, especially in their chief Monasteries,
 ' and in their Metropolitane and Episcopal Churches, have their, *φελώνιον*, or up-
 ' per Garment, (which is something like a Woman's Petticoat, with only a hole
 ' at the top to put their Heads through, and the rest of it hangs down round
 ' about their thighs to their ankles) it is richly wrought with Gold and Silver;
 ' and the poorest Parish Priest hath such a one, though of a meaner making.
 ' They have no such thing as our Linnen Surplice, but that *Philonium* and all
 ' their other Garments and Accoutrements are very Glorious and different; there
 ' is one kind for a Patriarch, another for a Metropolitane, and so for all others
 ' suitable to their different degrees; and in this point they look askew even up-
 ' on us English, for not being so Gaudy, Stately and Ceremonious in our Of-
 ' fices as themselves; though we are Episcopally Ordained, and have grave and
 ' different Garments for all sorts of our Clergy in their various degrees, from
 ' the Primates and Metropolitans down to the lowest Order of Deacons; and
 ' our Doctors in Divinity, and our Masters and Bachelors of Arts, if in Orders,
 ' are likewise decently and distinctly habited; and if we English Church-men
 ' are lookt upon by the Easterlings in this Point, but as Mongrels or half Pri-
 ' mitive Clergy-men at the best, how odious and abominable must the Calvin-
 ' ists appear to them, when they shall be told (which sufficient aggravations I'll
 ' warrant you) that there is no such outward Pomp, or any *reverend* or *de-*
 ' *cent* Garments used in their divine Offices amongst them; their Ministers are
 ' not Episcopally ordain'd, and they wear only a common black Cloak and a
 ' Coat or Jump, without either Gown, or Cassock, or Girdle, or Surplice.

* p. 12. ' Next the greatest shew or outward proof of the Greeks Religion is seen in
 ' Celebrating their Fasts and Feasts. I have known many, especially of the Lay-
 ' men, who would count Fornication, Uncleaness, Excess in Drinking, Cursing,
 ' Revenge and the like Practices, for less Crimes than to violate their Fasts, (of
 ' which they have four principal and publick ones,) especially *Lent* or that be-
 ' fore *Easter*; a Zealous Monk will rather die, then at any time or in any di-
 ' stemper

• stemper tast the least Morsel of Flesh; and some, *μεγαλόχημοι*, *Monks of the* * p. 12.
 • *highest Order*, especially Anchorets and Hermets, never eat at most above
 • three times in a week; whence they are emaciated to meer Skin and Bones be-
 • fore they quite leave this World; this extravagant Fasting being counted the
 • very heighth of an Aschetick Life; and I dare say that the *Armenians* Fast a
 • third part of the whole year. What then must these Easterlings think of such
 • Westerling Christians, who are confidently reported to be such wretched Crea-
 • tures, as they never at all observe any common times of Fasting themselves,
 • and count it stupid Superstition and meer Dotage in them who do it.

• Then for their Festivals, especially that at Christmass, Easter, and the other
 • great ones, and their great Holy-days, (which they solemnly keep with us
 • English-men,) or to name no more, at their Annual, *παραγύεις*, *Conventions*
 • of many whole Country Towns and Villages, at their Holy Fountains, which
 • are dedicated to some of their celebrated Saints, (where I have often been an
 • Eye witness) there is not one that appears there but will contribute something,
 • as his share, towards the providing of victuals and drink in abundance, (as at
 • our old *Whitsun-Ales*, or setting up May-poles and the like in England) there
 • is hardly one Greek so poor, but he will borrow, or pawn, or sell his very
 • Cloaths, or something else, to get Money for Wine, to Celebrate the Festival;
 • and it is the same Practice amongst them upon the Holydays set apart for the
 • Virgin Mary, or any other peculiar Saint, especially those to whom they are
 • particularly devoted. These jolly Easterlings, when they hear from the cun-
 • ning Emissaries, that the Christians pretending to be Reformed in the West, do
 • utterly hate and abjure all such Practices as *Heathenish and Prophane*, must
 • think them all the vilest Miscreants living.

• I beseech your Excellence, seriously to think what a Horrid and most Abo-
 • minable Idea, the crafty and busy Emissaries, nay many of the selfish, politick
 • Greek Prelates themselves from their by ends, or out of a prospect of being
 • safe and quiet in their stations; (or indeed from a perfect Indifference in them
 • to all Mystical and Scholastick speculations) I say, consider well what foul,
 • opprobrious, extravagant Characters these wicked Confederates may create,
 • not only in the blind bigotted Laicks, but even in all their illiterate Clergy,
 • against all in *the West*, who value and distinguish themselves by *protesting*
 • against many of those abuses which generally all over *the East* are counted
 • most Sacred; as oral Tradition, Auricular Confession, Worshipping of the Vir-
 • gin Mary and Images, all Ceremonies and Prayers at their Funerals, the use
 • of holy Water and the sign of the Cross, (which in the East are generally
 • counted Sanctifications and *Phylacteries*, or Preservatives against the Devil and
 • all Evils) and the like; nay, these Westerlings in their Writings and Discourses * p. 13.
 • both publick and private, declare and bitterly Censure all these Observances as
 • vain, wicked, gross and intolerable Superstitions; and many of them as right
 • down Idolatry. These Men thus Characterized, must in the East be assuredly
 • counted Arch-heriticks indeed, nay, very Devils incarnate. The word, *αἵρε-
 • σις*, *Heretick*, there signifying altogether as Abominable and Dreadful, as
 • *Erege*, in Spain, where they think such a one absolutely delivered over to
 • the Legion of frightfull Devils, usually painted upon the *Samarra Charuca*. *Limb. Hist. In-*
 • To speak plain Truth, our Mob, or the Vulgar in England, are much of the *quis. l. 4. c. 4.*
 • same Temper. The very name of a *Popish* (as they call Men of your Re- *p. 368, 369.*
 • ligious) or more rudely, of a *Popish Dog*, or a *Jesuit*, fixt upon any one,
 • is as much as to call him *Belzebub*; especially on *Q. Elizabeth's* Festival,
 • or the fifth of *November*, when they burn the *Pope*, should a Man pass
 • by, known by, or branded with that Character, he may be in danger of his
 • Life, or at least of being grossly abused. Some in Spain (to my own know-
 • ledge) at this very day believe that the English, especially the Kentish-men,
 • are born *with Tails*, (as the Impudent Emissaries in those days had told the
 • credulous Zealots) for Curtailing *Becket's* Mule. Such Creatures as those will
 • from the mouth of an Audacious seemingly Religious, eloquent Seminary,
 • readily

* p. 13. readily take any thing upon trust, that is said of *Hereticks*; and as readily
 Subscribe any thing against them. Give me leave to mention a true, and here
Æthiop. Com- a very pertinent, Remark of *Ludolphus* concerning the *Habassini*, who, faith
ment. p. 1. he, if they be asked any thing about Religious matters will be very ci-
 vil and respectfull in their Answers, either for fear of being counted Here-
 ticks themselves, or to hide their own Ignorance. This I take to have been,
 and still to be, the very case in getting these Subscriptions of the Greeks and
 others in the East.

I must therefore, my Lord, crave leave plainly to say that these Articles
 and Forms were first drawn up by the Latin Emissaries and Agents them-
 selves, before they were offer'd to the Subscribers. It is most evident in the
 Attestations which your Excellency hath shewn me, that those of the *Ve-*
netian Bailo Quirini; of *Casimir* the Resident of *Poland*; of *Fieschi*
 Resident of *Genoa*; of *Caboga* Resident of *Ragusa*; are all the very same,
 Article for Article, in the very same Sense, and almost in the very same
 words; It seems to me beyond all Dispute that they came all from the
 same hand. I observe the same in the Testimony of the Right Reverend
Andreas Ridolphi, Bishop of *Calamina*, or as we say of *Galata*; only I
 must humbly make this small Remark upon it, that I had the opportunity
 many times of conversing with him; it was indeed for the most part in
 Italian, but sometimes occasionally we spake Latin; and truly though
 he was a Man of very ready parts and great Ingenuity, yet I must say
 that I never observed such an affluence of words and such variety of Phrase
 in his Latin as is there expressed. He hath varied the sense of, *Credere*,
 to believe, at least ten times in his thirteen Articles; as *affirmare*, *edo-*
cere, *tenere*, &c. If he had Studied for the whole, as well as for the
 change of this one word, methinks that he would not in his Preface
 there have so carelessly put, *Martyriam*, (from the Greek word *μαρτυ-*
ρίαν) instead of the plain Latin word, *Testimonium*, Testimony, but I ra-
 ther must think that some of his officious Associates at St. *Francis* made this
 flourishing Compliment, for the Honour of so great a Man, and put it into
 his hands ready drawn.

* p. 14. I must freely confess to your Excellency, that for my part I am fully con-
 vinced, that all the Forms of the other Attestations of the several Eastern Peo-
 ple were first contrived and drawn up by your Latin Agents, who were scat-
 ter'd up and down and seated amongst them. The Natives in those Countries
 who never went abroad, but had all their Education at home, are generally re-
 presented by all as such dull, stupid, illiterate Fellows, as there is not one of
 them able of themselves to draw up any such Attestations as you produce.
 Whence had they their very Latin Scholastick terms and phrases, express'd so nicely
 in all their Articles, and levell'd so exactly against the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*,
 and other pretended Hereticks in the West? The very Articles themselves,
 and the common usual Prefaces to them, are meer Calumnies and Invectives
 against them. Whence had they all these Notices but from your Emis-
 saries?

As for the *Maronites* Attestation, the Latins boast much that they have been
 long since thoroughly reconciled to their Church of Rome, and therefore
 (whatever their former, proper, old Sentiments were) this can avail nothing
 in this present dispute; for it is no wonder that their present Declaration is
 entirely in the Roman Stile and Sense. However I must needs make this note,
 that your Excellency own'd to me that the whole performance was carried
 on by the Care and Importunity of a Jesuit, who I suppose might be Father
Michael, whom you sent to them on purpose; and therefore I do conclude,
 that either he, or some other of that fraternity, modell'd and drew it up for
 them, for all the World know the Methods of that cunning and indefatiga-
 ble Society.

I must

The PREFACE.

xvii

I must say the same of the *Armenians*; they are a very numerous People, but planted in several distinct places under the *Ottoman* and *Persian* Governments; there are amongst them two or three nominal Patriarchs besides the pretended one at Constantinople, and I have met with some Bishops of them here, and at *Prusa* (or as we commonly call it *Brusa*) and elsewhere, and in all that I ever conversed withall my Self, and by the common relations which I ever received from discerning Men who have lived up and down amongst them (I mean the native and homebred *Armenians*) the same profound Ignorance remains amongst them every where; and there are envious Disputes, Quarrels, and mortal hatreds amongst these their Prelates, that it is no wonder to me if several Attestations are here and there pickt up from these blind Guides, who will by importunity be brought to Subscribe any thing which they do not understand, meerly to court great Men, and to support and promote their particular Interests. As for your famous Attestation from *Ispahan*, it seems to me most evident that it was contrived, drawn up, and managed by a *Junto* or Confederacy of Latin Agents, *Father Raphael* a *Capucin*, *Kelenter* (that Rich, Powerfull and profest Papist,) and *Peter Badi*, who had been taught and educated in Rome, who took all the pains imaginable to oblige your Potent Monarch, and gratify your Excellency in your desires; for those *Armenians* themselves are confessedly own'd to be all a most wretched, illiterate, ignorant sort of people, and were not in the least able to frame such a formal Declaration, and so artfully to aim it against the pretended Western Hereticks.

* p. 14.

What proof can your Excellency make by the Perotes Testimony? I know them all to be of the *Genoese* race, and that they were profest Papists from their Original; and many of them Marrying with Greeks have mutually mixt and blended their religious Worship together. Many of your Huguenot French Watchmakers here are Married to Greeks, and they and their Wives come to our Sacrament and receive it at my Hand, and after our way, and some few of them with their Wives communicate with the Dutch; this makes altogether as much against you, as the other does for you. There is no doubt but that the Greek Papasses may carry their Consecrated Mites sometimes to Latins who are Sick, and the Latins may do the like to some Greeks; but they never saw the Greeks carry their *Viaticum* any where with any pompous Procession through the Streets as the Latins do, neither do any Worship it as it pass by. I have seen many of our Greek Servants my self go in *Maschera* and Disguise to St. *Francis* on *Ash-wednesday*, and my own Man was once (as Incognito) one of them; and there they slash themselves in a most frightfull Heathenish manner; but they had all first harden'd themselves with so much Drink as some of them when they bowed were ready to fall on their Noses. These Practises give me a very good account how matters pass elsewhere where Greeks and Latins here in the East live together; poor ignorant People, silly Men and especially Women, are easily seduced by the crafty Emissaries who make a prey of them; I am fully perswaded that those vigilant, diligent, *Peripateticks* are every where at the the bottom of all. It is possible enough that some well-meaning Greeks have carelessly, and perhaps too freely, talkt with these Perotes about religious Matters in the *Habif-sine* way, to be easy with them and to cover their own Ignorance, in things which neither the one nor the other thoroughly understood; for the case stands thus, Greeks that seem to favour Popery are said by others to be Schismaticks or Latinized; those who seem against it are by others branded with the name of Calvinists; and this makes them either conceal and dis-

* p. 15.

Pet. 5. 8.

semble their minds to one another, or by degrees to become indifferent as to all disputes that they may live in quiet. N.B. An English Apothecary of my intimate Acquaintance Married a Greek Woman, and both of them were made Papists by the importunity of the *Dominicans* their Neighbours, who em-ploy'd the Man when any of their Convent were Sick or indisposed; but

N.B. Yet this very Man after I came from *Constant.* grew Wiser, and repenting re- turn'd to our Communion again and died in it.

We

* p. 15. ' we know very well what a Potent Idol Interest is commonly made over all the World.

' Father Zampi in the *Mengrelian* Certificate, which your Excellency shew'd me is said to have translated it; but he there owns himself to be an Emissary; and the *Georgian* Bishop, (I doubt not in the least,) who is said to have drawn it, had been Educated in the same College at Rome, or at least had had his advice and direction in the whole affair; for from whence else had they the notion of the *Substance of Bread being Anilated and Transubstantiated into the true Body of Christ*? The native *Mengrelians* are sufficiently known to be all, as for Learning, most Miserable Wretches; and it is very remarkable that the Articles are made in the plural number, *they declare, they observe*, (that is, the *Mengrelians*) &c. so that this is in reality only the private Attestation of the *Georgian* Latified Bishop, and not of the particular *Mengrelians* themselves.

' What can I think or say otherwise of the pretended Attestations from the Patriarchs of *Antioch*, they are all so particularly drawn up against the French Calvinists and other Protestants in Europe, and their Opinions so punctually specified in every Article, that it is most evident to me that some sagacious Emissaries were the Authors of them. Whence else had these Prelates and their Associates these Informations, who understand not one word of Latin nor ever saw any of Calvin's or his Disciple's works? Who taught them, that each of the two Species, either of the *Bread* or of the *Wine*, by its self, is the entire Body of Christ, when we know very well that in the East both Elements are always received by every Communicant, and the fancy of Concomitancy, is neither known nor understood by them? So also, that only the Appearances or Accidents of *Bread and Wine* remain? Whence had Meletius, a pretended Patriarch of *Alexandria*, that express piece of Bellar-

De Eucharist. l. 2. c. 15. p. 201. c. * p. 16. mine's Sophistry, which you mention'd to me once out of a letter of his, that the Elements are at the same time plain Antitypes, or Figures of Christ's entire Body and Blood, and yet they are the very true Body and Blood themselves; they are real Figures of themselves, and yet their very selves too at the same moment? I beseech your Excellency to consider well this one Syllogism, *Typus Corporis Christi eodem tempore ac sensu non est ipsum Corpus Christi; Elementum, seu Panis, est Typus, & manet Typus, Corporis Christi; Ergo elementum seu Panis eodem tempore ac sensu non est ipsum Corpus*. As your Excellency hath told me that a Jesuit procured these from *Antioch*; so for my part I must conclude that he and his Brethren Formed and Worded every one of them. In one place it is plainly confessed that these Articles or Queries were sent from you, and presented to those Fathers at *Antioch* by Father Michael a Jesuit; and though there had been no such open declaration made, any unprejudiced Man, that seriously peruses them, must needs Imagine that they were all forged by a Latin hand; the continued Calumnies and Invectives carried on all along against the French Calvinists, and the pure Scholastick Terms, and the common stile sufficiently do evince it; for thus they write, *these French Calvinists say, this and that, these Prevaricators or Impostors have said; these Hereticks say; these People have said; these Hereticks believe, &c.* These very same things we may also plainly observe in the Attestations of the *Coph-*

tes, those miserable Wretches sufficiently noted by all for their horrid Confusion and Ignorance.

' The World may well guess at the Learning and Capacity of these Eastern Prelates, by a Letter from a Patriarch of *Alexandria* to our Ambassador Sir Dan. Harvey. About a year before I came into Turkey, Joakim Patriarch of *Alexandria*, an old Man, was turn'd, or rather bought, out of his place by his own Nephew; and being Persecuted and Prosecuted for Debts which he had Contracted, he fled to *Constantinople* and desired my Lord to let him have his Protection in his Palace. I beseech your Excellency freely to tell me

me whether by this you can think that he was at all able to dress up any tolerable Attestation himself, much less any such an accurate and cunningly contrived one as those which you have shewn me. Sir *Dan. Harvey* hath shewn you the Original and this is an exact Copy of it. * p. 16.

*Excellentissimo & illustrissimo Legato felicissime bretanie
Domino Danieli Harvey, Joacim gratia Dei
papa & patriarcha magne civitatis Alexandrie*

S. P.

Notum facio vestra excellentia ego patriarcha alexandrinus, quod ab injustitia impiorum expulsus sum ex alexandria jam unum annum & aberro sursum & deorsum, ut servam meam vitam ab inimicis meis, qui volunt occidere me sine causa. non habeo igitur alibi refugium nisi vestram excellentiam. quoniam ab initio vestra domus est refugium patriarcharum. ideoque rogo illustrissime ut des mihi unum cubiculum in palatium tuum obscuri metem quia periclitur notus fuisse, in domis grecorum habitans: vale & dignaris respondere nobis, per vocem Jeremie servi tui

Ιωακειμ ελεω θεου πατριαρχης αλεξανδριας

I suppose it was Indited and Written by some one which he thought the learnedest Latineſt of his Associates, and then he firmed it Scurvily with his own hand. One *Cyril* (much such another) pretending to be Patriarch of *Antioch*, and then in distress, came to Sir *Dan. Harvey* in *January 1674*. desiring his Protection and Assistance; He was a young Man, and seem'd not much above two or three and twenty years old; but Sir *Daniel* gave him no relief, and shew'd him as little respect. I could add many more remarks to this very same purpose, but I humbly conceive that it already appears most evident that the Articles were all ready drawn and stated by your Emissaries, and being thus formally offer'd, were through opportunity and importunity subscribed by these poor ignorant and misguided People.

Give me leave now most humbly but freely to consider how these Subscriptions were procured. We all know very well what immense Glory, Authority and Power the very name of your great Monarch hath throughout all the Dominions of the East; as being stiled *the most Christian King, and the Protector of all who there profess and Worship the Blessed Jesus, as the eldest Son of the Church*; and your Excellencies Renown and Patronage, as his Ambassador, flies every where upon the Wings of the same Fame, and is coextended and jointly esteemed with it. Now since the *G. Seigneur*, and other Infidel Princes, (to speak plain truth) are the Heads or sole Disposers of all publick promotions and affairs in all the Christian Churches of the East, who can pretend to a greater Interest with them, *then Lewis the Great, and the most Illustrious Marquis de Nointel*, his most splendid and every way most Excellent Ambassador? And therefore it is most plain to me, first that all Christian Prelates, and great Men in the Eastern Church, must in common reason on all occasions most diligently court, and apply themselves to your singular Protection. Next there ever was for many Ages past, and at this very day there are every where Parties and Divisions and Ambitious Men amongst them; what a vast weight then, in their Differences, must the French support carry with it? Pardon me, great Sir, if I here presume only to mention the Illustrious Character which your Excellency hath generally and most justly gain'd amongst all that know You. Your Noble and most generous Temper; the splendor and Magnificence of your Palace, and of your Manageing your whole Family in every thing, whereby you here so fully express the very Glory of the Court of France; the State and Grandeur of your Equipage and Attendance in all your Progress to *Athens*, through the *Archipelago* and *Palestine*; at *Jerusalem* and elsewhere; the pro- * p. 17.

* p. 17.
Journal, p. 25.

prodigious expence which you were at, (which, as I remember, you told me amounted to much above ten thousand pounds of our English Money;) God forbid that I, who so well know your unspotted Honour and Integrity, should harbour the least thought that any part of it was spent in any Intriguing or Mercenary manner; yet I cannot but think that all these Accomplishments, and your Majestick Appearance, must needs every where dazle the Eyes of all Spectators, and wonderfully influence both great and small, and create in them a most profound respect and Reverence for your Person, and as great an Inclination and Readiness to gratify you in your requests, for Subscribing what was so artfully drawn up by your Emissaries, and what the Subscribers themselves so little considered or understood.

* p. 18.

My Lord, we in England know very well the common Methods which are there used to get Subscriptions to our frequent Addresses, and publick Petitions to our King in matters both of Church and State; and how Votes are procured for Candidates in all Elections. The Authority and Countenance of great Men, the active warmth and noise of zealous Sticklers, the Easiness or Indifferency in the middle sort of People, but above all *that potent Idol Interest*, every where from the highest Managers of parties to the lowest Freeholder amongst them though he be but a Cobler, will infallibly determine all controversies and carry each Cause; and the very same things usually influence our Committies of the Elections of our Commons in Parliament; so that I cannot think that the Subscription or Vote of every particular Man is really and steadily the sincere studied Opinion of his Heart; and Men all over the World, in the East as well as in the West are still alike, *meer Men*. Besides all this (not to mention all the time since *Paschasius* his Dream, nor the many years that *Constantinople* and *Jerusalem* were in the Latins hands, when the Natives in both places were (as is confessed by all) egregiously Ignorant; and the Latin Priests, as they were more Learned, so without all Question they were every where very Zealous and Active amongst them. I cannot but consider the numerous Missionaries which were since set up by your Henry the fourth, and those yearly sent out from the College de *propaganda Fide* at Rome, amongst the miserably Ignorant Easterlings, (*Georgians, Persians, Greeks, Nestorians, Jacobites, Melchites, Coptes, Ethiopians, Armenians, &c.*) under pretence of Instructing them, and not for the Conversion of Mahometans or Infidels; and thence I cannot but conclude that these Skilfull, Witty, and Vigilant Agents have very easily insinuated the Latin Doctrines by degrees into those who had neither Learning nor Courage to oppose them.

Joh. 10. 4.

It is very plain to me that meer Interest guided the Eastern Prelates, and when *the Shepherds are once misled, the Flocks* (as the Custom is still there in the common Herds of Sheep,) *will follow them*; their Stamp or Seal alone charms the common Priests as much, as the common Shepherd's Pipe or Whistle, calls and brings on the following Herd. As for the Officers of Patriarchs, Metropolitans and Bishops they must all Subscribe or be turn'd out if the Patron Subscribe. I humbly and with all submission and deference beg leave to make this one poor Remark; when *Parthenius* had turn'd out *Methodius*, and did not comply with your Excellency, *Methodius* was drawn from our House, and he with the Junto of the other Expatriarchs, (*Parthenius* his Enemies) then Refugees in your Palace, by your Authority and *Panagioti's* assistance turn'd out *Parthenius*; and it was then that they subscribed that Article in favour of *Transubstantiation*; a Copy of which your Excellency was pleased to give me singly by it self in Greek and French; I hope I may freely say, that this might give us at least a just suspicion that Obligations and Respects between you were mutual; your relief and support of them in their difficulties on one side, and their obsequious gratifying your Requests on the other. And thus the *Bethlehem* or *Jerusalem* Synod was framed

framed by *Dositheus*, at your request and by your advice, as your Excellency have attested under your own hand. * p. 18.

I make no great doubt but that *Joaquim*, the above named Patriarch of *Alexandria*, when he was in distress would have comply'd with Sir *Dan. Harvey*, in any thing of this nature, provided that he could have been restored by him. And I am apt to think the very same thing of another Patriarch from that corner, who in his troubles for want of Money pawn'd all his Jewels, and the holy Vessels, and rich Robes, and Utensils of his Church to our Mr. *Hunt* Merchant at *Aleppo*; but the true Patrons and Sons of our English Church are not, pro cauponanda Fide, for any such bargaining or trucking to maintain our Faith. Indeed as matters now stand in the East, it would have been but in vain, for since the Turk, and other Infidel Princes there, put all promotions, and differences about matters of Faith, in the Christian Church, to Auction; the Latins can and assuredly will, be the highest Bidders.

Now as to this second Point, how these Subscriptions were procured, give me leave briefly to sum up the foregoing particulars. The great Authority of the most Christian King in all the East; the profound respect there for your Excellency his most Magnificent and Glorious Ambassador; all the Jesuitical means and methods of your most dexterous and most vigilant emissaries, who by their perswasive Arts, and various applications, could overcome or quash all those many Reasons, which you your self with Triumph have told me, were pretended by many many considerable Greeks and others against their Subscribing; the foul Calumnies and mortal Hatred every where raised by them against the Western Hereticks; the private Interest in many leading Prelates amongst them; the Stupidity and love of ease and quietness in the richer Priests; the deplorable Ignorance of all. From these and many other such Considerations, I most humbly confess, that I must absolutely conclude, that these Subscriptions were not so fairly and duely procured as they ought to have been. * p. 19.

Now in the third place I cannot conceive what weight or authority these Subscriptions (procured under these circumstances) can have with any judicious and impartial Searcher after Truth. Where Reverence and Fear; private Interest; compliance and easiness of Tempers; plain Ignorance of the whole matter, Stupidity, or Inadvertency, or want of Judgment; strong and earnest Importunity pressing upon all these Advantages; I say, where all these Motives shall manifestly enter and influence any Action, I cannot but suspect the Sincerity, Uprightness and Validity of it. And though Sir *Dan. Harvey* and I; *Myn Heer Collier* the Dutch Resident, and his Minister Mr. *Dankers*; Our and the Dutch Consuls, and their Chaplains at *Smyrna* and *Aleppo*, saw most of these Subscriptions and Attestations, and all could and would, on just occasion own, that there were indeed such collected and publicly shew'd up and down; yet not one of us honestly could, or ever did, declare or believe that the Matters contain'd in them were the real Faith or Sentiments of the whole Eastern Church, or the positive, firm and clear belief of every particular Subscriber. We have had many many Instances in things of this Nature in England; I shall name but that one of *Richard Cromwell*, the then pretended Protector of the Nation; flaming Addresses were made to him, subscribed by the Freeholders of all the Counties in the Land, cunningly contrived, and as artfully procured by the Heads and chief Abettors of the Usurpation; If some Men of Note once Subscribed, enough of the vulgar, ignorant, hot-headed unstable Mob, would blindly and eagerly follow; which is your very Case, get but some Patriarchs, Metropolitans, or great Men to favour your design, and their very Names will be warrant enough for the meaner sort to take all or any thing upon Trust. After *Richard* was laid aside, it happen'd sometime that some of his Friends dined with him, and a Discourse arose about the vain Formality and empty Compliment of Addresses. The poor ejected Gen-

tleman

- * p. 19. 'tleman with a deep sigh said, *that their Observation thereon was very just and true; for, said he, I have in an old Trunk above all the Lives and Fortunes (the common Phrase and Flight of their flattery) of all the Com-mons of England; there they will do no harm as they did me no Good.*
- Cap. 2. 'He and all the Nation knew very well how such Subscriptions were procured, and they all have sufficiently seen how little they signified. For my own part I am fully assured of *as little Fruit*, but I cannot say, of *as little harm*, that will accrue to your Cause from these which you have collected. Most Excellent Sir, I most humbly beg that you would be pleased but to consider what the *Jerusalem* Synod it self (which I have seen as attested under your own hand) hath declared concerning this Point, and I cannot but think that then you must be of my mind. *Every Article, or matter of Faith, or of any other Ecclesiastical important Subject proposed in writing by a Patriarch, ought to be Synodical; that is, written, (or drawn) with the deliberation of a Synod, and Synodically examin'd and (then) subscribed.*
- Cap. 2. 'It ought to have the Sentence (or Approbation) and the Subscriptions of all the most holy Patriarchs, and the most common (or universal) consent of all the Clergy, and of all others who are conspicuous for their Holiness and Wisdom, so that scarce any one might contradict it. Now you will find all your Attestations most Miserably defective in all these most necessary Circumstances. There cannot be the least pretence of any Synodical Authority for them. Did the most ignorant Subscribers, *Armenians, Cophes, Mengrelians* and the rest, Deliberate, Examine, and Debate the Articles contain'd in them? Or were they in the least capable of doing it? The Subscribers had indeed learned to make some formal, affected Scrol, or Cypher, but I question much whether there were many able to write their very own names truly and legibly.
- * p. 20.

These and many more such were the usual Notions and Subjects of the many and several Discourses which his Excellency was pleased most Graciously to admit me to, both before Sir *Dan. Harvey* and privately with himself. He was a Person of a most candid Disposition, and he gave me a fair and generous Liberty of Speech, which I always used with so much Humility and Deference to him as there never happen'd the least Warmth or Passion between us. He was a great lover of Antiquities, and had made a Glorious Collection of Marbles with antient Inscriptions, and of innumerable Drawings and Descriptions of whatsoever was Remarkable in his Voyage and Progress all over the *Archipelago* and elsewhere. I having some Knowledge in these things found my company very acceptable to him; and I had the Liberty of introducing all curious Travellers (who were pleased to Visit me at *Constantinople*) into his Presence; who, with a most obliging Frankness and Courtesy, gave us leave to view and note whatever we found and counted observable amongst all his numerous Rarities. He was much delighted with our Reflections and Reasonings upon them, which I perceived was not so well liked by some Latin Emissaries who haunted him; for he one day visiting Sir *Dan. Harvey* told us, *that Padre Carnizaris (the Commissario of the Latins at Jerusalem) was mad; for he had had the confidence to write to him, and tell him, that he was more intent about, Bagatelle e Coglioniariè, Trifles and Fooleries, then about the good of the Church.* This made me more cautious whenever I conversed with *P. Carnizaris*, or any other, de cette Fourmilliere, of those sorts of *Myrmidons*, who swarm'd every where in Turkey.

Mart. 19.
1674. 5.

In the Marquis's private Discourses with me about his Rarities, it was impossible but sometimes Notions about religious Matters would be intermixt; and if he told his Creatures of the freedom of Speech which he allow'd me, it might well raise some Jealousies in them that I might some ways shake him or cool him a little in his Zeal; But I solemnly declare that I never perceived any design in him upon me, and I could not be so Senseless and Foolish as to aim at any such Effect upon him, only by my simply and calmly acquaint-

acquainting him with the Substance and Reasons of my own Belief; as I have Discoursed with many others, Turks, Jews, and the like, only for Information without disputing any thing.

His Excellency very often mention'd, *το πολυβούλλον*, that general and most celebrated Assertion of the Latins, *that all their Doctrines and Practices were handed down to them by an infallible and uninterrupted Tradition from Christ himself and his Apostles. That all their seven Sacraments, and their very manner of Celebrating them, were all prescribed and delivered by words of their Mouth, and not in writing, to all their Profelites, and so descended to all succeeding Generations.* I wonder then whence came that great and strange variety of these things amongst them. Not to mention the time of keeping their Easter, the use of Images and Pictures, (which, as I have elsewhere noted, the first Converts by their Law abominated as being Jews,) the, *Ἀγάπαι*, Love Feasts, Deaconesses, and many other Primitive Usages afterwards abolished; How came, *ὁ ἄγρος*, the Loaf at the Eucharist (be it one or more, Fermented or not Fermented,) to be turn'd into a Wafer by the Latins, or into eleven little Bits by the Greeks? Were either of these, or a hundred more such Practices used by Christ, or known to his Apostles? I find a full and an Ingenuous Confession (how all these Matters came to pass) dropt either by Inadvertency, or by the force of plain Truth, in a Learned but very Partial Abettor of the Roman Doctrines. *It was, saith he, a most cunning Thought of some of the, not Ignoble, Schoolmen, who, when many Problems of curious Enquiry, about the Doctrine of the Sacrament, crouded in upon them, which they were not able to solve or reconcile with the Vulgar and commonly received Opinion, had this subterfuge, or shift, that they should assert, that most Rites, which were of a very obscure Original and Institution were delivered (by word of Mouth) by Christ our Lord to his Disciples, in their meeting at their last Supper. This, saith he, ought not to be disallow'd, or counted beyond Opinion and Faith; yet they have produced scarce any one of the holy Fathers who clearly said it. The very same Tradition only is pleaded also for what is Instituted, and Published about their Ordinations. The same is likewise pretended for the Rites of Elections and Consecrations of all the Clergy, and are declared to have been thus exactly observed in the Greek Church from Phillip the Emperor, Anno Christi 246. and Constantine the Great, Anno 306. to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks; where he freely gives us this very true account of the ways and Methods practised there to this very day. Since the Grand Seigneur is Head of the Greek Church, they Elect, saith he, and Ordain only him Patriarch of Constantinople, quem, *Χρυσὸς ἢ Χρυσὸς*, designaret, whom Gold, not God, or Christ designs. Let that stand as an indelible Mark of the very little or rather no Authority, which the pretended Councils or Conventicles of such Mercenary Patriarchs will deserve, or can find amongst all understanding and sincere Judges of these matters. For it is very plain to me that at least all these various Rites and Forms and Observances, and these quite different ways of Celebrating these pretended Sacraments and the like, were invented and taken up by the chief Heads and Governors of the grand Churches in several places; some setting up their own peculiar Constitutions; many Imitating or variously or imperfectly Copying after others; most inserting Capricious fancies of their own; so that in general we must justly count them to be of meer human Authority, and not of Christ's own express Institution. For it is Impossible that this variety of Traditions should come all from one Mouth; which then of these divers and therefore uncertain Traditions can be Authentick enough to make a true Sacrament, which (as all confess) must have only Christ himself for its Author and Commander?*

In the Greek Church (according to Germanus, Cabasilas, Simeon Thessalonic. and other Interpreters and Expositors of their prescribed Practices) all their Rites have a Mysterious meaning in them; but what are the common People

* p. 20.

St. James's Liturgy. p. 34. Edit. Morel.

Haberus Archiep. p. 320. * p. 21.

U. supr. p. 322.

p. 444.

p. 487.

- * p. 21. ple the better for it? Most of the wisest Priests can give no ready account at all of these matters. I am very confident that the very best of them do not bear the hundredth part of these Notices in their Memory; ask the meaning of any of the most common Rites amongst them, and they shall be utterly to seek, or give answers quite different from one another. This is the Declaration of Cabasilas, *Universa Mysteriorum celebratio est veluti una quaedam Imago unius corporis reipublicæ servatoris, omnes ejus partes ab initio ad finem, per ordinem & inter se convenientiam, sub aspectum deducens.* The (μυστηρια) whole Celebration of the Mystery (or whole Synaxis) is as it were one certain Image, ἐνὸς σώματος & τῆς τῆς σωτῆρος & πολιτείας, of the one Body of the Polity of our Saviour, that is, of the whole Oeconomy or Practice of Christ, bringing under our sight, or view, all its parts from the beginning to the end by order and agreement amongst themselves, and we have the same more fully, what things, saith he, are done before the Sacrifice, are those which were before his Death; to wit, his coming, ἀνάδειξιν, his being shewed or declared, his perfect Manifestation. But what things are done after the Sacrifice (signify) the Father's promise, as he himself hath said, the Descent of the Spirit to the Apostles, the Conversion of the Gentiles by them to God and their Communion. And all the whole Celebration of the Mystery (or Synaxis) is as one certain body of (his) History from the Beginning to the End, being entire and agreeing with it self; so that every one of those things which are done or said, conduceth separately something to the perfection of the whole. Therefore that part of the whole Synaxis or Administration which concerns the Eucharist is only to express Christ's Passion. And the Invocation seems to me to have been first designed only then to follow it, to represent the Descent of the Holy Ghost in its proper place, after the Suffering and Ascension of Christ, according to his own Promise made before his Death. For to compleat the whole Oeconomy or Symbolical History of Christ, and by this in the last place, the fulfilling of his Promise; we have, in this my following Treatise in the Synaxis, a short Summary of the chief parts of it; the Cross, the Sepulcher, the Resurrection, Ascension; and then remain'd only the Descent of the Holy Spirit, which there they then immediately pray for upon Themselves and upon the Gifts, that such a Change may be made to all those who receive them, as is specified afterwards, and (as I have noted in my Treatise) all this was at first but one continued Prayer, but afterwards was interpolated as now we find it. Yet this whole matter is now very immethodical; for this, or some other Prayer for the Descent of the Holy Ghost, should rather have been set just before that which you have towards the end of the Synaxis; where the Priest to represent Christ's Ascension goes out of the, ἀγιον ἔθνος, Chancel into the Prothesis, where he recounts that Christ had now fulfilled all his Father's Dispensations; there then remained nothing but his fulfilling his Promise of sending the Holy Spirit; and then would have been the properest place to have Pray'd for it.

Now this whole Symbolical way of setting forth the History of Christ, could not be thus delivered by Christ himself; for whence then came it into the pretended Liturgies of James, Chrysostom, Basil and the rest with that variety? Whence came so many different Copies of them, especially of that of Chrysostom, which Goar himself complains of, as you find in the following Treatise and my notes upon it? All this most evidently prove my above said Assertion, that these were only invented or taken up by the Governors of several Churches in several places, and could not be the entire or certain Traditions of Christ himself; much less therefore be of purely divine Authority; Patriarchs dictated or imposed what they pleased, and the Ignorant Multitude receiv'd it. Besides they have been manifestly patcht and interpolated; and either ignorantly or carelessly jumbled together by later hands. Though the first Composer or inventor of this Symbolical way of the whole Synaxis, might perhaps intend thereby to represent Christ's History to the Communicants, and thereby

thereby briefly to enliven their Commemoration of it in them; yet following Ages have made it a confused, and, (to most of them) *an unintelligible Mystery indeed*; and the Celebration of the Eucharist therein, being *only part of the representation of the whole Oeconomy*, must therefore needs be thought by them to be but only *Symbolical or Figurative it self*; you may see this more fully and plainly in the following Treatise.

The Marquis in answer to this always apply'd that other common Notion of the Latins, that although the Greeks might have many Rites and Observances in the Celebration of the Eucharist much different both from the Latins, and from many of themselves, yet they all alike believed *the Thing*, that is, *the Doctrine of the real Presence*, and a Corporeal Presence, such as is pretended to be in *Transubstantiation*. Christ himself hath promised, *where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them*; and again, *Lo, I am with you always even unto the end of the World*. In both these places is plainly promised, *a real, true, and continual Presence*; but can it be meant of a Bodily Presence, such as when Christ appear'd to the two Disciples which were going to Emmaus? Or, as he stood in the midst of his Disciples after the Resurrection, and shew'd unto them his Hand and his Side? His Feet, his Flesh, and his Bones? Let us see how the Latins themselves expound these places; surely they will stand by the sense of their own Doctors, especially those their topping Emiffaries, *the Jesuits*. As to the first place say they; *In my name, that is, for me, in respect of me, in regard to me, for my sake, for love of me, seeking nothing but me and my Glory*. In my name, that is according to some, for Christ, so as they may seek nothing but him and his Glory. According to others, by calling upon the name of Christ, which seems more agreeable because mention is made of asking, (or Praying in the verse before going,) according to this agreeableness with what was there said, and with the common custom of Speech, to be gathered together in the name of Christ, seems to me to be nothing else but by his Authority, as St. Paul explains it, with the Authority and Power of Christ.

I am there in the midst of them. That is, there I assist, I cooperate, and direct their desires and vows (or Prayers) and fulfill them. I am there, not only as Hilary saith, dwelling in them by my common Grace, as I am in every single Saint; but by a more eminent Presence, I am by a greater and more peculiar Help and Assistance in the middle of a Congregation of pious Souls, met together by my Authority and my command, with one Mind, and one Heart to ask it of me. We find both these Authors at last desirous to make this Promise of Christ's Presence, chiefly, if not solely, to have been given to Synods and Councils, and Consistories, or Judicial meetings of the Governors of the Church; but yet truly to me it seems most properly applicable to Christians meeting at the Eucharist; for that is called by way of Excellence, the Communion, the publick Office whereby we testify our perfect Agreement touching every thing that we then ask; the whole desire of our Hearts is thus to agree, to be united to Christ our Head, and to one another as fellow Members of his Mystical Body.

Let us now consider the second Text. *Lo, I am with you always; as well as I am God, as, as I am Man, by my present Help, Grace, Strength, Comfort, Direction, Deliverance, which I will always afford you and your Successors; whereby I will make all hard things easy to you.—The World shall first cease to be, before my Presence in the Church shall fail.—You shall rule the Church visibly, but I will govern and Protect it Invisibly. I will ask the Father and he shall give you another Paraclete, that he may remain with you for ever, even the Spirit of Truth*. He here (perhaps unawares) rightly own'd Christ's Presence to be *Invisible*, but in what follows he with the Schools Sophistically endeavor to hide it under the Species.

Lo,

* p. 23. *Lo, I am with you.* Some of the old Interpreters said it was by his
 Maldon. in lo- *divine Nature, as being by it Present every where; but this his Presence here*
 cum. *with the Apostles, must be meant in a more peculiar way then it is with e-*
 Mat. 28. 20. *very Creature, with Beasts, with Men both good and bad. It therefore sig-*
 Joh. 14. 16. *nifies that Christ would be with them, by the Holy Spirit which he would*
 7. 8. *send them, to teach them all Truth, to direct and govern them. All which*
things are indeed very true, but other antient Expositors seem to me to have
best explain'd the place; that Christ might speak not only of his Divine,
but also of his Human Presence, not that as he was a Man he would be pre-
sent with his Apostles in (or with) his Body, but that he calls his Favour and
his Help, his Presence; and that he would afford that to them, not only as
he was God, but as he was Man; for he is said to be with them, because
he would by his help be with them in all things, as God is said to have
been with Joseph. Here they plainly own to be meant, not any Presence of
 Sup. 10. 13. *Christ's Body, but only of his Holy Spirit; whose Favour, Help, Comfort,*
Direction and Grace is truly his real Presence; which according to his Pro-
mise, was ever believed to be Performed to us in all our sacred and solemn Meet-
ings; our publick Fasts and Humiliations, our Prayers, Supplications, Praises
 Church Cate- *and Thanksgivings; especially in those two only divine Ordinances (as being*
 chism. *plainly Instituted by himself) as generally necessary to Salvation, that is to*
say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. The Elements in both are San-
ctified alike by the real Presence and Assistance of the same most Holy Spirit.
The Bread and Wine in one, are no otherwise in Substance changed, then the
 * p. 24. *Water is in the other; but both are now no longer Common, but are alike Con-*
secrated or made Holy, to the Intent and Use for which Christ himself appoint-
ed them, as Irenæus and all the Primitive Fathers unanimously teach us. The
very pretended Liturgy of Chrysostom (before it was Interpolated) said the
same thing, μεταβαλὼν ὡς γυνάδει, changing so as it may be to the Receivers,
for the Sobriety of their Mind, the Communion, or Communication of the
Holy Spirit, &c. If the Latins had rested in these words of the antient Fathers,
μεταβάλλειν, μεταποιεῖν, and the like, to change; and not invented, and as bold-
 p. 253. *ly Asserted, that most absurd Mode, of Substantially changing the Elements,*
we might have been at peace to this very hour. The Synod of Jerusalem,
(though perhaps unawares) put an honest and fuller Interpretation upon the
 Mat. 28. 20. *Text, 'the Lord saying, that he would be with us forever, although he is*
'with us by other means of Grace and of his Benefactions, yet by a more
'Excellent manner he dwells in us, and is with us by the Episcopal Administra-
'tion, and is united to us by the holy Mysteries, or Sacraments; so that his
real Presence is the very same in Baptism and the Supper of our Lord, which
are both alike of his own Institution; and Christ's Bodily Presence is no more
real, nor more necessary, in one then in the other, for the affording his Assist-
ance, and divine Help.

It is the common Maxim, or Cant rather, of the Latins, that it is enough
 for a good Popish Christian, to believe the thing as their Church believes
 it, without making any Reflections about it. So then the most Ignorant
 wretch amongst them that only saith, that he believes that what he receives
 in the Eucharist is the Body of Christ, nay, his Blood too, (though if he be
 a Layman he receives not one drop of the Wine) believes Transubstantiation
 as truly as Bellarmine himself, or the cunningest Schoolmen ever did; though
 he cannot answer you one word if you ask him, what he means by Christ's Body
 and Blood? Is it his very Flesh and Bones entire, which hang'd upon the
 Cross, which he now takes into his Mouth, and grinding it with his Teeth
 then swallows down? Is the same Morfel, not only, that very Body, but
 also that very Blood too which he then shed there? If he believes not this
 very thing, he believes not Transubstantiation. If he believes not this, he
 believes he knows not what. With the outward words which he speaks,
 Rom. 10. 8, 9. there must be an inward steady Thought to accompany them, or else his
 10. only

only saying, *that he believes*, is no more *true Belief*, (as I have elsewhere noted) then the prating of a Pye or Parrot.

The learned Marquis often offer'd at an Evasion in this Point, and said that all Christians might well have then *a real Notion of some kind of a Corporeal Presence of Christ*, though the weaker and meaner or more vulgar sort of them might not be so clearly informed of it, as the more apprehensive and refined ones were. But was the true Sense and plain Belief of this material Point concerning the *Bodily Presence of Christ* in the Sacrament, so obscure as to be intended for, or Confined to, only some few Ripe-witted, Intelligent or Speculative Persons; or was it so plain (which it ought to be) as to be extended to every poor Soul though of the meanest Capacity? The meanest Communicants, if they have but common Sense and the Fear of God, can readily apprehend and feel in their Souls *this Spiritual and truly real Presence of Christ* which I contend for at the Eucharist; but to say that *the Bodily Presence was a great Mystery* much concealed at first, (yet more to some, and less to others, but alike necessary to all) is a meer Jest. The absurd Mysteries indeed of the Heathens were for shame *concealed* amongst those Priests, which were properly and peculiarly belonging to their several distinct Deities, and were carefully kept from the vulgar whom they counted *Prophane*, according to these and the like sayings, *Procul hinc Procul inde prophani; odi prophanum vulgus & arceo*, Away, away, get you out all ye prophane Wretches; yet notwithstanding all their closest Secresy we find dropt up and down in their own Authors sufficient accounts of their abominable Practices. Now if this Notion of *Christ's bodily Presence* had been the belief of the Primitive Christians, it is impossible that it should not have been discovered, at least by some of the Proselytes or Professors of it. For *Pliny* to *Trajan* saith, that he made the strictest enquiry possible after the Christians Practice; *he question'd*, Ancillas, *two of their Maid-Servants* about it, and either *used*, or at least threaten'd, Tormenta, *Torments*, or Violence, *to make them Confess*; Now it is impossible, that all the Primitive Believers should be such, *ἐξέμωθοι*, *absolute Rulers of their Tongue*, but that some at least of the weaker sort, would have told him of this Mystery, if there had been any such amongst them. He tells us truly of *their Sacrament*, or Oath, *which they took*, or made, *to live Holy and Blameless Lives*; that was a sufficient sign of their *belief of Christ's Spiritual Presence*. He saith, *that they did eat together*, and though that must needs have given a fair and full occasion to have had some notice of *their Eating of Christ's Body*, (if that had been then their belief,) yet we find not there the least thing like it. I must have the very same thoughts of the times of *Celsus*, *Porphry*, *Hierocles*, and the rest of the Inquisitive Enemies of the Primitive Christians; especially *Julian*, who had been Initiated in that Religion. If there had been any such absurd *Tenet* amongst the Christians of those days, it seems to me utterly Impossible that they should not, some ways or other, have heard of it; and as opprobriously and bitterly exposed it and exploded it, as the present Turks and Mahometans do now; who every where brand the Papists with those abominable names, *Allahyerler*, *Allahyenenter*, *Allahiencingter*, *God-Eaters*, *Devourers of God*, meaning thereby, that they first pretend to make a piece of Bread, *Christ*, *their God*; and then *they Eat him*. I would very fain know how many Turks, or Jews, or Heathens, the Pious and Zealous Missionaries of Rome; *those Religious Propagators of Faith*, have made, or can make, Proselytes to this sublime belief of *Christ's Bodily Presence*; Ask any one of those three Eastern People, who shall see, and Smell, and Taste or Eat, what the Latins or Greeks lay *Consecrated* upon the Patine at the Eucharist, *what it then is*? And I will be a *Metusate* at that very hour, if they do not say, nay (if there was occasion) soberly Swear that it is *plain Bread or Wafer* still. This Roman Doctrine seems very well and fully exprest in that Italian Distick which I have often heard.

* p. 24.

* p. 25.

1. 10. Trajan.

The P R E F A C E.

*Gli Misteri d' Iddio colui vede
Chi ferra gli occhi e crede.*

That Man the Mysteries of God doth see,
Who shuts his Eyes believing them to be.

Yet I find it most Ingenuously and as smartly confuted in a pleasant Story of the great *Erasmus* and our Famous Sir *Tho. More*; Sir *Thomas* had lent him a *Palfry*, or Pad-Nag, to carry him down to the Seaside when he left England; *Erasmus* liked him so well, as he took him on Ship-board, and carried him away with him into *Holland*. They had had many serious Discourses about *Christ's Presence* in the Eucharist, and *Erasmus* after his return thither, thus wittily, in a Letter to him, excuses himself in Monkish verse for keeping the Horse.

*Quod mihi dixisti
De Corpore Christi,
Crede quod Edis, & Edis;
Sic tibi rescribo
De tuo Palfrido,
Crede quod Habes, & Habes.*

What of Christ's Body to me
You said what you do not see,
Believe you Receive, you Receive it;
I of your Nag say again,
Though with me he still remain,
Believe that you have it, you have it.

By this we may very rationally guess, that that Wise and Learned Reformer thought, that *the Bodily Presence of Christ* in Heaven, and in the Eucharist; and *the Horse's being in Holland and England* at the same time, were equally overstretcht and absurd.

* p. 26. Christ's *spiritual Presence*, at the Eucharist, was ever (from the first Institution of it to this very day) *believed and Confessed by all true Christians*. It is very strange that we meet with nothing of *his Bodily Presence*, expressly in any of the Fathers for about five or six hundred years. The Latins argue from hence, *that it was all along believed, because it was never all this time once question'd or forbidden*. I say it is more manifest to me *that it was never thought of*. For by the same Argument they may say, *that the Glorious light of Christ's Transfiguration* (let it be God himself, or a Creature) *was also determined from the beginning*, because we read nothing of it one way or other, before *Palamas* and *Barlaam's* days. And the like may be said of many many more such useless Speculations, never dream'd of till they were long afterwards started by pragmatcal and roving Heads, busy Inquirers into, or Makers of, *Miracles*. Was the Doctrine of Accidents known to the Apostles and Primitive Christians, or was it *Concealed* until it was *Revealed* to the Schoolmen? Yet why do I say *Revealed*? They have left it ten thousand times more Intricate, Confused and Unintelligible, than *the Bodily Presence* was before. And they no more agree amongst themselves, than the Greeks do about *their, uesides, Portions*; that is, whether all are made *Christ's Body alike*, or whether only *Christ's Portion*, and that of *the Virgin Mary*, or both, are made so. By this Doctrine of Accidents I wonder that no Angelical, or rather Chimerical Doctor of their Schools, did by it attempt to persuade us, that all the old Sacrifices and legal Types of Christ were really *Transubstantiated* into Christ's very Body it self, and that nothing *remain'd* in them but the bare outward Shape, Colour, and the rest of their common Accidents. Especially me-
thinks

thinks *the Rock*, or *the Water* which follow'd them, or went with them, (which St. Paul expressly tells us was *Christ*,) might really be *the very Substance of his Body*, only Modified with the sensible Accidents of a *Rock* or *Water* without a Subject. We know that many great Men have told us that the Angels, which appear'd to *Abraham* and others of the Fathers, (and most positively *Melchisedech*) were all of them *Christ himself*. If God concealed or covered these, ἀνεξετάστα καὶ ἀνεξήγητα, *unsearchable and unintelligible things*, wo be to those bold, daring, Presumptuous Spirits who shall attempt to uncover them; for my part I shall never take *School Divinity for Revelation*. What becomes of *the Consecrated Elements* when they are gone down into the Belly? Do they (as I have often demanded) return again to *their first Essence and Nature* by a second or new *Untransubstantiation*? Or remaining (as they are pretended to be when they are first received) *still Christ's very Body and Blood*, do they circulate with our Blood and common Nourishment? Are they made part of our Bodies? Or do they pass some into the Draught, or are they evacuated some by Sweat, Spittle, Urine or otherwise? If the Metaphysicians cannot clearly answer these and thousands of such other Difficulties which arise about this Article, it rests more hidden then ever, and the more they meddle with it the farther they run into the Dark. Might they not now as well make daily disputes about *the Modes* of most of the Articles of our Faith, as well as about that of *Christ's Presence*? God made the World; was it with a turn or lave, with Levers, Axes, and Hammers? He said, *let there be Light*, had he a Mouth? Did he speak? Were the words Hebrew? I know not *the Mode* or *Manner* how God did this, but I am sure it was not thus grossly done; the same I must say of *that Mode, of a Bodily Presence*. How did the Virgin Mary bring forth a Child without the knowledge of a Man? I was told when I was at Rome that once a Jesuit taught, *that a drop of her living Blood was conveyed into her Womb, and was there brooded into a Child*. O Blasphemous Wretch! Yet I think it was as tolerable in him as that, in an Author of our own, (whom I could name) who hath Printed the Fable of Spanish Genets being impregnated by the Wind, to prove the possibility of the thing. But I shall say no more of such Extravagant, Crack-brain'd Enthusiasts, but condemn them to Bedlam, to Bleeding, to Chains, fresh Straw, and Darkneſs.

The noble Marquis many times took occasion to mention and insist upon this other common Plea of the Jesuits; *the Bodily Presence*, say they, *was certainly believed by the Apostles and the Primitive Christians, and so handed down to us from the beginning, by a continued delivery from Fathers to their Successors*; for otherwise if only *Christ's Spiritual Presence* had been then *their Belief*, it is utterly Impossible that it should ever have been afterwards changed into so amazing a Doctrine as *Transubstantiation*, without some notorious Opposition and fierce Disputes of some Learned Men or other, who lived at the time when it was first started and imposed upon the Church.

But we know that many many such Extravagant Changes have not only been Possible, but by degrees have been actually made, quietly, and without any publick reprehensions of their first Authors, and the certain date of their first Rise is unknown to us to this very day. Not to repeat *the eleven Portions* of the Greeks, or *the little round Wafer* of the Latins, taken up and used instead of a whole Loaf at the Eucharist; the various ways of Elections, Ordinations, and Consecrations, and numbers of the Clergy, or Church Ministers, used in both East and West; the many and different Liturgies and other matters of Moment which I have mention'd before; I shall here Instance in some few more (for there would be no end in naming of all,) of the notorious and pernicious Innovations and corrupt Practices, which by the Craft and Subtilty of the Devil, and the Arrogance, blind Zeal, Superstition and Ignorance of succeeding Ages, have one after another crept into the Church and by degrees have quite defiled and in a manner utterly destroy'd the Original

* p. 26.

1 Cor. 10. 4.

* p. 27.

* P. 27. riginal and Native *Beauty of Holiness and Devotion*, which alone were Taught and Practised by the Apostles and their Primitive Successors.

Was the use of the *Cup* withheld from the Laity in those days? Were they then admitted only to half the Communion? Was the *Doctrine* of Accidents then known, or indeed is it yet fully settled or understood? Was the *Doctrine of Concomitancy* taught before *Aquinas*? If he must be called for it
3. Sum. q. 76. art. 2. an *Angelical* Doctor, I shall not be so rude as to say *what Order* he was of. Was the *formal Canon of the Latins Mass* before *Gregory the Great*, or his *Scholasticus*? I have a MS. of it Translated (as it is thought) by *Bessarion* into Greek; but if the Greeks used it at the Council of *Florence*, they never used it either before or since. We are taught that the *Eucharist* was at first Celebrated or Consecrated by only the *Lord's Prayer*; and afterwards not above two or three little short Prayers were added to it; but both the Greeks *Synaxis* and the Popish *Mass* are now of quite another Contrivance, Form and Length; especially the former, for if it be fully and leasurely perform'd, it will take up some whole hours to do it in, as I my self have often been both an humble *Eye and Ear-witness*; yet both of them are so jumbled and oddly put together, that as they even now stand, they are both far enough from favouring their darling, *Transubstantiation*. It is well known that the Popes
Bellar. de miss. l. 2. c. 19, 20. patcht their *Canon*, and variously new Modell'd it, one after another according to every ones *Caprice*, or *Fancy*; and the Greek Patriarchs and Prelates (as I have elsewhere noted) did the same with their *Synaxis*. Whether Christ at his Supper used *Fermented or Unfermented Bread*, I will not here dispute; but whatever it was, I am sure it was *changed*, by either the whole Greek, or by the whole Latin Church; the one constantly using *the one*, and the other *the other*, without any dispute for about a thousand years after Christ. The like may be noted concerning the *Water* which is mixt with the *Wine* at the *Eucharist*; was it hot as the Greeks now do it, or *cold* as the Latins do it. Was the Greeks way of *plunging the Child* thrice in the *Water* at Baptism, or the Latins way of only *sprinkling or dipping* the Child once in it, Primitive? If one or the other was so, one Church hath manifestly changed the first Institution. But if the Primitive manner was for both the *Baptizer and Baptized*, to go both into the *Water* together, (as our Anabaptists pretend,) both Greeks and Latins have long ago departed from it, and changed it after their own peculiar way. It is plain that Christ brake the *Loaf* at his last Supper; but both Greeks and Latins have changed that Practice, into fancifull contrivances of their own; each differing from one another, as far as both differ from the Pattern and Example of Christ himself; and the Schoolmens heads have grown so egregiously giddy and wild about explaining of the *breaking of the pretended Body of Christ*, as should any sober Man, so far trifle away his time, as to endeavour to understand or reconcile their various Extravagancies about it, he would soon hazard the making of himself as mad as they; he might find that, their monstrous *Speculation*, very possible; *Ibi fiat Fractio ubi nihil frangitur*, there may be a real, *Formal, breaking where there is nothing broken*; but I fear it will only be in his own brains. How come the common Doxology to be differently said in the two Churches; the Greeks never used any other then this; Δόξα πατρί & υἱῷ & ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, & νῦν & ἀεὶ & εἰς τὰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, Ἀμήν. *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, both now, and for ever, and to Ages of Ages, Amen.* In the Latin Church, to this hath been added, and without any dispute on either side continued to this very day, *sicut erat in Principio*, As it was in the Beginning. If the Greeks Form was Primitive, it was a bold attempt in the Latins to patch into it this new piece (be the occasion what it will) without the Greeks consent and compliance in its daily use. Did any one for a thousand years dare, Audacter dicere, *boldly to say*, that *Auricular Confession* to a Priest and his *Absolution* were absolutely necessary to a worthy Communicant, though he was never so truly Penitent, and had most humbly confest his unworthiness before

* P. 28.

Mat. 3. 13.
Act. 8. 38.

fore to God himself? Doth this Doctrine any where clearly appear, (especially as it is now used,) to have been either Prescribed or Practised in the Primitive Ages? Did the Communicants in those days receive *the Consecrated Bread* in their Hands, or was it put into their Mouths, or laid upon their Tongues, as the Latins do? Or were both Elements put in together by *three little Sips* out of one single Spoonfull, as the Greeks now serve their *Laicks*? Was *the Consecrated Bread* kept, *ἐν ἀεροφόρῳ*, *Pixide*, a *Box*, by it to Communicate the Sick, or those who could not come to the Publick Office? I believe those words of our Saviour, (*If any Man shall say unto you, ^{Mat. 24. 23.} Lo, here is Christ, or there, believe it not,* and the rest,) were chiefly spoken of Living, pretended, *false Christs* which should soon arise; but it is said also, *they were not to seek him, ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις*, which we in English Translate, *in secret Chambers*; yet the words more properly signify, *in Graineries, Store-rooms, and Cup-boards*; surely if they were not then to seek a *Living visible Christ*, in such private places; I think we are now much more obliged not to seek *the Invisible, Glorified Christ* himself, *in Boxes* with the Latins, much less with the Greeks to seek him hang'd by the Wall in a *miserable musty Bag*. I cannot believe that it was thus in the Primitive days, though I know some People kept Pieces, or Relicks of *the Consecrated Bread*, only as Memorials of Christ's Passion; and they were sometimes abused by misguided Zealots to Superstitious ends, as I have noted of *Gorgonia* and others.

All these *notorious Changes* have been actually made in things of very great Moment and Importance; why then was it *more Impossible* for that absurd *Notion, of a Bodily Presence*, to have been by degrees brought in, then it was for these, or then it was for the Greeks *Holy Fire*, which they pretend Miraculously to fall upon Christ's Sepulcher, at *Jerusalem*, on every Easter Eve? The precise time, or the first Authors or Manners of bringing these and the like into the Church, *when, by whom, or how it was done*, may be a Controversy (as it now is) to the end of the World; but it is plain that *it hath been done*. As we commonly say, *Rome was not built in a day*, so there was long time, and various Arts and Methods successively required to improve them, and from their first Seeds to cultivate them to Perfection. But of this last Point *the Bodily Presence*, I shall again touch by and by. Therefore not searching at present farther into these and numerous other such Deeds of *Spiritual Darknes*s, I shall content my self with only some few words out of that very Learned and in many things most Ingenious Author, *Joannes Morinus*; who treating of the Latins Ordination, (which is confest by them to be a perfect and principal Sacrament,) saith to this purpose. * The Schoolmen were utterly ignorant of the Greeks manner of Ordinations, and they understood not any thing of their Language; and that it never came into their Minds to enquire what their Ordinations were, how many, or of what sort they were. For my part I doubt not but the Greeks were all that time as Ignorant of the Latin Tongue, and knew as little what the Schoolmen did in tossing, and turning and trimming the several Articles, proposed by their grand Master of the Sentences; so that the Latins might easily trump-up daily new Notions, *to Change, new Model and deform*, the primitive Sacraments and solemn Rites; and the careless barbarous Greeks all the time knew nothing of the matter. Hence we may plainly see not only a Possibility, but the highest Probability imaginable that the Latins made these foul *Changes* and Innovations whilst the Greeks slept. My Author justly approves that Maxim of the Schools, * That the Matters and Forms of Sacraments ought to be perpetual and never to be Changed; I will here my self add this reason of this maxim, they own *the Matters and Forms* to be the very Essentials of the Sacraments, if any one therefore *changes those*, he must necessarily *destroy these*. But my Author tells us plain Truth, * that all the antient Fathers, both Greek and Latin, are perfectly silent as to *the Matters and Forms* of Ordination, which the Latins of latter times have made the *only substantials* of it. * And all the antient Latin Rituals are quite unlike the Modern ones which now they

* p. 28.

Mat. 24. 23.

* p. 29.

Pralim. * 4.

Ibid. ** c.

Ibid. ** a, b.

Ibid. ** b. p. 16. §. a.

* p. 29.
Ibid. **

** c.

p. 23. §. 1.

Ibid. §. 2.

* p. 30.

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they use; and therefore he justly suspected that many things, in which most of the Schoolmen place *the Sacramental Matters and Forms*, were by them added to their Rituals in process of time, and both Greeks and Latins, (but especially the latter, far more, and much later, and by little and little, and for many years) have been guilty of this crime. But he is so Just and Faithful as to speak more freely to *this Truth*, which fully satisfies me of the very first Original and Progress of all these and such other *Changes* in general. Meer historical Fables, *saith he*, when once they have seized Mens Minds, are most difficultly rooted out; and they that offer to go about to do it, are counted highly injurious to Religion it self. *And presently after he saith*, most of such Fables have been so Fortunate, as to be started in very Ignorant Ages; and therefore all have fondly embraced them, although there was no apprehension of either Reason or Truth in them. *His reason of this immediately follows*, an Opinion that hath once possessed the Minds of the People, if Religion be pretended to be in it, never wants Learned Men to defend it, because they purchase thereby to themselves the fame of remarkable Piety, and the Favour of the People. These defenders rummage all their stock of Learning, and jumble together all the Notions which they have gathered both Sacred and Profane, that they may rescue the Opinion which the People have once conceived (*or taken up*) from all the Arguments of their Adversaries, and reconcile it with antient History and primitive Practice; and when they are at a loss (*and can go no farther*) as it often happens, then, as the Tragick Poets had always a God ready, who rushing out of their Machine might explain the difficult and perplexed end of their Play, so these Men from a meer probable Action presently fly to God's Omnipotency, as if it was bound to be present (*or assistant*) to all the Fictions (*or Whimsies*) of Men that they may prevail, *or currently pass*. I solemnly protest that in my serious Judgment and fixt Opinion *this great Man* hath here fully, and perhaps (as it is sometimes his manner) designedly, dropt a very excellent and true account, how all such strange *Changes* have come to pass. *First*, Some Busy, Hot-headed, proud speculator having conceived a wild Mysterious Notion, cannot forbear to give it *Birth* by venting it to some of his Confidants; *Secondly*, Next Novelty, like the Itch or Witchcraft, never fails of Infecting others; and in time, especially in ignorant Ages, it by degrees becomes Epidemical. *One Fool*, as the saying is, *may raise a Devil, which forty wise Men cannot lay again*. This happens just so in a high-flying Paradox, especially when the Author and his airy Profelites are grown most furiously bent to maintain *the Brat*, and the People begin once to be fond of it. I could prove this by Instances enough in the Sectaries of our own days, that a perfectly new, surprizing Opinion can hardly be so Irrational, but it will soon find some Sticklers for it and Abettors of it; and the Papists themselves affirm the same in their own accounts of the *springing, and of the spreading growth* of Heresies. *Thirdly*, It will Infallibly get its full strength if their appears any Advantage or Profit to the Patrons of it. *Lastly*, When some discerning Men shall judiciously and strictly examine it, and in a manner demonstrate it to be an abominable Imposition, charging it with such Innumerable, horrid and manifest Absurdities as neither common Sense nor Reason can allow, the maintainers of it being quite puzzled, confounded, and, as we say, at their Wits end; *they fly to*, *Θεὸν ἀπὸ παντὸς*, *the Tragedians contrivance*, and shuffle all off with *God's Omnipotence*.

Let us now a little consider *the Doctrine of the Bodily Presence* according to these four Remarks of this Worthy Author. For many hundred years after Christ we meet with nothing of it expressly taught by any of the reputed Fathers either Greek or Latin; but we every where find that the Communicants, out of a deep Sense of *Christ's Spiritual Presence*, came to the Eucharist with a most singular Devotion; bemoaning their manifold Sins, and acknowledging their unworthiness; but yet professing their steady Faith and Hope of God's Mercy, and

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Forgiveness through his gracious Promises declared in the Gospel; and by thankfully remembering that as they were first made Members of Christ's Mystical Body, the Church, by their Baptism, so now by their hearty and real Repentance and firm Resolution of amendment of Life, they may be assured that they are Included and still continued in Christ's glorious Covenant of Grace, which he himself sealed by his bitter Passion, which they now most solemnly and reverently Commemorate.

About seven hundred years after Christ there arose some Doctors, who, leaving the usual Stile and Expressions of the former Fathers, broached some new Conceits of their own, amongst which I must reckon, the *Dad of the Greek Schoolmen*, (as we may justly call them) *John Damascen*. He departing from those Expressions of the most primitive Fathers, that there was in the Eucharist an Earthly part, the Bread and Wine, and a Heavenly sanctification; by which they were indued with a supernatural and purely Spiritual Effect upon the Communicants by the divine Operation of the Holy Ghost; I say, he leaving this Original explication of Christ's Institution, either by mistake or a meer new Conceit of his own, made two distinct Substances in it; true Bread and Wine still remaining in the Eucharist, and Christ's Divine or Glorified Body and Blood united to them, or there Co-existent with them. For he compares them to the Coal that toucht *Esaiah's Lips*, and saith, as that was not, *ξύλον αἰτός*, plain or common Wood, but Wood united to Fire; so Bread at the Communion is not, *ἄγος αἰτός*, plain Bread but united, *θεότητι*, to Divinity. (or as he call'd it a little before) *τὸ σῶμα τῆς κυρῆς τεθεωμένον*, the Lord's Deified Body. Now saith he, a Body united to Divinity is not one Nature; there is one Nature of the Body and another Nature of the Divinity which is united to it; so that both these together are not one Nature but two. Therefore, according to him, the Bread is Bread still, but not common by reason of its union with Christ's glorified Body. And a little after he saith, it is the Body and Blood of Christ tending to the Constitution, or Support, both of our Soul and Body, not being consumed or corrupted, nor going into the draught, God forbid; but into our Substance and Conservation, being as a (sacred Amulet, *ἀμυντήριον*, or) Preservative from all manner of harm, and a purge, (or Cleanser,) from all Filthiness. He still owns two distinct Substances, Bread proper for our Bodies, and Christ's corporeal Presence join'd to it, helpfull both to our Bodies and Souls; as he there illustrates it, by adulterated Gold when it is purified, the Fire that is in it worketh quite another Effect than the Gold, to which it is united, could of it self produce. So he elsewhere explains it by red hot Iron, and again more fully by a red hot Sword, which cuts as it is a Sword, and at the same time burns by force of the Fire united to it. So I have noted elsewhere, every Creature of God is good, but when (by what we call saving Grace) it is farther Sanctified by the word of God and Prayer, the same God, who first made it, can, and does, add to it a new Power of working Effects far above the natural Faculties and Virtues at first given to it at its Creation; thus it fared with *Daniel* and the three Children with him, who were plentifully sustained by only Pulse and Water with the Blessing and Assistance of God.

We commonly say indeed, good Wits may jump; but we oftner find succeeding Ages, Reform, Refine, Advance and Improve the Conceits of those who have been before them; and thus it happen'd with the Latins. *Damascen's* Notion being by some of them not so well approved, there was this amazing Fancy proposed and embraced about the next Age; that there were not two distinct Substances in the Eucharist, but that the very Substance of the Bread and Wine were changed, and made the very Substance of the real Body and Blood of Christ. Whether *Paschasius*, (as many topping Papalins themselves do positively assert) gave the first hint, or was the first Author of it, I shall not now concern my self; but all the World may see how prodigiously the Hot-headed Schoolmen have beat their

Brains

* p. 31. Brains about *this mysterious Point*, running (as the vulgar saying is,) an endless wild-goose chase after it, all cackling and Streaking confusedly amongst themselves. In following Ages there were Men of another mould, who unwarily, and variously, revived *Damascen's* Opinion of two Substances in the Eucharist; but there arose also amongst them an Irreconcilable squabble about the Ubiquity or Nonubiquity (as they call it,) the actual Bodily Presence or Absence of Christ, in, with, or about the Bread on every Altar, and at every time and place, when, and where, the Eucharist was Celebrated. All this therefore is very sufficient to persuade me, not only that it was possible for the Doctrine of Christ's Bodily Presence at the Eucharist to have been brought into the Church after many Ages which before knew nothing of it; but that it really and actually was so brought to pass, by taking both its Birth and Growth, from the restless and presumptuous Thoughts, of vain and daring Searchers after Mysteries.

I have elsewhere noted that all these three Questions, whether only, Christ's Spiritual Presence was in the Eucharist? Or whether his Bodily Presence was there also with the Elements? Or whether the Bread and Wine were destroy'd, and so but one Substance remain'd, that is, very Christ entire in their place? I say these three Points were lookt upon as only disputable Problems in *Pet. Lombard's* days; and the last was never made an Article of Faith till the Council of Lateran under *P. Innocent* the third. Now therefore if we duely examine it according to *Morinus's* second Remark, we need not wonder that by degrees even that crept into some Mens minds, and at last gain'd some confused credit and assent.

* p. 32. For first we see that nothing is more natural to most Men, then, το φιλόμυθον, the delight and love of hearing and telling strange Stories. From the first fatal curiosity of our Grandame Eve, we all more or less, hunger and thirst after Knowledge, be it good or evil. How easily and how often do cunning crafty News-mongers amuse and cheat the World in managing their dark designs, by plausible Inventions of their own? And is it not as common and easy for subtle Seminary Priests to seduce Ignorant, Biggotted, credulous wretches in matters of Religion? How naturally do Men listen to Travailleurs who relate strange and prodigious wonders, which with most of them will settle in their Memory though not fully in their Opinion? But as to this Article of *Metousiastism*, how many Men of any Learning and Capacity sufficient fully to understand it (who were not themselves, before prejudiced, for it or against it,) have attempted to give us any plain, sincere and impartial account of its being believed in Eastern Countries? As for Merchants, and ordinary careless Gentlemen (who only affect the empty name of Men who have been in many Countries) they have other matters or pleasures in their Heads then to trouble themselves with nice Metaphysical Speculations about Religion. And some perhaps may tell you that these and those People say they hold a Corporeal Presence of Christ in the Eucharist; (for all of them in this point, as in many others, go by meer hearsay,) but there is not one of either of them, or of the more learned, but unanimously will tell you of the most shamefull Ignorance and gross stupidity of the Laity, and of most of the Clergy, reigning in all places in the East wherever they have been. Therefore the reports of Merchants, and also the accounts of Travailleurs, concerning the manners and Fashions of Countries; as to *Metousiastism* must be, at most, very Imperfect and Uncertain; but as to the Peoples Ignorance, most undoubtedly true. Most pretended Christians have in them some Natural fear for God, and a common sense and general Conscience of their Duty. It seems indeed to me morally Impossible for any one absolutely to chase away, this Fear, or quite to extinguish this Light either in himself or another; But we daily see that nothing is more feasible and practicable then it is to heighten them, or a little to quicken these Embers, and sometimes to blow them up to some greater warmth, wherever they are. From this very handle all Seminaries first lay hold of their Proselytes, and then by

by the same securely lead them on to their farther purposes. It is well known that profound Ignorance had miserably spread it self over the face of the Christian Church, in those Ages when this Article of *Christ's Bodily Presence* was first moved; Men then went simply and formally on in the plain path of their Fathers; and both Priests and People walkt after *the common Customs and Rites* of the Religion of their own Country; without any over curious Enquiry or nice Consideration of what was done any where else. Hebrew, and Greek, and Latin, and other antient Languages were in a manner quite lost, and counted *meer Barbarism*; and all Polite Learning was utterly neglected. Yet there was every where an outward Pomp, and great Ceremonious State of Religion kept up; and *blind Devotion and Superstition*, the natural Children of Ignorance, were multiplied exceedingly. Now Men of Parts, of seeming Piety, and some little Learning more then ordinary, must needs appear in those days as perfect Saints or new Apostles amongst such People; whatever they should dictate would be admired and followed as coming from an Oracle. How many Millions of good Primitive Christians, now in Heaven, came for above five hundred years to the Eucharist only as being a solemn Commemoration of Christ's Death for the Remission of their Sins, which there they most humbly acknowledged; and for which they as fervently beg'd his Pardon, believing and trusting in his assured Mercies; and solemnly and firmly resolved to forsake them all, with all expressions of a hearty Devotion, firmly believing that Christ, according to his most gracious Promise, *was certainly there in the midst of them*; never in the least dreaming in those days of any of the nice Speculations, and Inventions of Men, which arose in following Ages, and are now very rife amongst us. Thus it was not impossible in after times of Ignorance quite to change the very Essentials of Religion, for it hath by degrees been actually done. A plain good Man who for a long time with hearty sorrow confessing to God his unworthiness, and resolving stedfastly to repent, had reverently received *the sacred Elements* only in Memory of Christ's dying for his Sins, and trusting in his Mercy had given him Thanks from his very Soul; when he heard these Metaphysical Men in those later days earnestly tell him *that Christ's very Body and Blood*, nay, *that Christ himself* was really and entirely there, under only the outward appearance of *Bread and Wine*, without any farther Consideration, poor Man, he will with Fear and Trembling be elevated into a perfect Extasy; especially when to prove all this they seriously relate unto him, how that many times *the Consecrated Bread* in sight of all the People hath vanish'd quite away, and *a little living Infant* hath appear'd in its place; that very often from *the Bread* hath issued perfect *Blood* upon the Patine; and ten thousand more such wonderfull Miracles and Visions and Apparitions, with which the Metaphysical Books are filled both in the East and West. I have elsewhere mention'd a fair but little Latin MS. of my own, which formerly belong'd to St. Edmund's Bury Abbey in Suffolk; it is about four hundred years old; amongst about fifty Legends therein contain'd, I will give you this short extract out of one of them, it being so fully to this Point. * One Duke Peyter's Wife had

* a grudge against one of her Neighbours. Communicating at Easter she privately kept the *Hostia*, or Bread, (*so I perceive that in those days it was taken in the Hand of the Communicants, and not put into their Mouths*) and putting it at home into a Box, she said to it, *I know that you are my Creator in the shape of Bread, you shall revenge me of any Adversary, or I will use you worse then the Jews did.* After three or four days finding no revenge made her, she put the *Hostia*, (holy Bread) mixt with the loathsome Excrements of Man and Beast into a hollow place of a Tree in her Orchard. Next year the Tree flourished prodigiously, bringing forth plenty of Leaves, Flowers, and Fruit, all most miraculously fragrant; yet this was not perceived but only by such as were first *Confest*. The Lady Dutchesse laugh'd, and said all was a meer Phantom. But being at last perswaded by the Archbishop to *Confess*, she punctually told every thing which she had

done;

Num. 32

* p. 33.

* P. 33. done; and then she also saw and smelt every thing as the others had done. They all went solemnly to the Tree, and saw a great deal of Blood flowing from it, and at last found there a little Child all Bloody; which after their Prayers was, before them all, turn'd to the likeness of Bread again, with which the Lady was Communicated, and she remain'd a faithfull Christian as to that Point ever after. When such wild amusing Stories and Dreams as these are once gravely Communicated for *Absolute Truths*, though it be at first only to vulgar Heads, they will soon grow so Powerfull and Positive, as any one that should attempt to undeceive them, would run the certain hazard of being counted a *curst Heretick* at least, if not a *perfect Atheist*; as with us in England he that shall doubt or strictly examine matters, and not rashly and heedlessly believe every old Wives Story of *Witches*, and *Spirits*, and *Faries*, and *Goblins*, will by some, even of the very Reverend and Learned amongst us be declared a *Sadducee*. I would fain see if the learnedest and ablest Man in the World can with all his Art and Skill beat out of the Greeks Heads, either great or small, the conceit of their, Βεγκόλας, Vourcolacos, that the Carcase of an Excommunicated Person shall never rot or consume, but that the Devil soon after the Person's Death possesseth it, and appears up and down in it playing a thousand dismal Pranks; or if the most powerfull Latin Exorcist can deliver the Turks from the like belief of their *Caracongelas*, the Ghost of wicked Men haunting their Houses; or the Jews Midwives from the *Lillith*, or the Dutch from their *Veldt duyvelen*, or their *Aerde* (or, *Boeter*) *Manikins*. When such extravagant Fancies or rather Frenzies as these, so easily and so generally can creep into Men's minds, and so firmly possess them; why should I think that it is Impossible for the *Metusiotas Imposture* (which is as zealously promoted and as confidently vouched as any other Absurdity that the World ever heard of,) to meet with the same success? When first it came into the

Æn. 4. 176. Air, like *Virgil's Fame*, *Parva metu primo*, with Fear it flutter'd about a little at home, being then (as is said) only a meer disputable problem. But when it was once establisht by the Authority of a Pope, and enforced by the Decree of a pretended general Council, it soon got such Strength and Power, (at least over all the Popedom,) as neither Kings, nor Princes, nor Potentates, either Civil or Ecclesiastical; much less poor Innocent, Harmless, Shiftless, Fearfull Commoners, either could or dared to oppose it; Excommunication, Deprivation, Banishment, nay Death it self being Decreed the certain Fate of any one that any ways offer'd, or were but suspected, to do it. Therefore Constantinople and Jerusalem being fallen into the Latins hands, P. Innocent would not slip this wonderfull Opportunity, but after a few years he called the Laterane Synod; wherein two Latin Nominal Patriarchs of those Places, (as elsewhere is more fully shewn,) were reckon'd for the true authentick Greek Patriarchs (who never came there,) to support its usurped Title, of being an Oecumenical or Universal Council. Now after this new, δόγμα, Article of the Metusiotas had gone on thus Triumphantly in Europe, their next design, upon this lucky Juncture, was by all means to Propagate it with the Papal Monarchy all over the Christian World. Their first Method therefore was not to carry on their Doctrine by Force and Violence abroad, as they had done it in the Pope's Dominions; but by some more gentle ways and arts, Pind. Olymp. 1. 44. ῥεγοτῶν Φένας ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον δεδαυδαμένοι ψεύδει ποικίλοις ἐξαπατῶντι μῦθοι; meer tales trim'd up with various fictitious, cheat or impose upon poor mortals Minds more then words of plain Truth. Now then can any one imagine but that the zealous Executioners of this Decree all over the East, where the Latins then rul'd, did at least by artfull Illustrations, or by pretended new Glosses and Explications of the Primitive Faith endeavour cunningly and smoothly to inculcate and insinuate it into the illiterate, credulous, amused Asiatics; as well as they had before most furiously urged it, and severely prest it upon the more discreet and therefore more stubborn Europeans at home. This soon occasion'd a grievous Faction or Schism amongst the native Greeks, whereof some

some had been thus Latinized by degrees, and others stood stanchly and stoutly to the old Doctrines, Rites and Ceremonies of their Church; in so much as the Patriarchs and Prelates themselves of *Constantinople*, and others of the chief and more understanding and upright Men, both of the Clergy and Laity left the City and their abode, and fled to their true Greek Emperor's Court at Nice and elsewhere. This great Rupture and Division after the City was regain'd from the Latins by *Mich. Palaeologus*, was fomented and raised to a prodigious heighr. For that Emperor being sorely Embarassed by Latin Princes, and dreadfully fearing that he should once more loose his Empire, thought there was no other way left for his security, but, *Græcâ Fide, by a subtle and crafty Application to the Pope*; seeming very desirous of an Union of both Churches. The Pope greedily embraced the motion, and thereupon called the Council of Lions; to which the Emperor sent *Georgius Acropolita* as his Plenipotentiary to transact all matters in his name, exactly according to the Pope's will and pleasure. This Man, as *Pachymer* describes him, was thought the fittest Person for his purpose; *being as my Author saith, one of Erudition, and Cunning, and of a very little tender Conscience, and one who was thought to have very little regard to that which Right and Duty directed him to in managing affairs.* *Allatius* endeavours, after his Parasitical way, to vindicate his Uprightness and Sincerity; yet the Council it self, as *Labbe* hath set it forth, sufficiently shews him all along to have been but a meer juggling Sophister; especially in the Oath which he took in the Emperor's name, and in the Oath which he took for the Greeks, as appears by the Note there made upon them by the Latin Editor. *Joseph*, who was the true Patriarch of *Constantinople*, never went to the Council; but being an utter Enemy to the Union he left his Seat and withdrew himself to a Monastery where he died. So there were no true Greek Patriarchs there; we find only two titular, spurious, Latin ones named; *Pantaleo* for *Constantinople*, and *Opizio* for *Antioch*; as the same trick had been plaid before at the Council of *Lateran*. And in the pretended Latin letter of the Greek Prelates, there you will see what a packt or forced Council of Greeks that was; for it is said that when the Emperor had called the greatest and ablest Ecclesiasticks before him, in order to propose an Union of both Churches, *some embraced the Peace, some others appear'd more obstinate, recounting in their Minds the Antiquity of time; and others opposing as if this was imposed upon them out of meer necessity. But the Diligence (rather the Violence) of the Emperor at last overcame all.* After that Council was over the Emperor to keep the Pope his steady friend, drove on the pretended Union with all the shamefull Violence, and barbarous Tyranny imaginable. This made him above measure hated by all his true Greek Subjects, and at last he died most ingloriously. Yet after all this the former Schism encreased still daily; it never was higher then it was even then, when the City was taken by the Turks. *The old Greeks would not go into Sancta Sophia to hear the Mass of the Latins, whom they counted Hereticks, least they should be defiled; and my Author saith; If an Angel from Heaven should have told them, that he would drive the Turks out of Constantinople if they would but agree, the Schism was so great as either they would not have accepted the Condition, or if they had accepted it, *ἡ δὲ πόλις*, it would have been a lie; i. e. they would but have dissembled with him.* It is plain to me that the reason of that quarrel was not only the old Articles about the Procession of the holy Ghost, *from only the Father, or from him, Filioque, and the Son*; and the *Fermented or not Fermented Bread* at the Eucharist, and other such like; or about those three new conditions offer'd at the Council of *Lions*; 1. That the Pope's name should be put into the Diptiches; 2. That Appeals might be made to Rome; 3. That the Pope should be own'd as Supreme Head in all things; I say it is plain, that not only these Articles were the ground of that outrageous Schism, but that the doctrine of *Purgatory*, and that of *Transubstantiation* were also two of the chiefeft Points which disgusted the honest

* P. 34.

Hist. l. 4. c. 28.

T. 11. part 1.
pag. 971. D.

p. 956. B.

p. 970. B.

Niceph. Gregor.
p. 66. 10.Mich. Ducas.
p. 163. D.

p. 939. A.

- * p. 34. honest Greeks, if not more, yet at least as much as any of the other. This appears by the Emperor's Letter in Greek, where they are put in and pretended to be own'd by him amongst the rest. Now it is notoriously known that *Purgatory* was never before, nor hath been ever since to this day own'd by the Greek Church; and *μετεσώσις*, *Transubstantiation* was never heard of amongst them, till the Latins at *Constantinople* and *Jerusalem*, and elsewhere in the East had buzz'd it into their Heads; therefore to counterfeit a compleat Union with Rome, *Michael* there vouch'd *that* also amongst the rest as a Truth; ὅτι ὁ ἀληθὴς μετεσώσεται εἰς σῶμα, καὶ ὁ οὖν εἰς αἷμα τῆ κυρίου, *that the Bread is truly Transubstantiated into the Body, and the Wine into the Blood of the Lord*. This seems to have been prest upon the Emperor as hardly as any of the rest, and therefore in his answer he submits to them all alike without reserve.
- p. 965. B. * p. 35. Now I think that this is an earlier date for the Greek words, *μετεσώσις*, *μετεσώσεται*, *Transubstantiation*, or *Transubstantiated*, then (to my remembrance) I have met withall any where else. I have seen some MS of *Tho. Aquinas summes* in Greek (said to have been Translated by *Bessarion* at the Council of *Florence*) one was in the Patriarch of *Jerusalem's* Library in *Fanar* at *Constantinople*; a second in *St. Mark's* at *Venice*; there is a third at *Turin*. I confess I had it not in my thoughts when I was at *Constantinople* and *Venice* to see what words were there used; yet I have met with some who have confidently asserted (as I have elsewhere hinted) that the words are there expressly; but I now absolutely believe the contrary. If these three Copies are written in several Ages, and these very words are in one, and other words are in another, I must suspect that there hath been some foul play; but I will leave that to some honest Man who may have leave to compare them. I have since my coming home employ'd a faithfull Friend of mine at *Venice* to enquire about it in that MS. but since my worthy Friend *Seignor Gradinigo* (the then Library keeper) died, I am told the former Liberty of searching into MSS. there is strictly refused to Strangers. But as to the Copy at *Turin*, I am fully satisfied by a Learned and sincere Eye-witness, that there are no other words used by *Aquinas* there in his treating of the Eucharist, then *μεταβολή*, *μεταβάλλεται*, *a change, to be changed*. Therefore if this had been a common known word and, approved by the Greeks at the Council of *Lions*, why (as I have elsewhere noted) was it not afterwards suffer'd by *John Palaeologus* to be put into the Decree at the Council of *Florence*; who was the very first Author of the Greek word, *μετεσώσις*, or in what Age it was first coin'd, I find it yet no where positively determined; but truly at present it seems to me most probable, that it was a bright Invention of some Learned ingenuous Latin, contrived at this very juncture nicely to render their Latin word, *Transubstantiation*, that *Michael* by it in his Letter, might fully perswade the Pope, that he was his most dutifull and obedient Son, being especially in that Point entirely of his Mind. However the word was utterly exploded by the pure Greeks quite, not only to *John Palaeologus's* time but a long time after it. For none of the Greek Writers used the word till *Gabriel Philadelphus* and the other Mongrel, Latinized Wretches took it up since. Therefore I cannot but suspect that either all that Greek Letter of *Michael* abovesaid is forged; or else that those two Articles of *Purgatory* and *Transubstantiation* were foisted in by the Latin Editors since; or, (if it was a genuine Letter of his,) that for his Security he was resolved without any more ado to swallow all the absurdities and Dictates of Rome. The *Metusiotēs* notion began to be much more warmly agitated by the Latins amongst the Greeks after this Council of *Lions*; and some of the more Learned of them began to listen to it and to look into it; but it seems very imperfectly conceived or received by them till about the Council of *Florence*; as we may see in *Cabasilas* and others his Contemporaries, who knew nothing at all of the Doctrine of Accidents; and they disputed about the *Consecration of the Elements*; (for I place the beginning of that Controversy about their time, whether it was made by *Christ's* words only or by the *Invocation*;) but they men-

mention'd nothing at all about the *Mode or Manner of the, μεταβολή, change* that was made in turning the *Bread into Christ's Body*. The famous Patriarch of *Constantinople Jeremiah*, no where use those Greek words to express it, being (as I have elsewhere noted) grievously embarrassed by the *Tubing* Protestants abroad, and the watchful Papists and Latinized Greeks at home, who carefully watcht for all occasions to dethrone him, if he had not both in writing and in speaking so cautiously behaved himself amongst them. But to prove that the *Metusiotis* notion was own'd only by their own Party or Faction alone, I must look upon this as a solid Argument. *Genadius* the first Patriarch after the City was taken, by the command of *Mahomet* did without any Fear, ἀπέδειξε πᾶσι ἀλθιδειὰ τῆς Πίστεως, lay before him the whole Truth of their (the Greeks) Faith in twenty Chapters, or Paragraphs, in Greek and Turkish Arab. I have by me a fair MS of them all in both Languages, as in *Crusius*. But there is not one syllable of this *Metusiotis* Doctrine in them. It is evident that *Genadius* himself and his honest Greeks believed it not; for if they had, he would, without Fear, as boldly have set it down, as the story is told (which soon after happen'd under Patriarch *Maximus*, of a Widow Excommunicated by *Genadius*; whose Carcase was taken up and found entire; but after absolution it immediately crumbled into dust in sight of the Turks as well as of the Greeks. If *Genadius*, in those days, had but had the now common subterfuge of the Latinized Greeks, *God's Omnipotency*, to support it, the Invisible change of the Consecrated Bread might have pass with Turks and Greeks for a new kind of Miracle, though much more strange and amusing then the visible Change of the Widow's Carcase after Absolution. But let us look a little farther back. The Latins were in possession of *Jerusalem* in 1099. and of *Constantinople* 1204. *Nicetas* tells us that a little before the latter was taken from *Alexius Angelus*, a Hot-headed Monk, one *Sicidites*, under *John Xiphilin*, then Patriarch, had there started a Question about the Body of Christ in the Eucharist; whether after Consecration it was Corruptible or Incorruptible. Now I doubt not in the least, but that *Metusiotism*, (though then but very imperfectly understood or taught by the struggling Latins) was moved amongst the Disputants, from what is there mention'd out of the Fathers. They who asserted, the Corruptible Body were urged by the others, that then it must be confessedly, ἀνὰ ἡμῶν, without Mind and Soul; the others cited *Chrysostom*, who calls it, ἀθάνατον σῶμα, the Immortalized Body; and these words immediately follow, ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ γινόμενον σωματι ὅλον πρὸς αὐτὸ μεταποιεῖται καὶ μετατρέχεται, which being in our Body changeth it and turneth it into its self; which (as is elsewhere noted) must be taken in a spiritual Sense, for the Body of the Communicant is not literally Immortalized immediately upon its reception. And *Eutychius* is also there quoted to the same purpose; in whose Attestation are these remarkable words, the Incorruptible, and Immortal, and Holy and Quickening, Body, and Blood, after the Mystical Consecration and its holy Resurrection, τοῖς Ἀπύτοις ἐντελειμένον, is put, or exposed, under Antitypes or Figures. From all which it is plain to me, that *Metusiotism* was not only mention'd then, but plainly confuted by these Quotations; particularly by that out of *Eutychius*, who clearly understood all only as a Typical or Figurative Commemoration or Representation. However that Controversy ceased under *Chamaterus*, who succeeded *Xiphilin*, anno 1199. and after the Latins had taken the City, he left it and went to Nice. The Latins had then possess'd *Jerusalem* above a hundred years, and I cannot but believe that many of their more zealous Priests, who had, (though but superficially) understood and embraced *Paschasius* his new and amusing Doctrine (which had long before bewitcht the *Papalins* in the West) must needs during all that time have began to commend it up and down in the East; and so prepared many of the undiscerning Greeks to have some good liking to it. But after the Council of *Lateran* had declared it to be, a most absolutely necessary Article of Faith, to all Christians; it might well by degrees be insinuated into

* p. 36.

into credulous and unwary Souls, and received *without Fear or Wit*. To me therefore it seems so far from being an Argument that *Metousiotism* was believed by the whole Greek Church in *Mich. Cerularius* his time, because amongst other Objections he did not quarrel with Rome about *that most absurd Innovation*; as it rather plainly appears to me that it was no more known to the Greeks then, then the use of Tobacco was known to us in England before *Sir Walter Rawleigh*. Indeed the rise and progress of that pernicious Doctrine seems much the same with the use of that bewitching Indian Weed; Men are commonly *very Sick at their first beginning to take it*, and when they are once accustomed to it, they are *as Sick if they leave it off*. So all thinking and considering Christians must needs at first boggle at the notion of *Metusiotism*; but when they have been, by various means, once drawn in and used to it, they can as hardly be perswaded to part with it. What a sad account have we of all the Patriarchs of *Constantinople* who succeeded one another after it was taken by the Latins! very few of them had any learning at all, and that too was only some common Notions of the old Controversies about the Procession of the Holy Ghost and the like; but now they were most busied about Politick matters, and studied only how to shift in those troublesome times under *Michael*, and those others which followed after the Council of *Lions*. Now consider what a vast Advantage the Latin Priests, (who had Studied and were well versed in all Points of the Controversies moved between them) had over the poor timorous and illiterate Greeks, who were continually changing their Minds, and temporizing according to the various and pressing urgencies which the Latins and their Latinized *Partisans* daily put upon them. Take, instead of many more, this one notorious Instance of the Greeks Ignorance and Inability in those days; and I do positively say, that their case herein was rather much worse, then any ways mended, when I was amongst them. About the year as I guess, 1334. the Pope sent to the Greek Emperor, *Andronicus Paleologus* junior, two Latin Bishops to treat about an Union of the two Churches. But *John*, then Patriarch of *Constantinople*, being himself not Skilled in any Language proper for a Dispute, and well knowing that most of his Bishops were unlearned, he desired *Niceph. Gregoras*, a learned Man, but none of the Sacred Number, to undertake the business; who at first only moved and advised him to be silent, and to take so much State upon him, as to despise the Latins request, and to tell them that there was no need of their Dispute. But farther considering the ill consequences of his Silence, (if he should say no more,) he took the Patriarch and some of the chief Bishops aside, and in a grave and rational Discourse perswaded them all to lay aside, *πάσαν ἐριτίαν ὀνόμιον*, every wrangling Conceit, and to appeal only to the Authority of truly general Councils, and to the Judgments of the approved Fathers and Defenders of the Catholick Church. Now if the Patriarch, and the Reverend Bishops themselves, were so unfit to Dispute with the Latin Missionaries, and altogether so unable to defend their Faith or Religion; what must we think of the lesser Clergy, and of all the more Ignorant Laymen? I cannot omit one passage there, out of which I think I can most lively describe both the old and the present Practice of the Latin Emissaries on one side, and the miserable case of the deluded Greeks on the other. *Those every where pour out their new sublime Notion of Metousiotism, & τὰ θεολογίας μυστήρια*, and other Mysteries of their Theology, not only to the Clergy, but, *βαρβάρους*, even to meer Artificers and Mechanicks; These all admire and gape after, *τῷ συλλογιστικῷ ἐμβατεύειν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν*, their haughty way of Discoursing and Syllogistical Disputing, as much as the starved Beasts do linger after the Grass. And these doubting what is true Faith, and not knowing what they ought to believe, and those not telling them what it is to believe, they together fill all the Markets, and publick Walks and Theaters with nothing but discourses of Theology. Thus, those Covetous, proud Boasters, lovers of themselves, false accusers, Heady, High-minded, or strangely puffed up

Niceph. Gregor.

l. 10. p. 228.

* p. 37.

p. 236. 6.

2 Tim. 3. 2.

3. 6.

up with their mysterious Notions, *crept into Houses and Company and lead* * p. 37.
Captive the poor Silly Greeks, quite overspread with *Aegyptian* darkness.
The blind leading the blind they both are fallen into the Ditch, where I Mat. 15. 14.
 must leave them.

I shall therefore in the next place, according to the learned *Morinus*. his third Remark, consider whether there be not some very extraordinary and wonderfull advantage gain'd by the Metusiotas from holding this Article. The flagrant desire of getting Honour and Power and Authority to themselves, is the common disease, if not the natural Infirmary of all Factions and Parties in the World. Now what can more aggrandise the Clergy, or more amaze and awe the Laity, then by any means or ways to impose upon People this belief, that every Mass-Priest hath at his Ordination given him from Heaven, by the Imposition of his Bishops hands, this Supernatural and Infallible Power for ever after, as that only by pronouncing but five certain words he can make the very blessed Jesus himself at any time out of a Wafer, or Morsel of Bread, and a Cup of Wine; and that he can make every Mite or Dust of the one, and Drop of the other, his very intire Body; so that the true Substance of the Bread and Wine quite vanish, and only the Substance of Christ's very Flesh and Blood remains under their Accidents or outward shew? The meanest Mass-Priest, and the vilest Greek Papas that is once made a Presbyter, can do all this. I have often seen nasty, slovenly, beggarly Priests, especially *Greeks* and *Armenians*, who upon common days and ordinary occasions would not stick to do very mean Offices, and generally live on a level with their poorest Neighbours; but when cloathed with the Church sacred Vestments they stand at the Altar, by this Article they may not only pretend to make a God, but by it even every one of them himself is made one. A man would be amazed to see with what Reverence the People approach him, when they ask him to recite the names of their living or dead Friends at the Eucharist; when he Consecrates the, *ἕψον* or *ἕψουα*, a piece of Bread for an Amulet; when he lays the Gospel upon their Head and read the Prayer appointed for any indisposed Person; at their receiving of the Antidoron and the like; they kiss his hand and bow to him profoundly. According to this most arrogant pretension, every one of their Priests is empowered by his Orders, not only to hear the Confession of his Communicants and then to absolve them of their Sins, but also to put their Saviour entire into their Mouths, and to lay his true Flesh and Blood upon their Tongues, and to make their Bodies by this Article, not Mystically but really, Members of that very Body which died for them. And this is not all, for on the other hand, by order from his Superiors, he can upon occasion not only suspend, but quite cut them off from all these inestimable Blessings; and, by the same joint Authority, he can deprive them of all Temporal possessions and enjoyments, even Life it self; and can adjudge them to those Miseries which are Eternal. The most despicable Mass-Priest, or Presbyter-Papas must needs be ravished, and as it were wrapt up into the third Heaven, with the conceit, that he hath the same Power which Balaak attributed to Balaam, whom thou Blessest (that is, I, quoth he,) is Blessed, and whom thou Cursest is Cursed. And if others can be perswaded, or brought to own that all these matters are really so, as he himself and others have told them, he must undoubtedly be Honored, Reverenced, Fear'd, and Courted as much as Balaam was by Balaak and all the Princes and Elders and People of Moab and Midian. This Doctrine therefore of the Metusiotas with its Consequences, is such a powerfull Engine, as Rome will no more part with it, then Demetrius and the Silver-Smiths at Ephesus would endure the abolishing of Diana's Shrines, the making of them being the Craft by which they got their Wealth. Thus the Greeks notwithstanding all that Allatius and most Latins and others scornfully say to the contrary, most zealously maintain their belief of their Vourcolacus, or the possessed Body of an Excommunicated Person; by which alone the Patriarchs, Metropolitans and Bishops (who are the sole Judges in all Causes of Meum and

* p. 38. *Tuum*, and all civil disputes amongst their own People) to fright and awe them
 1 Cor. 6. 6. and keep them from going to Turkish Justice; *least Brother should go to Law with Brother before the Unbelievers*; the end is good, for otherwise the Turk would prey upon both. I must say the same of the *Miraculous Fire* which is pretended at *Jerusalem* every *Easter-Eve* to appear upon Christ's Sepulcher there; where many thousand Christians of all sorts as Pilgrims, and as many Turks, and others as meer Spectators resort. Though the Turks themselves laugh at it, and thousands of others as well as the Latins think it to be but a meer cheat, yet the vast gain and advantage that the Turks make by the numbers of People who must first have leave from him to enter and see the holy Places there; and the Contributions which are milkt from Pilgrims and other Votaries and Spectators, by the several Heads of all particular Churches (both of the East and West,) who have gain'd Apartments or Cells and Altars there, (especially the Greeks who are the chief of all) I say this prodigious gain is such a sweet Morfel to all of them in particular, that each party will still call *this holy Fire* a Miracle, though all considering and judicious Men amongst them account it in their Hearts, and many well know it to be, *Pia Fraus*, a Holy Cheat. I must freely say the same of the Latins Festival of *Corpus Christi* (which none yet were so bold as to say, *that it is Apostolical*;) and of the Pompous Processions with the *Hostia* (or *Corpus Domini*, as they call it, in a Box) through the Streets; which are meer Illusions and Shews only to amuse and over-awe the Credulous and Superstitious People. The Carnivals, at *Venice* and elsewhere, and the Anniversary Jovial Meetings, are, (though in an other manner) as to the common end much of the same Nature; they are Politick Inventions to draw People together to spend their Money, and enrich the several places where they are Celebrated. God forbid that any good Man should take what I have here said for a Malicious and Blasphemous Inve-ctive against *the true Catholick Church and its Governors*; for I have ever had and shall ever have a most profound Reverence and pious Veneration (with all humble Obedience) for the *true Primitive Hierarchy* in the Church, as it is establish'd by Christ himself and his Holy Apostles; which in it self originally hath such full and supereminent *Authority, Power, Majesty and Glory*, as it needs no human, worldly, Arts or Tricks of Ambitious and Imperious Men to encrease them; or any of their false, whorish Colours to make them shine more Bright. I must by no means omit one Advantage more; shall I call it a Priviledge or rather an absolute Encouragement or License to Sin? It is this; though a Mass-Priest be ever so bad and wicked before God and Man, yet all his Prophaneness and Irregularity of Life deprives him not in the least of this *his Almighty Power* of Transubstantiating the Elements at the Eucharist, if he observes the Roman Forms and Rules. Surely all the Greek Papas (especially all those who by their ill Living may very much want these Glorious Dispensations) must needs be wonderfully charm'd by *this new Doctrine*, and notwithstanding all their Immoralities *by this Belief* they must needs count themselves something far above the Condition of meer mortal Men. The present Greek Writers have fully transcribed this Doctrine from the Latins; I will give you this one notorious Instance of it. *Caryophilles*, a Disciple of *Corydales*, positively denied Metusiotism; and *Calinichus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and *Dositheus* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, with some Metropolitans and others of their chief Partisans, condemn'd him in a Synod which they held, Anno, 1691. which I have now by me; in which is this amongst other Decrees. *If any one say, that a Wicked or Sinfull Bishop or Priest, keeping the Essential and Necessary things belonging to the Preparation and Administration of the Sacraments, doth not perfectly make and Administer the Sacrament, let him be Anathema*. Now according to them, *to Transubstantiate the Elements, is the chief Perfection of the Eucharist*; and therefore he, who denies *That*, is by them accursed. It is true indeed that a vitious Priest may perform all the outward Rites and Ceremonies of the Eucharist to the real benefit of the Pious and De-

vout Communicants, who are not obliged to enquire into his Morals so much as they are to examine themselves. As a lewd Preacher, by reading one of our Homilies, or by repeating a good Practical Sermon, perhaps of his own or of another Man's making, may, by the Assistance and Operation of God's most holy Spirit, upon the Hearts of his well disposed Hearers, be a means or motive to turn them from the Evil of their ways; like the Moon which hath no light in it self, yet by reflection it conveys to us the true Light of the Sun, both to our great help and to our comfort. But to say or think that such a Miraculous gift or Power, as this of *Transubstantiation* is pretended to be, doth indelibly and perpetually rest upon every lewd profligate Priest, *meerly as he is ordained a Priest*, seems the same to me as to *communicate Light with Darknes* and to *re-*^{2 Cor. 6. 14.}
concile Christ with Belial; or to make *Elymas* the Sorcerer, or one of the ^{15.}
wicked Sons of Sceva, a *more Constant* worker of a *true Miracle*, then St. ^{Act. 13.}
Paul or any of the Apostles were, or even Christ himself. Besides every Man ^{Act. 19.}
must needs perceive a vast difference both between the Actions and the Persons. ^{2 Tim. 4. 20.}
The Mass-Priests, *by enticing words of Man's Wisdom*, only tell you that mat- ^{Mark. 6. 5.}
ters are really so as he saith; you must barely take his word, notwithstanding
no such thing in the least appears to you; but St. Paul *in the Demonstration* ^{1 Cor. 2. 4.}
of the Spirit and Power of God, verily and indeed effected all his Miracles
before all the People, who were both *his Ear and Eye-witnesses* that the
Things were really done so. 'I have heard of a *Calif* or *Soldan* of *Ægypt*
' who often having Business before him concerning the Greek Patriarch there of
' *Alexandria*, desired to know *what Power* he had over his Church. He was
' told that he had by his Institution such Command and Authority given him
' by Heaven over them, that he could deliver any one of his Community, who
' disobeyed him, *to Hell*; and that it was the fear of this which kept them all
' in such perfect awe. One day a Patriarch of but a mean Stature and Aspect
' occasionally came before him; and when he saw the profound Reverence
' which was paid to him by all his Metropolitans and Bishops and pompous At-
' tendance; certainly, said he, this old creeping Fellow is a far greater Man then
' I am; for I with all my armed Forces, and Commanders, and Officers can
' very hardly keep the *Bodies* of my People in any tolerable Subjection and
' Obedience; whereas this (otherwise Contemptible) Creature terrifies the *very*
' *Souls* of all the Christians under him, and makes them crouch and yield Obedience,
' only under the fear of his most dreadful Sentence. What would the *Soldan*
have said or thought, if he had been told that even every *Priest* (from a
Patriarch or Pope himself, to the meanest mumblor of the Liturgy or Mass,) hath
not only on occasion an Executive and Subordinate Power to do the same,
but also hath *in himself* (meerly as being a *Priest*, be he good or bad,) an
inherent and proper Power every day to make *Jesus Christ* of a piece of Bread.

I shall now come to the fourth Remark of the judicious *Morinus*; where we shall see, *the Omnipotency of God* alone is the last and utmost, and indeed the only shift, which the Metaphysicians could invent, to bring their dramatick Notion off from their Stage with any seeming Applause, just as the old Poets served their turn by introducing their Mechanical God. The Absurdities which perplex and embarrass their Doctrine, and their wild Interpretations of it, are so abominable and so numerous, as should I attempt to recite them all, they would quite astonish and tire any modest Reader as well as they do my self. Take then these few for an Example. According to this Doctrine Jesus Christ as he rose from the dead and ascended *into Heaven*, is, according to the Scripture, to be *there* ^{Act. 3. 20.}
untill the Revolution of all things at his second coming; yet, according to ^{1 Cor. 11. 26.}
them, *by a Charm of five words, or the Invocation* of every the meanest Priest, *He is* (at least once a day) *set entirely and really* on every Altar here on Earth at the same time. How can we be said, at the Eucharist, *only to shew the Lord's Death till he come*, if he be there already *Corporeally present*? Was Christ entire held then in his own hands? Was he entire in the Patine,

* p. 40. in the Hand and Mouth of himself, and of all the rest at the same time? Did
 Mat. 26. 29. Christ when he did Partake with all the rest, *Eat himself*? Did the Traitor
 Mark. 14. 25. Judas devour and eat every bit of his whole Master? Christ said, *this is my
 Body*; could he mean, this in my Hand *is my whole Self*, both my Body and
 Blood; and every crumb that you Eat, and every drop that you Drink, *is I
 my Self entire*? Did he (by Concomitancy) thus twice give himself distinct-
 ly and entirely? Could the Disciples think that they brake with their Teeth
 and swallow'd their real Lord, who then sat still there visibly amongst them?
 could they think that what they Eat and Drank was literally his very Flesh
 and Blood, though at the same time *they Saw, Tasted, Smelt, Bit, and Relisht*
 quite another thing?

To all this and many many more such like confounding Difficulties, we have
 not the least shadow of any solid answer. They only *turn and shew* their
 mighty Engine, *God is Omnipotent*; and only by it *shuffle off* all these, and
 they may as well do it to all other wild Inventions of Men whatsoever.
*Things, say they, by God's Omnipotency are really so, and you only want
 Faith strong enough to believe it.* Examine but the Schoolmens various but
 zealous wranglings about that one Article of *Mice, or other Beasts eating the
 Consecrated Wafer or Bread*, and you will find in it (and indeed in all others)
 their answer in effect the very same with that of their Father *Lombard*.
Deus novit, Almighty God knows how to make these matters out, but we
 do not.

I shall now humbly beg leave to offer unto all the Reverend and Learned
 p. 7. p. 162. 3. searchers after Truth a short review of a Notion which I have mention'd in the
 p. 166. 7. following Treatise, and I shall here endeavour something farther to illustrate it;
 because to me it seems plainly to prove that it was Impossible for either Christ
 himself, or the Apostles, or the rest of the Jewish Converts, to have had any the
 least shadow or Idea, or conceit of Metusotism from these words, *this is my
 Body, this is my Blood*. The Ceremony of the Jews celebrating *the Bread
 of Affliction*, or *the Agadah* after the Paschal Supper, could be possibly taken
 in no other Sense at all, then as a Commemoration of *their Affliction* and Ser-
 vitude in the Land of Egypt. That this solemn Commemoration was used even
 in Christ's time is confest both by Papists and Protestants. To omit those briefly
 mention'd in the following Discourse, and several others which I could add, I
 p. 5. shall above all remit you only to the very Learned *R. Simon*, who hath freely
 In Gabr. Phil. and fully given us the same account of it which I have done. But to explain
 ad p. 171. vide etiam p. 77. a. this more clearly, I shall humbly submit to better Judgments a Conjecture of my
 own which seems directly to confirm it. St. *Luke* hath a passage in his Gospel,
 Luk. 22. 17. which is not indeed mention'd in any of the other three, but confirm'd as Ge-
 nuine by all the Copies of note. It is not much taken notice of by any of the
 Commentators which I have had leisure to consult; yet to me it seems to give
 a great Light, not only to Christ's having used this very Ceremony of the *Aga-
 dah* himself, but also to the true Original of his own Institution of the Eucha-
 rist. *When they were sat down, he took the Cup and gave thanks, and
 said, take this and divide it amongst your selves.* This cannot be *the Cup
 of Christ's Eucharist*, for then it would have been twice Consecrated; and there-
 fore it could be no other then, *ποτήριον εὐλογίας, the Cup of Blessing* at the *A-
 gadah*; for that was not delivered by the Master of the Family to each parti-
 cular Person then present, but every one had his own Cup, or one and the
 same was handed from Man to Man round the whole company; and to this
 circumstance, the words, *divide it amongst your selves*, plainly allude. Now
 though St. *Luke's* account is but short and imperfect, and mentions only *the
 Cup*, yet we have no reason in the World to doubt but that the other part of
 the *Agadah, the Bread of Affliction*, was at the same time distributed likewise
 amongst them all. Can any one then Imagine that Christ and his Apostles, who
 just before had taken *the Bread of Affliction* only as a Memorial, could imme-
 diately only from Christ's words, *this is my Body*, frame such an amazing,
 irra-

irrational, and extravagant Conceit as Metusiotism? And not rather that they should have taken them likewise only as a Memorial of his Passion, as they all understood the other as only a Memorial of their Affliction in Ægypt? Especially when at the very same moment Christ expressly declared it to be so, *This do in Remembrance of me*, and commanded them for ever Religiously to observe it as such. * p. 41.

Next it seems to me very clear that Christ Instituted his Eucharistical Memorial in the place of this Jewish Agadah, he plainly abolished their Cup of Blessing, in those words, *I will not drink henceforth any more*, fruto de la vid, *of the Fruit of the Vine*; these being the very words used in the Form of blessing the Jewish Cup, (he here could mean only the Wine then Consecrated at the Agadah, for he after it drank Wine at his own Eucharist; that he blest first, then afterwards this,) and there can be no doubt but that at the same time he likewise renounced the Bread of Affliction, though St. Luke mentions it not. It is plain that many Rites, Customs, and Observations of the Jews, which were in themselves Innocent, and might conduce to the Edification and Service of the Christian Community, were retain'd or something changed to the proper end of the Gospel; Nay, somethings were thus plainly borrow'd from the Heathen, but turned to Holy purposes; as even many of their Temples were left standing, but new Consecrated, to the Service and Worship of the true God. Thus it was in Baptism, which had been used by the Jews many years, nay, many Ages, before Christ's time to enter and transplant their Proselytes into a new Profession, (as our Learned Lightfoot hath at large proved,) that they were not only Circumcized but Baptized also; therefore Christ took up Baptism which was used as an additional to Circumcision instead of it; and thus he abolished the Jews Passover and the use of Bread, or their Cake, as being an Appendage to it for a Memorial of their Slavery in Ægypt, and enjoin'd his Eucharistical Memorial instead of them both. Thus Baptism was retain'd only as an Initiation of Christians into the new Covenant of the Gospel; and the Eucharistical Memorial as a farther establishing and continual repeating of their Counter-part. Luk. 22. 18.
Mat. 26. 20.
Joh. 3. 10.
T. 1. p. 450.
T. 2. 117. 1040.
T. 1. p. 126. 7.

This is my Body, is a meer Hebraism; a common way of Speech, the figurative meaning of which was well known to the Jews; and both the old and new Testament are every where full of the like, as I have often noted. The Lamb is the Lord's Passover; Circumcision God's Covenant in the Flesh; Christ is the true Vine, the good Shepherd, the Way, the Light; So is God's word a Lamp, or Candle, a Lantern unto our Feet; the Plague of Lice the Finger of God, as the Lord's doing is also the Finger of God; the Church the Rose of Sharon, the Lillie, a Wall, a Door; so Christ is the Door of the Sheep fold; he is Alpha and Omega. God is a Fortress, a Rock; and a Rock was Christ; so for the Blood which Moses sprinkled on the People, this is the Blood of the Covenant which the Lord hath made with you, as the Judicious R. Simon reads it from St. Jerom, and the Author to the Hebrews faith the same, τὸ τοῦ αἵματος, *This is the Blood*, not behold the Blood; it signifies the very same as if it had been said, *this Blood is the sign or token of the Covenant*, as it is expliciteley said of the Rainbow, *this is*, Oth, *the token of the Covenant with Noah*. Let us a little compare these Expressions, *this is the Blood of the Covenant which the Lord hath made with you*, faith Moses; *This Cup is the new Testament in my Blood*; or *this Cup is my Blood of the new Testament*; can any unprejudiced Man honestly make any other Sense of them then this, *this Blood is the sign or token of Moses's Covenant*; *this Cup or Wine is the Sign or token of Christ's Covenant sealed with his Blood*? Now is it not the highest obstinacy and imperious Arrogancy in the Metusiotists to take only that single Expression, *this is my Body*, in the gross literal Sense, and yet to allow that this phrase, *this is the Bread of Affliction*, (from which Christ manifestly took his words,) and all the other Hebraisms in Scripture are to be Interpreted only Figuratively? What will

* p. 42. will Ambitious and Imperious Men stick at to promote their Worldly Power and Greatness? For my part I cannot but believe, that God hath suffer'd this Abominable Doctrine to be raised by them, and by Violence and Fraud to be propagated, and for a time to flourish, that he might at last with everlasting shame confound and utterly cast down the intollerable Pride and Tyranny of the Romish Church; as he permitted even his own chosen People, the stiff-necked Jews, *to bend their Tongues for lies and to proceed from Evil to Evil, till at last they were quite cast off and ceased to be a Nation.*

Jer. 9. 3.
c. 31. 36. 37.

lib. 8. c. 12.
p. 479. b.

c. 13.

c. 14. c. 15.

Those words of Christ, *this do in Remembrance of me*, for the Bread, *this do in Remembrance of me as often as you drink it*, for the Cup, do manifestly shew the very end of the Eucharist to be no more then this, *do this as a Memorial of my Passion*; as if he had said, *as you just now did eat the Bread of Affliction in Remembrance of your servitude in Ægypt, so hereafter eat this Bread and drink this Cup in Remembrance of me*; that is, *not only in Remembrance of my Death*, but of all the Actions and Passages of my whole Life and Conversation here on Earth, from my Birth to my Ascension into Heaven; as likewise in Remembrance of my Promise to come again, by the Effusion of the Holy Ghost upon you, and lastly to Judgment. It is most evident that this was the very design of all the Authors of the Antient Liturgies, whoever they were; whether these Liturgies were the Genuine works of those Fathers whose names they now bear, I will not here rashly and indeed impertinently assert or determine any thing; but I shall only add, to what I have already noted in the following Treatise, some Observations out of them, which will be Obvious to any diligent Reader. To omit those of *Peter, Mark, James*, and many others, that in the Apostolical Constitutions, though it is by no means so universally approved as Genuine, (being plainly in many things spurious, and in as many places patcht and interpolated,) yet it is generally own'd as the Antientest of all. There you will find Commemorated in due Order, Christ's Nativity, his whole Life, Crucifixion, Burial, Resurrection, Ascension; Then follows the Eucharist as a Memorial of all these; *Μεμνημένοι εἶναι, Therefore remembring what he hath suffered for our sakes, we give thanks to thee Almighty God, not as much as we ought, but as much as we are able, and we fulfill his command.* Then are related his very words; *For in the same night that he was betrayed, he taking Bread, &c. then they go on, wherefore remembring his Passion, Death, Resurrection, Ascension, and coming again to Judgment, we offer unto thee our King and God, according to his Command, this Bread and this Cup, thanking thee through him, for that thou hast thought us worthy to stand in thy sight, and serve thee as Priests; and we beseech thee, that thou wouldest pleasingly look upon these Gifts which are set before thee, O thou God who wantest nothing; and kindly regard them for the Honour of thy Christ; and that thou wouldest send down thy Holy Spirit upon this Sacrifice as a witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus, and, ἀποφώνη, declare, or pronounce, this Bread the Body of thy Christ, and this Cup the Blood of thy Christ, that all who partake thereof may be confirmed to Piety, and obtain remission of Sins, &c.* Then follows, *Ἐν ᾧ ἔτι, again and again let us beseech God through his Christ for the Gift offered to the Lord God, that the good God would receive it through the Mediation of his Christ unto his Heavenly Altar for a Savor of Sweetness.* Then follows two very pious Prayers with Thanks and Supplications for all devout Christians. Thus then that part, containing the Narration of Christ's Consecrating the Bread and the Wine at the last Supper, is no more then one particular member of the whole general Commemoration of Christ's whole Oeconomy.

And here I cannot omit that remarkable passage in their giving of Thanks at the Eucharist, which we there meet with something before; *we give thanks, O our Father, for the Precious Blood of Jesus Christ shed for us, and for his*

his Precious Body, ὅς ἐστιν ἀντίτυπον τῶντα ἐπιπλάσμενον, of which we also celebrate these Antitypes, or Figures, he himself having commanded us to shew forth his Death. Nothing can more clearly prove that the Eucharist in those early days was lookt upon only as a meer Typical or Figurative Memorial of Christ's whole Dispensation, or Life and Actions, and of his Death more particularly amongst the rest. Let the Author or Authors of these Constitutions be who you will, they are avowedly very Antient and Primitive, though perhaps not, as is pretended, Apostolical.

Now let us cast an Eye upon the present Greek Liturgy which goes under the name of Chrysostom. When the Priest and Deacon come to the Prothesis, or by Altar, it begins thus. The Priest taking up a Loaf crosseth it three times saying, in Remembrance of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ; which cannot be restrain'd only to his Death, but must be extended to his whole Oeconomy. Then is represented, the piercing of his Side, his Death, the Water and Blood issuing out of his Side; as one principal part of it. Then are remembered the Virgin Mary, and all the Apostles, Prophets and Fathers, &c. and particular Persons and Friends both Quick and Dead, as vicarious Communicants with those that are present, by their several Portions there particularly assign'd to each of them. Then is represented the Star which stood over, where the Child Jesus was. At the Communion Table they first represent Christ being laid in the Sepulcher. In the first Prayer after the Gifts are set there, Praise and Prayer are called their Spiritual Sacrifices; and they pray God, that they may be accepted; and God's Mercies are largely recounted in those parts of the same Prayer (for undoubtedly at first it was all but one, as I have elsewhere noted) which immediately go before and then contain the Narrative of Christ's Institution; and in what follows there are particularly mention'd, the Cross, Sepulcher, Resurrection, Ascension, Christ's setting in Heaven, and his second Coming; and they all are called, our Rational and Unbloody λατρεία, Worship, again and again, not only for those who are present, but for all our Fore-fathers who are Dead; particularly for the Virgin Mary, John Baptist, the Apostles, and all that have slept in hope of a Resurrection to Life, &c; with one Heart Glorifying and with Hymns celebrating God's All venerable and Magnificent Name. Thus our Prayers and Praises and Thanks; and this solemn Memorial duly performed, being the Calves and Fruits of our Lips, humbly offer'd upon the golden Altar of a Contrite Heart, are the true and only Sacrifices, which we now can make both for Quick and Dead, both being Personally or Vicariously made Communicants with us. Then after the Consecration, they pray for the precious Gifts, that God receiving them unto his Altar in Heaven, would in lieu of them send down upon them his Grace and the gift of his Holy Spirit, and that they might worthily partake of the Mysteries of that Sacred and Spiritual Table for the Remission of Sins, &c. They acknowledge, that they bow not to Flesh and Blood but to thee the terrible God. This Adoration then is not to Christ's Body and Blood, as being now there, but to God the Father alone; and they immediately pray, (as by way of Distinction,) to Jesus-Christ as sitting in Heaven and Invisibly present with them. The Priest lifting up the Holy Bread, (or Christ's Portion taken out of the middle of the Loaf) saith, Holy things to those that are Holy; this is far enough from the Romish Elevation, as you will see in the following Discourse; and in my old MS the Priest perfumes the Holy Table, first saying these words, ὁψώμεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἑσπερας ὁ Θεός, be thou Exalted above the Heavens O God, and then lifts up the Bread; which words are left out here, and brought in afterwards in a far distant place; so that in my MS. Copy they seem to me rather to Symbolize his Resurrection or Ascension, then any thing else; or perhaps his Exaltation on the Cross, for then they pour hot Water into the Wine in the Chalice, the Priest saying, Blessed is the Heat of thy Saints; and the Deacon saith, the Heat of Faith full of the Holy Ghost; I have noted upon this place the strange Variety of

* p. 43.

Hof. 14. 2.
Heb. 13. 15.
Rev. 8. 3.

r. p. 13.

Read-

* p. 43. Readings in Printed Copies and MSS. I shall here add this short Remark. The Custom of mixing Water with the Wine, as I have noted, was very Antient both with Jew and Gentile. *Cyprian*, and others of the first Ages, gives us this Mysticall meaning of it when it was first retain'd and continued amongst Christians at the Eucharist. *By the Water, saith he, is understood the People, by the Wine the Blood of Christ*; both remaining unchanged in their Nature as distinct Symbols, *that of that, this of this.* This mixture represents the Union of Christ, *the Head*, with the People, *the Members*, of his Mystical Body, *the Church*; according to St. Paul, *the Cup, is it not the Communion of the Blood of Christ?* I question not in the least but that the Water in the Primitive use *was Cold*, as it is yet observed by the Latins. But some Greek Fathers thinking that this Mixture might represent *the Water and Blood which issued out of Christ's Side* when it was pierced on the Cross, the following Greeks used *hot Water*, because *it and the Blood* were so when they came out of his Body. Yet I could recount a very earnest Controversy amongst them even about that. But the very words here of the Priest and Deacon (to make good Sense) most plainly agree with *Cyprian's Exposition*; *the Heat of thy Saints, the Heat of Faith full of the Holy Ghost*, must still signify properly, *the Zeal, and the Liveliness of Faith* in the Communicants. However *hot Water* being once brought into the Greek Church, right or wrong, it will be continued by them, who are most obstinately tenacious of their own Ceremonies and Superstitions, though they know nothing of their first beginning or meaning; the Latins blamed them at the Council of *Florence* for this *hot Water*, but after all they could not move them from their old *Mumpsimus*. At last the Priest passes through, *ἄγιον βῆμα, the Chancel* entring into the Prothesis, and there in a short Prayer he declares, *that Christ being the Fullness of the Law and the Prophets hath now fulfilled all his Father's dispensations*; signifying his leaving the Earth and his Ascension. Here then we see *the Memorial of all Christ's Oeconomy*, though confused and not in that due Order which is observed in the Apostolical Constitutions.

The Latins also plainly acknowledge the Eucharist to be a *Memorial*, not only of *Christ's Death*, but of *his whole Oeconomy*, though very briefly and imperfectly; for in the Order of their Mass, they pray the Trinity, to receive the Oblation which they offer, in Memory of *Christ's Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension, in Honour of the blessed Virgin and all Saints, and that it may prove to their Honour and our Salvation*; and in their Canon it self, the very same Memorial is expressly repeated; and they there call the whole, *Sacrificium Laudis, a Sacrifice of Praise*; as it was only so accounted and therefore call'd in primitive Ages a *Spiritual and Unbloody Sacrifice*. And therefore to me *Scotus* and some others seem rightly to have made the whole Synaxis only one entire Form of Consecrating the whole Eucharist, it being a general Memorial of all Christ's Life, as well as of his Passion and Ascension.

Feb. 2. 9. ad
finem.

The Eucharist was thus Celebrated only as a Memorial of all Christ's Life, Actions, and Sufferings on Earth, and of his being Crown'd with Glory and Honour in Heaven, for many hundreds of Years; but the Jewish Original of it was by degrees forgotten, and both Greeks and Latins began to change the true Idea of it into various Conceits and Fancies of their own. Let us then see the Effect of such a Devout, Pious, Serious Memorial and Meditation of Christ's whole Oeconomy; It must needs most strangely ravish every good Christian's heart, and heat his Affections, Inflame his Zeal, strengthen and enliven his Faith, work true Repentance and make him a worthy and acceptable Communicant. To think that Christ despised not the Virgin's Womb; was laid in a Manger; was driven in Swadling-Cloath into *Ægypt*; was Baptized; Fasted; was Tempted of the Devil; was slighted and contemn'd by his own Countrey-men; was Scourged and Spit upon; was

was Crown'd with thorns in scorn; and at last was nailed to the Cross, and there died a most shamefull Death; that he was wounded for our Transgressions and bruised for our Iniquities; I say seriously to think that all these his Sufferings, and Condescensions, were only to deliver us from the Wrath of God, and to save us from our Sins and Punishment; must certainly melt down the most stony Heart into due contrition and amendment of Life; it must abate our Pride, assuage our Malice, and Mortify all our corrupt Affections and Lusts. Who can think of Revenge when his poor Brother offends him by Word or Deed, if he considers how Christ, who was without Sin, neither was guile found in his Mouth, was reviled, yet reviled not again; when he suffered he threatned not, but pray'd for his Enemies, in his very Agonies on the Cross, Father forgive them for they know not what they do. He was called a Samaritan, and said to have a Devil, and to do all his mighty Works by Beelzebub; yet still he went about doing Good and Healing all that were oppressed of the Devil; and he Invited all that labour'd and were heavy laden with their Sins, to come unto him, and he would give them rest. This his most Glorious Example to every thinking, considering Soul, must certainly make those his Commands, both easy and light; Love your Enemies; Bless them that Curse you; do good to them that hate you; and pray for them which despightfully use you and persecute you. How must every attentive Soul be Edified and Quicken'd, by reading or hearing That his most Incomparable Sermon upon the Mount, and all his other Divine Doctrines and Sayings? For never Man spoke as he spoke. Such a lively Memorial as this of him alone must make us Spiritually, and most truly eat his Flesh and Drink his Blood; the Flesh profiteth nothing, and these his words are not to be taken literally, for they are Spirit and they are Life. He knows our Thoughts, and searcheth the very Heart and Reins, and will not despise the Sacrifice of a Broken and Contrite Spirit, for the sake of that one Sacrifice of Christ himself, once offer'd and not to be repeated; This is the true belief of Christ's Presence with us, in all our addresses to God, more especially at our Celebrating his Memorial in the Eucharist; and they are these devout thoughts which truly nourish our Souls.

These are meer Cavils, Christ did not say, *this is a Type or Token, or Memorial of my Body*, but *this is my Body*; might not I say as well, the Jews did not say, *this is a Sign or Token or Memorial of the Bread of Affliction*, but, *this is the Bread of Affliction*; and yet they understood it only as a Token or Memorial of it. So Christ did not say, *this in my Hand is my Body, or my entire Self both Body and Blood*; but following Ages who had (as is before said) forgotten the true Sense taken from the Jewish Original, turn'd it into quite another conceit, and maintain'd meer impossible Absurdities only by a pretended Faith.

Next let us see how *this Memorial* will solve all the Difficulties justly charged upon *Metusiotism*, if Christ's words and the Sayings of the Fathers, according to the Schools, are taken literally. First then that which in *Manuel Comnenus* his time puzzled all his Wise-men (which I have mention'd in the following Treatise,) *thou, O Christ, art he who offereest, and who art offered; who receivest and art distributed, or received.* The Elements are the very same Memorial of Christ's Death which he himself offer'd, and the very thing at the same time which he offer'd to the rest; which he himself received, and which was received by the Apostles; as the Bread, or Memorial of the Jews Affliction in Egypt, was the same which the Father of the Family (or chief of the Company, if more Families join'd,) first took himself and then offer'd to all the rest; and these words, *this is my Body*, could signify no more to them then those, *this is the Bread of Affliction*, did; that is, only a Memorial of them both alike. And thus that sorry shuffle of the Metusiotists, he bare himself in his own hands, in another manner quite different from

* p. 45. *that when one carries other Bodies so, is unintelligible; but this is Sense, It was he who Bare, Received, and Distributed only the Memorial of Himself.*

p. 26. p. 77. 78 So that in the Liturgy, the Lamb of God is divided and made into Portions; who is divided into Portions but not into separate parts; who is always eaten but never consumed. Here first Christ is plainly called the Lamb of God; but this cannot be taken Litterally but Figuratively; and by parity of Reason what follows ought to be taken so too; the whole Christian Loaf, or Jewish Cake, was but one outward Memorial, and every bit of it is still the very same, entire to every Communicant; the Elements are Eaten and Drank, but the inward Remembrance remains entire for ever in their Hearts.

What hath ever been or is still more common over all the World, then to make some sensible thing or action a Memorial or Remembrance of what is absent. Amongst the present Brachmans or Banians on the Coast of Corman-del, (as my worthy and gratefull Pupil, Mr. John Marshal, hath fully inform'd me,) every family of any note makes a particular Anniversary Festival of their own, wherein they set by some inanimate antient Relick, as a Box, a Cup, a Staff, or the like; as a peculiar Memorial of the first of their Progenitors, and is (as our Coats of Arms were at first,) a Badge or Distinction of each Race amongst them, to preserve the Memory of its Beginning, Rising, and History. What other Original can be given by Votaries for keeping the Relicks of Saints? And if they were used as only Memorials of their Glorious Deeds, without any acts of Adoration or Worship, (as the Banians use theirs,) for my part, as I have elsewhere said, I should not much blame them. The Eulogia, or Consecrated Bread, of old was mutually sent from one Christian to another, in Memory of Christ's Passion, and in token of Brotherly Love; and the Greek Antidoron, and Hypson or Hypsoma are all, even now, of the same nature and used for the same purpose; especially the Panagia or Morsel of Bread, which they Consecrate by a peculiar Office, for devout Travailers by Sea or Land, to be carried with them in Memory of the Virgin Mary, who is looked upon by them as their safeguard, and is therefore called ὁδηγῆτις, the she Convoy or Guide in their way. What else was the Cup, Ἀγαθὸν δαίμονος, of the good Genius, then, as it is expounded (to name no more) out of Theophrastus, a calling to mind how great the Power, or Might, of God himself was, and how great that Gift (Wine) of his was to be esteem'd? What is our Grace Cup but a Memorial of our Benefactors and absent Friends? Every one partakes of it and divides it amongst themselves, but the Memory of them remains entire in every one of their Minds. Christ's words, εἰς ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν, which we render, in Remembrance of me, may as well be said for my Memorial. And thus many of the Antients explain it. Thus one even in the sixth Century writes, 'Christ gave us his Command and Example, that as oft as we do it, we Remembring him might not be unthankfull for all his most gracious Favours, as when a dying Man leaves some pledge of his Love to his Friend, who as often as he sees it thinks of him with all due Affection. I have somewhere read of one of the Antient Fathers, who (as it seems the Custom then was) preserved a Portion of the Holy Bread, Consecrated at the Eucharist, by him to his lives end, and order'd it to be buried with him; he certainly kept it only as a Memorial, for had he thought that it was Christ himself, he would not have put that Indignity upon him as to have confind him to his own Carcase whilst it turn'd to Putrifaction.

Thus that of St. Ambrose, I see, I tast, I smell, I bite quite another thing; how do you assure me that I receive the Body of Christ? Answer, by this his Memorial, you as verily hear him Preach, see his wonderfull works, behold him nail'd to the Cross and his Blood streaming down, and do spiritually Eat him, as the Jews did Eat that very Bread of Affliction by their Memorial, which their Fathers had eaten so many hundreds of years before them in Egypt.

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So that of Greg. Nyssen, how is it possible that the one Body of Christ, which is divided to many thousands of the Faithfull, should be whole and entire in each Portion which every one receive, and yet still whole and entire in it self? It is answer'd, In like manner as every particular Jew received the whole Bread of Affliction, in every particular bit of it which they did eat, as a Compleat Memorial of their Fathers Bread in Egypt.

* p. 46.

Thus for those words of Chrysostom, and the like of other Fathers, are there many Christs in several places? He is entire here and there, in Heaven and on the Altar, in our Hands; is divided to the People without division, &c. the Memorial of him makes all this plain to all that are not prejudiced and willfully blind. What is more usual in common discourse then such sayings as these, *this Spoon is my God-father or God-mothers, N. N. this Ring is dear A. A. this Cup or Box is unfortunate B. B.* and I remember a very diverting but true Story of one of our Canting English Preachers in Holland, attested by several of his Auditors; he had lying by him a certain Log, or Biller, which he called *Roger*, in Memory of its Donor; he kept it very carefully a while till a very cold Winter forced him to burn it, and in his Sermon he made a most ridiculous Application of it, to shew what urgent Necessity would sometimes compel Men to do, with even the sacred Memorial of a Friend.

I could cite many many of the Fathers who plainly make the Eucharist only a Memorial of Christ's Oeconomy; though in many places they out of a Holy Zeal use many Metaphorical and Rhetorical expressions, which misled the first Metusists into their literal Acceptations and absurd Interpretations of them. The comparing of Christ's Words at the Eucharist with the Bread of Affliction, will clearly evince the primitive Idea in both to be no more then a solemn Memorial; there will be no room nor foundation for the Metusists pretended confused knowledge of their Error in Christ, or the Apostles, or their first successors, for this Memorial is plain and intelligible to the meanest Capacities. The Pagans knew well that the primitive Christians only Consecrated Bread and Wine as such a Memorial, and therefore they said the Christians Sacrificed to Ceres and Bacchus, the Inventors of them. Had Metusiotism been profest by them, the Heathens must have known it some way or other, as I have elsewhere noted, and then they would undoubtedly have call'd them as the Turks now call the Metusists, *first Makers and then Eaters of their God*. This is my Body, that is, a Memorial of me, and my whole Gospel confirmed by my Death) and this is the Bread of Affliction, were, as is above said, familiar Terms and fresh in the Minds of both Christians and Jews; as also, breaking of Bread (not cutting it) was a common phrase and Custom in those early days; but when these notions began by degrees to be forgotten, Paschasius and his followers were the more admired; and their Doctrine began to be sustain'd by the wild, various, and different contrivances of all the Scholastick Lumber, being daily new Fashion'd by Subtle or Frantick Heads, and vented by crafty Hauksters, at the Command of the Pope, and for the Advantages above recounted.

I have already given you the Turks Opinion of the Metusists; I shall now give you something of their Opinion of the Greeks. In the year 1671 there was a Junta of several of the chief Greeks, Pro-patriarchs, Metropolitans, and others, who unanimously resolved to turn out Parthenius; yet some of these privately in their hearts variously design'd and were contriving the Throne for themselves; however at last with much ado they pitcht upon Dionysius Metropolitane of Larissa; and the Caimacham by a round Bribe, (which was valued by our Merchants at about 3000 Pound) was so far made his Friend, as with great Solicitation he perswaded Kupriogle the Supreme Vizier to accept him. But when the Metropolitane of Heraclea and the others presented Dionysius to him, that wise and upright Minister of State, who well knew their ways, call'd them all, a Company of Dogs, and vile Wretches, without either Faith or Honesty, and upbraided them for their shamefull Quarrels, Covetousness,

* p. 47.

* p. 47. *Ambition, and Uncharitable ways of Supplanting one another*; and calling them all, *accursed Dogs*, he threatened *Dionysius*, and the rest, *that he would cut of their Heads if he heard any farther Complaints of them or from them*. This great *Kupriogle* was a Man of Honour, and though he thus severely and justly reprehended these aspiring, treacherous Prelates; yet in another Case he did the Greeks of *Jerusalem* as much right. They and the Latin Monks there had had long contests about the Possession of the Holy places; they often by Favour and Money had successively turn'd out one another, *Panagiotes*, a Greek, the *Grand Seigneur's* Interpreter, had (as I have often been told) in his Life time gotten a *Bouiarde*, or *Berât*, a Patent or Command from *Kupriogle* to restore the Greeks, who had been for some time dispossess'd; this after *Panagiotes's* Death was vigorously executed; and although the *German, French, Venetian, Dutch*, and at last our *English* Ambassador Sir *J. Finch*; nay, and the Pope (as he told me himself at Rome) in the Conclusion of the Peace of *Caminiece*, had all earnestly solicited this *Vizier* to turn the Greeks out again, he was absolutely Deaf to all their Applications, saying, *he would not do that Injustice to his Native Subjects*; and if he had lived he would infallibly have been as good as his word. Of this I shall give a fuller account in another place; but by the powerfull Interest of *France* it was afterwards effected in his Successor, *Caramustapha Pasha*, his Reign. However one thing I must not here omit. The *Marquess Nointel*, at a Visit to Sir *John Finch*, a little before we went to Audience at *Adrianople*, very earnestly urged him to be *Padre Carnizarie's* Friend to the *Grand Seigneur* and the *Vizier*, for the Latins recovery of the Holy Places; and vehemently complain'd of the Greeks, saying, *that they were a Company of Traditori, Treacherous, False wretches; and that the then Patriarch of Jerusalem (which was Dositheus) in his Petition to the Vizier stiled themselves, Defenders of the Antient false Religion*. Whence the *Marquis* had this Story, or whether it was not a meer Calumny of *Carnizaries's* Invention, I know not. But though *Dositheus* proved himself indeed to me, and to all, a *very perfidious, crafty, true Greek*, yet he was a Man of so much Discretion and Wariness, as I can hardly believe either that he would *boldly speak*, or the *Vizier* *patiently hear* so abominable and so horrid a thing; however I remember my Lord made this sharp Reflection upon it, *if Dositheus be such a notorious Prevaricator, what Credit can be given to all his Subscriptions? It must needs lessen the Authority of them*; at which the *Marquis* was not a little overset.

It is Incredible how great Malice, inveterate Envy, and inward Hatred there is between the Greek and Latin Churches. All offers of a thorough Reconciliation between them since *Photius's* time, have been and still are vain and Ridiculous, they being always only meer *Shew and Trick and Cunning*. I know this hath been made use of as an Argument to prove the Validity of the Greek Attestations for *Transubstantiation*; for the Greeks (as it is urged) being really in their Hearts such Enemies to the Latins, it seems impossible that they should so far Favor the Latin Opinion in it, if it was not really their own. But first the Advantages of this *Metusotism* is equal on both sides; and I have sufficiently shewn, how Importunity and unwearied Diligence in the Latins, and how in the Greeks, Ambition, Self-Interest, Worldly Policy, love of Ease and quietness and hence Carelessness in some, and Stupidity and Fear in others, have fully effected that matter. The *Berat* or *Patent* that was procured from the grand *Seignor* for *Dionysius* by his Friend the *Caimacham*, shews what an absolute Power that *Patriarch* had over all the *Metropolitans, Bishops, and Priests*, which were under his Jurisdiction, to *Censure or Displace them*, (right or wrong) as he himself should think fit. A copy of this *Patent* was shewn me by *Dionysius* himself, and it was very commonly handed about when I was at *Constantinople*. One may well guess by it, what *Fear* would do with the rest, after he had publickly declared in favour of *Rome* himself. Yet in his Attestation which the *Marquis Nointel* shew'd me, 1672, he gives but a slight and

not very respectfull account both of the Persons who desired it of him, and of his own Reasons which mov'd him to it; as I remember he saith something to this purpose, *some Curious Persons had been moved, he knew not how, to enquire what the Greeks thought about some Articles relating to the Eucharist; he therefore thought it not convenient therein to be silent.* Now these words, *curious Men moved, I know not how, to enquire;* seem to me but a plain Character of some *meer Busy, Impertinent, trifling Fellows;* however the Latins at that time *did his Business* and he *did theirs.*

* p. 47.

But changes of Favourites and other Revolutions, are as frequent and as Surprising at the Ottoman Court, as at any other; and thus notwithstanding *this absolute Power* given to *Dionysius* by Patent, and the severe Menaces of the Vizier against all farther attempts for making or displacing of Patriarchs; this very *Dionysius* within a year or two was, (*Masulomisc*, as the Turks call it,) *deprived himself.* Among many other Reasons or Causes of it, I have heard this as a Principal one, commonly reported by his Friends. *Panagiotes*, (the *Grand Seigneur's* Interpreter,) had a Wife naturally of a very haughty Disposition; which was extravagantly heighten'd by the Honour, State and Power of her Husband. *Dionysius* stood altogether as stiffly upon every Punctilio of his own Authority and Dignity as she, and therein matcht her to a tittle. Among many other little bickerings which happen'd between them, she one day sent a formal Message to him to have him do something (which I confess I have heard variously reported) which was very disagreeable to his humor; so with some Heat and Earnestness he answer'd to this purpose, *what hath, ταύτην Περὶ, this Imperious, Domineering, Swaggering Dame to do with me? Doth she think to Direct and Govern me? Let her look to her Slaves and Order them, and see that she doth not Starve them.* This so vehemently fired the Lady, as by *Curtain Lectures* (as we say) or otherwise, she never ceased till her Husband by his superlative Interest turn'd him out, and brought in *Gerasimo* of *Tornovum*, his Favourite; a Man altogether as fit for the Roman purpose, and at that time more fit for his own.

* p. 48.

Nothing is more common in the World, then for two adverse Parties or Factions, though most bitterly hating one another, yet in a matter of common Advantage or Interest, to join against a common Enemy. The advantages of *Metousiotism* I have plainly shew'd to be equal in both Churches; and therefore it is now alike maintain'd and profess'd by them both, though their inward, inveterate Hatred, Envy, and Malice, manent altâ mente reposta, *still most furiously and mutually boyl against one another in their Hearts.* Passing by the old quarrel about the Title, *Οικουμενικός, universal Bishop*, which remains to this day; and their many outrageous Practices which have happen'd under their own Emperors, and since under Infidels, Saracens and Turks, especially when either Party turned out the other from the Possessions of Churches, Altars, or Holy places; let the late Actions of the Greeks and Latins at Jerusalem suffice for a very pregnant Instance of all this, to shew that the same rancor and spite still mutually remain amongst them. When *Dositheus* executed the Command which he obtain'd from the Vizier (either by a new, *Chatiferis*, noble letter procured by *Panagioti*, or by an old one of some former *Grand Seigneur* now revived,) to turn out the Latins from the Holy Places at *Jerusalem*, I got a true Copy of a long Letter wrote then by Father *Dominico Landizavil*, one of the chief Latin Friars there to another of his Brethren at Constantinople, out of which (to avoid the tediousness of the whole) I shall faithfully give the Reader these short Minutes, translated and taken out of his very words, to shew the Violence and Fury of the Triumphant Greeks. *They took away, saith he, the Tapstry from the Holy Sepulcher, and from the Chappel of the Angel, and the Ornaments of Silver, &c. And although he bad the Patriarch take heed what he did, for the Tapstry belong'd to the Emperor, to the Kings of Spain and France, to the Republick of Venice, and to other Christian Princes, and that they, that very day, were obliged and ready to Celebrate their Memories; to which the Patriarch*

N. B. Piruz. Piruzi A Conqueror, Victorious, Lofty, Fortunate, preferred. Also a Turcoise Stone. Vid: Mehiniski Lexic. T. 1. p. 985. Hence ταύτην πρὸς, Ironically or by a double meaning, this Jewel, this Precious Emprise.

* p. 49.

answer'd

* p. 49. *answer'd, che niente se ne curava di loro, that he cared nothing for them. And so they would not suffer the Latins that day to Officiate at the Holy Sepulcher. The Greeks the next day perform'd their Office there, but first wash'd the Holy Sepulcher with hot Water and Sope and other Ceremonies, as if the Latins had been Idolaters. That night the Square Picture of the Resurrection which was in the Holy Sepulcher was taken down, and the Latins found it the next Morning torn to pieces and thrown by. Now, saith he, they begin to use us both great and small worse then Jews; the Patriarch publickly declaring, che li suoi, that his Party had overcome our Princes and Embassadors, which makes us ready to die with Anguish, and we can do nothing now but lament.*

*Vid. Lab. conc.
T. 11. part 1.
p. 152. E.*

Now I cannot but make this short Reflection upon these extravagant proceedings. If the Greeks in their Hearts believed *Metusiotism* as verily and fully as the Latins; how could they imagine that the Latins Mass could so highly *Prophane* their Altars, when according to them, both acknowledge the same Elements and the very same end of the Eucharist perform'd upon them? The Latins indeed say that *the Change* is made by only the words of Christ, *this is my Body, this is my Blood*; The Greeks as positively deny it, and say it is done only *by the Invocation of the Holy Spirit*; yet they both alike say, *that the Thing* is certainly done. Doth then the Latins Profession, that it is done *by only that*, and the Greeks, that it is done *only by this*, reciprocally prophane one anothers Altars? One of them must certainly most highly offend in leaving out the main Essential, *the efficient Cause of the Change*; I am sure both of them cannot be the Primitive Doctrine of Christ or his Apostles. Till they agree in this most material Point, I must think that it is done by neither of them; for I have always one of them on my side against the other, and two to one are odds enough.

Besides their mutual Excommunications of one another; the Greeks blotting the Popes out of their Diptychs; the Latins *Bulla de cæna Domini*, annual Curse; and other such publick marks and testimonies of Enmity and Spite; I could add many more such Violent and Unchristian Practices as this last named, both old and New; especially that barbarous and inhuman Action which happen'd at *Jerusalem* a little before this, whilst I was at *Constantinople*, Greeks and Latins preparing to adorn their several Apartments at the Holy Sepulcher, in order to their Celebrating their grand Feast of Easter; fell out first about removing or using a Ladder; the Quarrel grew to such a monstrous height, as they fell to blows and wounded one another, and mutually shed one anothers Blood in the very Temple, and at the very (pretended) Sepulcher of *the Lord of Peace*; and at last it ended in the Murder of a poor Greek *Calogero*, knockt down upon the Holy pavement. But these Stories are all most notoriously known, and must needs make *the name of Christian* to stink amongst all Infidels, who then were Spectators or now are hearers of them. Yet one farther Remark or two I cannot here omit. *Dositheus*, the Patriarch, had been all along very serviceable to the Roman Party, and particularly officious to the French Ambassador; yet in one Letter of his, which I have now by me, he calls the Pope, *θηρίον, μωρόν, τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως ἐστὶς ἐν τῷ πῶ ἀγίῳ*, *Savage Beast, wild Bear, the Abomination of Desolation standing in the Holy Place*; and in another Letter he saith, *ὁ πατήρ ἀλλὰ φθορεὺς ἐστὶ τῷ γένει τῶν χριστιανῶν, καὶ διώκτης τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς χριστιανικῆς*, *he is not the Father, but the Corrupter of the whole race of Christians, and a persecuter of the Church of Christ*. He calls the Latin Friars there, *θηρία ἄγρια, ὀμωπάτους ἀνθρωποκτόνους, δαίμονας*, *wild Beasts, most unmercifull Murderers, Devils*.

Mat. 24. 15.

* p. 50.

The King of *France* challenges to himself *the Protectorship* of the Greek Church, (especially that at *Jerusalem*;) by I know not what pretended grant from the *Ottoman Port*; yet in this second Letter, he saith, *that the Latin Friars were daily plotting to turn him out of the Holy Places by the assistance, τῷ ἀχριστιανικωτάτῳ ῥηγὸς τῶν φεάγγων*, *of the most Unchristian King of*

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of France. Perhaps *that cunning Man* might use these bitter Expressions in Confidence, or only as a Compliment, to me; whom he ever knew to be a profest Enemy to Popery; but I cannot but think from these words, that the Greeks Inveterate Grudge and Hatred for the Latins still really remain'd in the bottom of his Heart; however none can doubt but that it was absolutely so, when afterwards he was, by the Power of *France* and the *Pope*, turn'd out, and received that just reward of his Deceitfull dealing. What shall I say of *Nestorius* his Letter to *Paisius* (above named) where the treacherous subtilties, and self interested designing addresses of the Latins to the Greeks are sufficiently and justly exposed, and judged to be still, as active, real, and lasting as ever they were? The present slavery and grievous sufferings of both Parties in the East, by the daily Oppressions and Exactions of the Turks, can no more extinguish their inward, mutual Fire and Malice now, then the prospect of their common Calamity and utter ruin of them both was able to do it at the Sacking of *Constantinople*. *Dositheus* and some other crafty Grandees on both sides to save themselves, may for a while rake up and cover the Embers, but believe me they are still *alive*, and ready on all occasions to push out a Flame.

Duca Histor. Byzant. c. 30. p. 163. D.

The Greeks in General never wanted Wit or natural Parts, and yet, as if it was by a fatal Judgment from above, when they, or the Emperors in the East, (as the Princes in the West) in their necessities ever applied themselves to the Latins for relief, they commonly came off by the loss. It is generally true of the Pope, what we proverbially say of the Turks; *if he gives you an Egg, he will expect at least a Pullet for it.* The Latins still use the Indigent Greeks so. Where therefore the Judicious *R. Simon* saith, *that it was Money that made Cyril Lucar Patriarch;* I must freely ask him, *whether Money cannot as well make Patriarchs, Metropolitans and Bishops now?* For certainly *Greeks and Turks* are, and will be, very *Greeks and Turks* still. And so likewise, if it was possible for the English and Dutch Ambassadors, and their Chaplains, who, according to the Genius of their Countries, *in those days* were Anti-remonstrants, could by degrees, and by *secret ways and means*, Impose upon *Cyril Lucar*, so as to make him appear in what he wrote or spoke, *Calvinus totus*, (as he was told,) *pure John Calvin all over;* could not the Noble *Marquis* and his Conclave of *Loyolans*, with the whole *Posse* of the Pope, the Emperor, *Spain*, and other Catholick Princes, *Transubstantiate* *Dositheus*, and his ambitious Complices into *pure Bellarmin's and Trentin's*, by *as cunning ways and powerfull means?*

I know the Nature and Temper of the Turks, and Greeks and Easterlings, so well, as I dare boldly assert, that should Protestant Princes, Governors and Potentates be as *Unanimous and Zealous* for Propagating the Reformation, and as *Generous and Free* in contributing and joining their great *Wealth and Estates* for the promoting of so Glorious an End as the Latins are for Opposing it, *our Truth is so great and so plain* as it would infallibly prevail over the Face of the whole Earth. But as to these two Points, the Latins full well know their present great Advantage over us. As to the first we have as well in Civil as Religious Matters sufficiently seen the direfull Effects of that grand Maxim of the common Enemy of Mankind, *Divide & impera, first divide them and then Conquer.* Christ indeed foretold that his Disciples should certainly meet with Oppressions, Calamities, and Persecutions even to Blood; but it was only from *Unbelievers and professed Enemies to his Name and Doctrine.* As for true Christians he commanded and fervently pray'd, *that they might be one in the Father and Him, even as the Father and He were one;* and declared that the Love where with the Father loved him might be in them and he in them. Therefore the Hatred and Divisions of Christians against Christians, and their Persecutions of one another, must be the work of these their only Enemies, *the Flesh, the World and the Devil.* When you say, *I am of Paul, I am of Apollo, I am of Cephas, I am of Luther, I am of Cal-*

Mat. 10. 34. &c.

Luk. 12. 51. &c.

Joh. 17. 21, 26.

* p. 50. Calvin, I am of Knipperdoling, I am of Fox or Nailor) are ye not Carnal? Is
 1 Cor. 3. 4. Christ divided? Is there any more then one Body, one Spirit, one Hope, one Lord,
 c. 1. 13. one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of all? Where there are the
 Eph. 4. 4, 5, 6. true Fundamentals of Religion and the genuine Apostolical Constitutions kept
 * p. 51. up (which have been own'd and profess'd every where, always, and by all,) *Vine. Liv. c. 3.*
 there can be no solid ground or occasion for divisions amongst us. But our
 cunning Adversaries and their Emissaries have Subtily invented many many *Scru-*
ples about the outward Practice of Worship and meer Formal Expressions of Re-
 ligion; and industriously scatter'd and insinuated them up and down amongst us;
 and in weak, injudicious, and unsettled Minds have conjur'd up *that fright-*
full Bug-bear of (at least pretended) *tenderness of Conscience*; that our pre-
 2 Tim. 3. 5. sent divisions are only about the meer outward *forms of Godliness*, but no ways
 c. 1. 13. against the *Doctrine and Power thereof deliver'd unto us by Christ and his*
Apostles. All our National Churches and publick Societies are naturally fond of
 the outward *Dress and Fashion of Religion*, into which they were put by
 their first Reformers; and the crafty *Seminarists of Rome*, under the false Dis-
 guise of *Angels of Light*, secretly and studiously promote *this Stiffness and*
Rigidity of Party against Party, of Nation against Nation; and privately
creeping into Houses and Corners, daily raise and foment new Scruples and
 Dissentions in private Men amongst them. Yet every where these poor delud-
 ed Creatures unanimously declaim and rail against the Pope, not discerning that
 by their *Schisms*, they in the mean time infallibly do his Work. The very same
 ill success must needs attend that late pious design of other Nations as well as
 our own, for propagating Christianity in both the Indies; our Missioners will
 assuredly endeavour to settle the *Doctrine and Discipline* of our Church; the
Lutherans and Calvinists, the *Quakers* and other Sectaries and *new Apostles*,
 without all doubt will attempt the same; as the Papists have for a long time here
 and there *successfully* (if you will believe them) done it before them; and as we so
 lately have seen it practis'd in turning *Cyril Lucar* one way, and *Dositheus* ano-
 ther. Now what will the Wiser and Discreeter sort of Heathens think or say of
 Christians, whom they find *thus divided amongst themselves*? Must it not be
 something like this, 'is their God the true God of Peace and Love more then
 'each particular God of our own? Do they agree more then we? Are not their
 'divisions and mutual Persecutions and Hatred of one another, as amazing and
 'odious as those of the old Egyptians, *who from the visible things of this*
 Rom. 1. 21. *World all indeed knew God but gave his Glory, severally, to Birds and*
 23. *Beasts and creeping things? Nay, they fought and devoured one another,*
 Strabo. l. 17. *for the very Worship of Leeks and Onions?* Is not this much the same
 p. m. 559. case, or worse, of the present Christians? Who Scorn, Hate, Revile, Curse,
 Juven. Sat. 15. Excommunicate; nay, burn one another? The mutual Spite and Detestation
 of the *Karaïm and Rabanaïm* Jews and Samaritans, *divide and separate them*
 Deut. 6. 4. as much; and therein they dishonour *their one Lord of Israel*. Their Ob-
 stinate and joint aversion for Christians, and Christians contempt of them, look
 Eph. 4. 6. as if they did not own the same *one God and Father of them all*. May not
 the Heathen have occasion to say alike to all these, *where is now the God of*
Peace and Love, which they all pretend alike to adore; whilst *true Peace and*
Brotherly Love, impartial Dealing and universal Charity, is no where to
 be found amongst them, in Nation towards Nation, Society towards Society,
 scarce in one Man towards another? When the whole World is to be gather-
 ed together and to be made *one blessed Sheepfold under one Shepherd*, can
 any one Society of *all these Votaries*, be so vain and self conceited as to pre-
 tend or expect that it will be done only, and exactly, after their own present
 particular *outward Form of Worship*, or precisely after *their peculiar*
Scheme of Discipline and Administration of it? No; *that will be the work*
only of the Almighty and All-wise Reformer himself, and must be let a-
 lone, as to his own due time, so wholly to his own Disposal.

Yet he hath sufficiently directed us what to do in the mean time; *Let your Light, saith he, so shine before Men, that they may see your good works and Glorify your Father which is in Heaven.* This divine Rule will quite frustrate the malicious Policy of Rome by working a better understanding amongst all the Reformed; and it will fully answer and confound all the Objections and Cavils of all other Gainsayers. *Let your Light;* the Faith and Divine Knowledge of Religion which you pretend to and profess, appear so publickly, clearly, and constantly, *in the sight of all Men* with whom you converse; *that they may see your good Works,* your Pious, Devout, and Innocent Behaviour; your sincere and steady Practice of Uprightness and true Holiness in all your ways; thus they will be convinc'd that you your selves are in good earnest, and that you aim at nothing else, *but the Glory of the true God,* which they cannot withstand, *but must acknowledge and admire* as well as you. This incomparable Lesson alone, well understood and diligently Practised, will, by God's help, *bring to nought all those Evils which the Craft and Subtlety of the Devil or Man worketh against us.*

Let us now see what blessed Effect the punctual Observation of it must certainly produce as *to the common Enemy.* Thou (whoever thou art) that dost declare thy self a profest Adversary to the Doctrines and ways of Rome, place not any part of thy Religion (nor ever think to shew it) only in fiercely declaiming against her many Enormities and Errors; or in daily inveighing against her outward Forms and Ceremonies, (which are commonly but the empty Shells, or rather *meer various Dresses* or fashionable *Shadows of true inward Devotion*) but make *the glory of God and his Righteousness* the whole and only end of all thy Actions. Now though some of her furious *Inquisitors* may Reproach, Persecute, Torment and most despitefully use you, yet, believe me, *Thousands to one* amongst all the rest, seeing your perseverance in only the *unfeigned Exercise* of a holy Life, *your Christian Patience, your Calmness and entire Resignation of your self up to the will of God, and his most Wise disposal under all your sufferings,* will infallibly in their Hearts condemn them and pity you; and glorifying God in you, they will be ready to cry out (if they durst) *the fear of God is in you of a Truth;* or with the Centurion, *certainly this is a righteous Man.* For most Men naturally pity even a common Malefactor who deserves to die; but all the sufferings *especially the Blood,* of a quiet, harmless, silent Lamb, will force and create Compassion in any Heart that is not perfect stone. *Bless them that Curse you,* saith Christ, and *this is the will of God himself too, that with well doing, not railing or useless wrangling, you may put to silence the Ignorance and Malice, of foolish Men.* Thus *the Blood of the Martyrs became the Seed of the Christian Church.* Let the fiercest Metusiot brand you with the name of Heretick, and persecute you as such, he must be confounded with shame whilst he see *your good works, your Righteousness far exceed his own;* whilst he behold your Innocent Life, *though he speaks evil of you as of an evil doer,* he will be ashamed that *falsly accuse your good Conversation in Christ.*

The same most blessed and powerfull Rule duly Practised, will in like manner secure all Reformed Christians and differing Worshipers of the same true God from those unreasonable Heats, Animosities and froward Divisions which have so long reign'd amongst them; and by this from the reproach and Calumny and wicked Designs of their common Enemy. See how fully and most aptly to our purpose the divine Apostles have explain'd it. *Be not Wise in your own Conceits. Walk with all Lowliness and Meekness, with Longsuffering, forbearing one another in Love; endeavouring to keep the Unity of the Spirit, (the same Faith, Hope, Charity, the only true Principles of Religion,) in the Bond of Peace. Let nothing be done through Strife or Vain-glory, but in Lowliness of Mind; let each esteem other better than themselves; look not every Man on his own things, but every Man also on the things of others.* Be not so proud and rash as to Damn all the World who

* p. 52. are not absolutely of your Mind in all the outward Formalities of Religion; *do-
ting* and quarreling about empty, doubtfull, and unnecessary, *Questions, and
Strifes of Words*; and the various Administrations of Sacred Offices; where-
of cometh *Envy, Railings, evil Surmisings, παρακαταξεναι, fretting and mu-
1 Tim. 6. 4, 5. tually galling Pamphlets of Men of corrupt Minds*; never render nor recom-
1 Pet. 3. 9. pence *Evil for Evil, or Railing for Railing, but contrarywise Blessing.*
Rom. 12. 17. *Provoke one another, not to vain Jangling, but only to Love and to good
Heb. 10. 24. Works; strive to outrun or out-vy one another and get the Mastery, not in
1 Tim. 1. 6. words, or in fiercely maintaining unnecessary Disputes, but only in the Exer-
2 Tim. 2. 14. cise and steady Practice of a good Life approved unto God.*
1 Cor. 9. 25.

Is there any Congregation or Society of Christians or other Worshippers of
Gal. 5. 19. the true God who teach or allow of *Adultery*, or any other of the *Works of
the Flesh*? Though here and there some Licentious, Atheistical, Prophane or
Jesuitical Spirits, may endeavour to mince, or lessen, or palliate many of them,
yet they all seem unanimously to Detest and publicly Abhor both the Names
and the very Things. There are none but own all Christs Heavenly Doctrine
in his Sermon on the Mount; *He came not to destroy Morality but, καταργειν,
Mat. 5. to advance it to its highest Perfection in the Hearts of Men.* He indeed
verf. 17. hath abolished the Ceremonial Law of the Jews and *all its Works*; but for the
ten Commandments and the whole Moral Law, he hath not only established
it in its full force and extent, but he hath illustrated and clear'd it up from all
those false Glosses which the corrupt Jews had put upon it; he had freed us
from the works of the Ceremonial Law, but by no means from the works of
Gal. 5. 22, 23. the Gospel; not from the *Fruits of the Spirit*; not from the *Crucifying of
24. the Flesh with its Affections and Lusts.* Whatsoever things are true, ho-
Phil. 4. 8, 9. nest, pure, lovely and of good report, all *Virtues and things worthy of Praise*,
are still our indispensable Duty; *do these things, as the Holy Apostle himself
did them all before you, and the God of Peace shall be with you.* Let a
Man's perswasion or profession be what it will, I am sure it is but Pretence, Va-
nity, and Deceit, if after a strict Examination and Enquiry, I find his Life and
ways contrary to these plain Rules and Dictates of *Natural, as well as Re-
vealed Religion.* An immoral Man can never be a true Christian. It is a *true
Faith and trust in God* and a firm dependance upon all his Faithfull Promises,
accompanied with the works of the Gospel (its only Fruits, to wit, the Pra-
1 Joh. 5. 4, 5. ctice of a Holy and Innocent Life in the sight of God and Man) *which only
will give us the Victory over the World*; by only this Union of *Faith and
good Works, we shall be more then Conquerors through him that loved us*;
Rom. 8. 37. not only over the common Enemy, but over our selves. This Union in the
Jam. 2. 17, 20. substantial Parts of Religion will mutually abate the vain Heats, uncharitable
1 Joh. 3. 8. Animosities and Disputes, about the meer outsidcs of it, the *weak and beggar-
ly Elements* or Rudiments, of our Education, or our own private Fancies and
Conceits. Whether then the Practice of a holy Life be only and entirely the
work of God alone in us; or whether it be the Effect of Man's free will
guided, strengthen'd and supported by God's gracious Assistance and Concurrence
with it; thus far we all agree *that without Faith, and Holiness no Man shall
Joh. 3. 36. see the Lord.* For my own part, so long as out of a sincere and steady Faith
Heb. 11. 6. in God, I, by his Gracious Assistance do live the *Life of a good Christian*,
Heb. 12. 14. performing to my utmost *my Duty to him and to my Neighbour*, as I have
Luk. 10. 27, 28. been taught it in my Catechism; let any Precise, Censorious or Conceited Man
call me a *Formalist* or meer *Moralist* or what he pleaseth, I shall matter it not.

Now as for those Pious well-minded Christians who are willing and desirous
to go abroad for the Propagation of the Gospel amongst Unbelievers, I heartily
wish that they would propound to themselves no other end in the World but
only the *Glory of the true God.* Let it not be for the Encrease of Riches, or
Power, or Dominion, or vain-Glory; or for the advancement of any Private,
Starcht, Fond, unnecessary beggarly Principles, Opinions, or Speculations of
1 Joh. 3. 8. Men; but only for the *beating down of Sin and the works of the Devil*;
Not

Not for the sowing of Schism and empty Disputes, or poor outward differences of Worship, but for the obtaining of *that one thing necessary, the firm Faith in the Doctrine and Promises of the Gospel, join'd above all things with the inward and indispensable Life of Christ.* Let their Light thus Shine before Men, having their Conversation honest among the Gentiles and Unbelievers, that by the good works which they shall behold in them, these may glorify God in this their day of Visitation. Let the great Apostle of the Gentiles be their Pattern, who thus expounds this divine Rule to them, as he did also illustrate it by his own Practice. *Giving no Offence in any thing, that the Ministry be not blamed, but in all things approving our selves as the Ministers of God; in much Patience, in Afflictions, in Necessities, in Distresses, in Stripes, in Imprisonments, in Passings up and down, in Labors, in Watchings, in Fastings, by Pureness, by Love unfeigned, by the word of Truth, by the Armor of Righteousness on the right hand and on the Left, &c.* I know by my own Experience, and the certain Information of many others, that there are no greater Obstructions to the propagation of the Gospel amongst Unbelievers, than the Schisms of some, and the bad Lives of other Christians, who live among them. Therefore it must first be the most earnest and joint endeavour of the Reformed at Home, to promote more Love and Charity, the only bond of Peace and Perfectness, among themselves; *Forbearing and Forgiving one another, becoming Weak to the Weak;* For I must look upon all their present outward differences and Divisions to be rather only the meer Infirmities of too forward and busy Men, than any thing else; *ἡμεῖς καλῶς, they are Zealously affected themselves, and affect others, but not well;* and in the next place their Preaching and good Living, Abroad, must inseparably go together, else all will appear but as a meer dead Carcase, be it ever so pompously and finely garnisht and painted. I can never sufficiently admire the great Erasmus, who bid Christians first overcome the Turks by their Lives, before they attempt to Conquer them by their Arms; He is not ashamed to call them, what, (as to the Moral part,) they really are, *Semichristianos*, half Christians already; it is not the subtilty of an Occam or a Loyola, but the Life of an A Kempis or an Erasmus that will prevail with them or an Indian.

As for that other matter above named as necessary for the promoting the Reformation among the Greeks under the Turks, that is, *the support of its Cause* by a generous Contribution of Reformed Princes and Potentates, truly to me it seems a thing very Impracticable, especially in the present State of Affairs in Europe; Princes find other occasions for their Money at Home. I utterly despair of seeing in my Days, the English, Dane, Sweed, Brandenburg, Dutch, Hans-towns, Swisse, and the rest of the Reformed Nations, cheerfully and zealously to enter into any solemn League or Combination for the carrying on so glorious a Work; and if it could be done, I could not expect so steady and prosperous a Management of Affairs under so many Heads and Governors, as we find matters have been and will still be done by the common Enemy, where all is design'd, directed, and Executed by one Supreme Commander, the Pope. In Cyril Lucar's troubles only the English and Dutch and some wealthy Greeks assisted him, but they were all at last weary of their vast Expence. Was there now an entire Protestant Crociata or Crusado, the Pope and his, *Posses Papatus, Catholick Sons, Votaries and Vassals* would out of Bigottry or Fear easily provide a much larger Purse; or outwit them, as at last they then did. The Latins have been long before us in the East, and have ever been as Vigilant and Active in perverting the Greeks, and other poor Ignorant Christians there, as the Apostles were in Converting the first Believers; and by their long Experience and Practice they full well have Learned what Money and Art can do with them, as well as with the Turks. It is plain that many gross Errors, as well as that of Transubstantiation, were sown and sprouting up in the Church of Rome before Berengarius's Age, 1050. and they early began to be transplanted

* p. 53.

1 Pet. 2. 12.

2 Cor. 6. 3. 4.
5. 6. 7. &c.Eph. 4. 2, 3.
Col. 3. 13, 14.
1 Cor. 9. 22.

Consult. de bello Turc. in ferendo. T. 5. p. 353.

* p. 54.
Epist. Paulo Vol. 2. 10. T. 3. p. 338.

* p. 54. ed into the East; *Jerusalem* was taken by the Latins, A. C. 1099: and *Constantinople* was likewise their Prey, A. C. 1204. The Greek and Eastern Prelates were all asleep; and it is no wonder that they did not know or mind what was all this time contriving at Rome, for they often knew not what was done among themselves at home. These Ages are own'd by the Latin Writers themselves to have been *most Corrupted in their Morals, especially all the Ecclesiasticks* from the Popes themselves to the meanest Clergy. The common Fame was every where spread abroad, *that Anti-Christ was then to appear, and that the Abomination of Desolation was then to set in the Temple*, according to *Daniel*; and the gross Immorality of all Christians, made People then both believe and expect it. Therefore they were deservedly called *Leaden, Iron, Obscure or Dark Ages*. Whilst such universal Wickedness and Ignorance reign'd, some few Politick, Projecting, leading Doctors (though not half Learned themselves) had yet Cunning and Power enough to impose upon all the rest any extravagant Nations which they thought might advance the Papal and Ecclesiastick Empire and Authority, as hath been Noted before. Where Meditate upon what King James the First used to say, *that if there was an Hen-and-cry made after Anti-Christ, he would sooner lay hold of the Pope for him, than any one else in the World*. It manifestly seems to me that his real coming ought to be dated from these very times. The violence of Popish Princes, especially of Robert King of France against Berengarius, sufficiently shews with what Reluctancy the Metusiot's Doctrine was first set on foot, carried on, and settled. Marcus Eugenius and Cabasilas, a little before the Council of Florence, were warping towards the Corporeal Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, according to the Roman opinion; for School Divinity had been broacht in the East long before; yet they stiffly maintain'd that Controversy which to this very day remains between the two Churches, the Greeks asserting the Change made in the Elements (whatever it is) to be done only by the Invocation of the Priest; the Latins as stiffly saying, that it is made only by the words of Christ; the Emperor would by no means suffer the Roman Doctrine to be put into the Florentine Definition; and Cabasilas was called a Schismatick; and the three Patriarchs and Metropolitans, who were at home, when the Emperor return'd from the Council, Condem'd him and renounced it. Alas! It was very very late before the Reformed Pastors knew any thing of the Latins Practices in the East; these had been playing their Game among the Illiterate and unwary Greeks, some hundreds of Years before the name of Protestant was heard of in Europe; from whence only proceeded the profound silence of those for a while; but now upon a strict and diligent enquiry, the whole Mystery of the Latin Iniquity, will be daily more fully discovered and confuted to their shame.

There is of late a very Pious design set up and encouraged by many Reformed Christians, for a solemn (and more vigorous then formerly) Conversion of Unbelievers in both the Indies, especially that of the West; and many large contributions have been, and still are daily, made for that blessed purpose; but besides those obstructions hinted above, the Latins have been there also long before us, and will most certainly oppose and trouble the Reformed Missioners to the utmost of their Wit, Malice, and Power; so that I can see nothing to support them, but God's blessing, upon their Holy Life, and mutual Charity amongst themselves. Let them ever have in their Minds that grievous Wo, pronounced against the Scribes and Pharisees, Hypocrites; *ye compass Sea and Land to make one Profelite, and when he is made, ye make him two fold more the Child of Hell, then your selves*; yet after all I cannot but think that it would be the most solid Foundation and blessed Beginning of that glorious Work, if all the miserable Slaves in all the Reformed Plantations (which are absolutely in their own Power) were first converted, (and not bought and sold and used) as they now are (like meer brute Beasts,) before there is any attempt made upon other People or Provinces.

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C H A P. I.

Some private Thoughts concerning the Christian Communion.

CONSIDERING that by *breaking of Bread*, is oftentimes in Scripture meant the celebrating of *the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper*; I thought it not amiss briefly to look into the Original of that Expression.

All over *Turky* where I happen'd to Travail, the common Bread, which is made and sold by the publick Bakers, is not much unlike our thicker sort of Pancakes, being very soft, and seldom above a day old; so as you may wind it round your Finger. This flat Loaf (or rather Cake) is round, and about the breadth of one of our Trencher-Plates, and about an Inch thick at most. When we eat at an ordinary Man's House (be it *Turk, Greek, Armenian, Jew, &c.*) The Master or Chief of the Family (or some Friend by his Appointment) takes as many of these Loaves, or Cakes, as he thinks sufficient for the present Company, and with his Hands he *breaks*, or rather pulls them into Pieces of moderate bignesses, and strew them all upon the Table (or Thing) at which they eat. I find something like this, as a very antient Custom amongst the *Thracians*. When *Xenophon*, and the rest of the Generals, supped with *Seuthes* the King; *Seuthes* first brake Bread that stood by him into little Pieces, and threw it to whom he thought good; and then others did the like after his Example. This I take to have been their common Custom, thereby to express a mark of peculiar Respect, and perfect Friendship to one another. Many Things in that place in *Xenophon* cannot be well made out, but from the *Turkish* Customs now in use, as I shall shew in a more proper Place. See more if you please in *Stuckius*.

Breaking of Bread seems also to have been the common Custom of the antient *Jews*, *The young Children ask bread, and no Man breaketh it unto them*. And the word פֶּרֶק (which comes from פָּרַק *fregit in frusta*, which signifies to break into Morsels or Bits) we translate sometimes a morsel, sometimes a piece; but it signifies properly *κλάσμα*, a fragment, or a piece that is broken off, and is so rendred by the LXX, and elsewhere. So that what we call a morsel of Bread, with them was a fragment, or broken piece of Bread, which farther favours this Conjecture.

However *breaking of Bread* appears plainly to have been their custom in Christ's time. In the Miracles wrought with the five and with the seven Loaves, he first brake them, and then distributed them. So eating with the two Disciples that went to *Emmaus*, He (as the chief Person) brake the Bread and gave it to them; and so *St. Paul* likewise with his fellow Passengers, when he had broken the Bread he began to eat. And the present *Jews* every where to this day, at their common Meal have something of the same Custom; for the Master of the Family, when they are set down to eat, takes a Loaf, or Cake of Bread, and after he hath said the common Benediction over it, he breaks it, and gives to every one that sits with him a little Piece of it.

Moreover the common Food in *Turky*, wherever I have been, be it boyl'd or roasted, is never cooked in whole Joints, but in small Morsels; so that there is no use of Knives at the Table, but every one takes a bit of the Bread, and dipping it in the Dish, he takes up with it a morsel of Meat between his Thumb and his two Fore-fingers, and so puts all into his Mouth together. If these Morsels be boyled (as they often are with their *Churbaw*, or Potage,) they first eat the Potage with a wooden Spoon, or sop it up with bits of the Bread, and then take up the more solid Morsels remaining, after the same manner as they do other Meat and eat them.

I suspect something of this Custom also to have been amongst the antient *Jews*, They seem not to have boyled their Meat in whole Joints, but rather

stew'd it in small Pieces (perhaps like the *Turks Cobermaw*) otherwise a three-tined Fork *struck into the Pan, or Kettle, or Caldron, or Pot*, might have seized of all that was therein. And their common way of boiling their Flesh in little Pieces is the more plainly set out. *They break their Bones and chop them in pieces as for the Pot, and as Flesh within the Caldron.*

I fancy these Customs prevail'd also in Christ's time. He is said, at the miracle of the Loaves and Fishes, *to break the Fishes, as well as the Bread*, that all might be in Morsels or Pieces; and I doubt not but the Fish were ready drest, (perhaps *marinated*) or broiled, or fryed in Oil, and kept dry, as the manner is also in *Turky* to this day. But there are many more places in the Scripture, which seem more directly to confirm this Conjecture. *Judas his dipping at the same time with Christ in the dish, as they were sat down to eat.* St. *John* varies from these two Evangelists, yet the Circumstance, which he mentions, still looks the same way. *Christ dipped a sop, or morsel, (I suppose of the broken Bread, for so σῶμλον properly signifies) and gave it to Judas.* And it is remarkable, the present *Greeks* have no other word now for Bread, then σῶμ, from σῶμλον, a mouthful, or morsel.

Next, I think, it is generally believed, that Christ and his Disciples did eat after the *Roman* way, that is, lying along; and it is by this Custom better understood how St. *John* *leaned*, or lay on, or before, *Jesus breast*. If this was their Custom then, it seems to add yet something more to my Conjecture; for they lying along (and I suppose leaning on one Elbow) could not make use of Knives, but both the *Bread* and the *Meat* which they eat, was ready divided into convenient Pieces, which the Hand, which was free, might take up and put into their Mouths.

How the Passover was eaten at the original Institution, is not mention'd as to these Particulars. It was *to be roasted by Fire*, but whether Whole or in Pieces is not there said, *not a Bone was to be broken* indeed, but the Bones might be disjointed, and the Flesh separated from them, and so eaten in Pieces. The first Passover might be eaten standing; as many will have it from *Exod. 12. 11. Thus shall ye eat it; with your Loins girded, your Shoes on your Feet, and your Staff in your Hand; and ye shall eat it in haste*; for standing, say they, though it is not expressed, yet seems best to agree with these Circumstances, especially with *eating in haste*. However though the first Passover might be eaten *standing*, yet it is most plain that Christ eat it sitting or lying; (that Custom being perhaps changed long before, when there was no more occasion for such haste) for we read, That he rose *after Supper and wash'd the Disciples feet, and then sat, or lay, down again to eat the Post-Cænum, or After meal*. So when the Passover was eaten standing, it seems probable to me that it was in Morsels ready prepared, and so conformable enough to the Circumstances above prescribed; for it was to be *eaten in haste, with their Staffs in their Hand*; and I cannot well see how they could have their Hands at liberty, (one being to hold the Staff, and only the other to cut their Meat and Bread;) *to eat it in such haste*, if the Flesh was served up whole, and the Bread not ready broken into convenient Morsels. Therefore when Christ celebrated the Passover, why might not the Flesh be roasted in little Morsels, as the *Turks Kebob* is now, and so serv'd up, that they which lay down to eat might so most conveniently take up the Morsels with that Hand which was uppermost and free, and so feed themselves.

Furthermore I am apt to imagine that there was no Bread used in the Passover of old in form of solid Loaves, but meer flat Cakes. For the *Jews* Custom in their Passover is so to this very day; perhaps in Memory of the Cakes which the *Israelites* made of the Dough which they brought out of *Ægypt* with them, (for these might be more easily pull'd in pieces, as is above described;) or they may retain that Custom by Tradition even from the manner of the first Passover it self.

Now

Chap. I. Of the CHRISTIAN COMMUNION.

Now this having been an Antient Custom, (if not generally amongst most Nations, yet particularly in the East, and especially amongst the Jews,) to break their Bread or pull it in pieces when they eat; by breaking of Bread together, was commonly meant no more than plain eating together.

Bread is still the Staff of Life, but most Eminently so all over the East where I have been to this very day; give but plenty of *Bread and Water*, and there are thousands of thousands will be contented with it; but if they have either Onions, or Garlick, or Leeks, or Herbs, or Fruit, or any such thing to get it down, nay, many and many a time only a little Salt to relish it the better, they will rejoyce as much as ever *Epicurus* did, who said, *he would vie Happiness with Jove himself, if he had but Moza and Water enough*; which I take to be the very same with the *Turks Bobourt*, as I shall shew else where.

Now then to eat together being the Communication of the chiefest Principle of human Life, and that Communication being the most usual Evidence of mutual Friendship and Familiarity amongst Men, and *Bread and Salt* being the most common Food, (for it is easiest got, and so is commonly join'd with whatever else can be had) nothing is more common to this very day amongst the *Turks*, then to signify their Acquaintance or mutual Love and Friendship by this expression, *we have eaten Bread and Salt together*; and *Abrah Ecchellensis* hath noted the very same thing amongst the *Arabs*.

Give me leave here to add one short remarkable Story, which happen'd in my time. The worthy Sir *Paul Ricaut*, then Consul at *Smyrna*, sent his Servants early one Morning with Provision for an entertainment at his Country House at *Sedekioy*. A company of Foot-pads seized, rob'd, and stript them; and were going to murder them; but one of them thinking of this common bond of Friendship, had such Bowels of Compassion, as he cry'd out, *Hold, that Fellow* (pointing to one of the Servants) *and I have eaten Bread and Salt together*; so they spared them all and only left them bound.

I need not say any thing to prove common Eating together a Mark of Kindness, for it is so every where; and too many are the Instances in Scripture (of expressing Kindness and Friendship particularly by eating of Bread together) to be recounted here. The meaning of that one Passage, where *Wisdom* invites the simple, and those that want understanding, *Come eat of my Bread and drink of my Wine*, is no other then this, *be acquainted and familiar with me, and be my Companions*; for immediately follows, *Forsake the foolish, and live*. And the unkindness of *Ahitophel* (as is generally thought) is branded with a Mark of Ingratitude and Baseness by *David*, *Mine own familiar friend in whom I trusted, which did eat of my Bread hath lift up his heel* (hath magnified or exalted himself) *against me*; that is, he had most infamously violated that known Bond of Friendship, the eating of Bread, (and what was worse, his Bread) together. And that is set down as a high Aggravation of the Treachery of *Ishmael*, and the ten Men that were with him, *They murder'd Gedaliah after they had eaten Bread together in Mizpah*.

And Hatred, and Enmity, and Aversion, and the like; are likewise expressed by not eating Bread together. *Eat thou not the Bread of him that hath an evil Eye*—for as he thinketh in his heart, so is he; *eat and drink, saith he to thee, but his heart is not with thee*. Hence neither the *Egyptians*, nor the *Samaritans*, would eat or drink with the *Jews*: And the *Jews* in *Turky* will not eat with the *Christians*, nor drink unless it be *Coffee*; because there is an Aversion, or Unkindness, or Scruple, or Disaffection in the *Jews* to the latter, as there was a Hatred and Abomination in the first towards them. And this is the reason of *St. Paul's* command, *not to eat with the Incestuous Person*; nor to have frequent or familiar Company with wicked nominal *Christians*, whose Lives were opposite to their Profession.

And we find eating and drinking together, the Conclusion of Leagues and Covenants, this being the common Test, or Mark of sincere Love and solid Friendship.

Friendship. That between *Abimelech* King of *Gezar* and *Isaac*, is a most remarkable Instance of it. *Isaac* was jealous, and question'd *Abimelech's* Intentions, and said, *Wherefore come ye to me, seeing ye hate me, and have sent me away from you*, but to take away all Fear and Suspicion of hatred or secret Enmity on either side, *They did eat and drink together*. To which I will only add that Passage in *Mich. Ducas* of *Mahomet* the third, who took *Constantinople*; He swore his Son *Bajazet* to be faithful to *Morat* his Brother, by God, and by their Prophet, and by the Bread and Salt which he had given him; counting (it seems) this *Staff of Life*, mutually used, a sacred bond of Fidelity, next to his Belief in God, and his Profession of *Mahometanism*.

Now since breaking of Bread at Meals, seems to have been the common Custom amongst the *Jews*, as it was generally all over the East, and thus to break Bread, or to eat, together was accounted by all a manifest Profession, and publick Seal of a mutual Love, Friendship, Obligation, and Fidelity; I verily believe that the Primitive *Jewish* Christians (those purest Converts, who continued stedfastly in the Apostles Doctrine) did (and that most suitably) from their common and familiar way of Eating, translate or rather continue the breaking of Bread at the celebrating of the Holy Sacrament, following Christ's own Example at its Institution. For though some over Critical Interpreters will have their breaking of Bread to be no more then their common Eating (from v. 46. breaking of Bread, καὶ οὖνον, (in the House, or at Home, or) from House to House, they did eat their Meat with gladness, and singleness of Heart.) Yet I think by breaking of Bread, must needs be meant the Sacrament; for St. Paul the chief Person at that meeting, speaks very plainly, *The Bread which we break, is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ*. For the Sacrament, or breaking and eating of Bread, in that primitive and solemn Way, was not only a Commemoration of Christ's Death according to his Command; but also, after the original meaning of that Custom, a Sacred Pledge or publick Evidence of mutual Love and Charity, far higher then the common way; and therefore it is most truly call'd by St. Paul, the Communion, the uniting us to Christ by Faith, and to one another by that bond of Perfectness, mutual Charity and brotherly Love. This is (like that of *Jethro*, and *Moses*, and *Aaron*, and the Elders of *Israel*) eating of Bread together before God, in a most solemn and peculiar Way.

Now let the Primitive way of eating the Paschal Lamb be as it will, either serv'd up whole, or in Pieces, it here concerns us not; for Christ's Institution of the Sacrament, as is fully and plainly recorded in Scripture, was by breaking and distributing of Bread, and giving the Cup after the Paschal Supper; and was no part of the Legal Passover, but it seems to be appointed by Him purely in the place of another Custom, then practis'd by the *Jews* after the Supper; which was no where prescribed in the Law of *Moses*, but was taken up in much later Times (as many other Observances were) and so by Tradition transmitted down to our Saviour's time, and it was This, as many learned Men have noted out of the antient *Hebrew Rituals*.

C. à Lapide in 1 Cor. 11. 25. Grot. and Hammond, in Matt. 26. 26. and others. After the Paschal Supper was over, the Father of the Family, (or, as I suppose, the Chief of the Company, if more Families then one join'd) took a Cake and brake it into as many parts as there were Persons sate down, and gave to every one a piece, saying, "This is the Bread of Affliction, which our Fathers have eaten in the Land of Egypt, whosoever is Hungry let him come and celebrate (or finish) the Passover. Then he took the Cup and blessed it, saying, "Blessed be Thou, O Lord, who hast created the Fruit of the Vine: So when he had tasted it, he gave it to his Neighbour, and so it went round.

The *Jews* to this very day, all over the East and West, where I have been, retain (as to our present purpose) in a manner the very same antient Custom. First, all their unleaven'd Bread at the Passover is made into flat Cakes (like the
Turks

Turks common Bread (and not to mention what they eat at other times) they use no other for those eight Days; the Sweet or Rich Cakes, which they present to their Friends, (and whereof I have tasted many a time) are all in the same form and of the same thickness. Next they now eat no Paschal Lamb, but have a supper of some Morsels of Lambs or Kids Flesh (as I suppose the Antient way was) ready prepared and bitter Herbs. The manner of the whole Ceremony I will give you out of the Ritual of the present *Jews*, which I had given me at *Constantinople*. The Benediction of the Cup now is, *Blessed art Thou O Lord, our God, King of the World, who hast created the Fruit of the Vine*. "Then every one drink his Cup or Vessel of Wine. Then the Master of the Family takes Smallage and Vinegar, and giving a Benediction, he eats of it and gives some to every one of the rest. After this he takes three unleavened Cakes (laid one upon another) and he divides that which lies in the middle into halves, one whereof he puts again in the middle between the two other whole Cakes where it was before; the other half he puts under the Table-cloth. Then follows this Declaration, as spoken of all the Cakes (perhaps of all the unleavened Bread prepared for the Festival, though in the singular number, *this is the Bread*; as the Greek Priest in making their *praesantificate*, say *ποίησον τὸν μὲν ἄρτον πῦστον*, make this Bread, likewise in the singular number, although he speaks it of many Breads. *Este el pan de Affliction que comieron nuestros padres en tierra de Egipto; todo el que hambriento venga y coma; todo el que menesterolo, venga y pascue, este anno aqui; para anno el venidero, en tierra de Israel hijos forros. This is the Bread of Affliction which our Fathers have eaten in the Land of Egypt; every one who is Hungry, let him come and eat; every one who wants, let him come and keep the Festival, this present Year (we are) here and for the Year to come, (we shall be) free Sons in the land of Israel*. Then after some Account of the night of the Passover, and a Commemoration of their Slavery in *Egypt* (which they call, *הגדה* *bagadah*) and their deliverance, and of the Plagues which God sent upon the *Egyptians*, and their giving of Thanks and repeating the 113 and 114 Psalms, every one Drink, and the Master of the Family takes the uppermost Cake and the half that is under it, and saying the common Benediction, *Blessed be Thou O Lord, our God, King of the World, who hast brought forth Bread out of the Earth*, and adding another short one, He eats of them and gives some to every one. Then taking Lettise, and saying a Benediction, he eats of it, and Distributes that likewise. Next he takes the whole undermost Cake, and Lettise and other green Herbs, and after a Remembrance of the Sanctuary, he Eats and Distributes also part thereof unto every one. This is all the Supper they now have since the Paschal Lamb is left off. But then after this Supper, before the Grace or Blessing of the Table is say'd, he takes the half Cake which he at first laid under the Tablecloth, and breaking it into pieces about the bigness of an Olive, he Eats one himself and gives as much to every one of the rest. Then they fill their Cups with Wine and so say Grace, or the Benediction of the Table. Next every one Drink, then fill their Cups again; then they say the 115, 116, 117, 118. Psalms and a short Prayer or rather Praise, and and so every one Drinks off his Cup, and neither Eat nor Drink any more all that night. And this is all they now retain of the Antient *Postcæninum* or After-supper. Since the Eating of the Paschal Lamb (as is said,) is left off, they have fallen into this way, which is a shadow of it; and without doubt is far different from the primitive Custom or Practise, and perhaps as much from that used in Christ's time.

Now I cannot but take Notice of some things, which seem to be truly Antient. First, every one now Eats and Drinks his Cup, *rescobdado*, leaning on his left hand with his left Elbow on his left Knee, but expressly, we read, *Porque fue demudada la noche esta mas que todas las noches? Why was this*

Segunda parte del Sedur. Printed by Isaac Franc. A. M. 5372. i. e. anni Christi. 1612. See also L. Modena. part 3. c. 3.

p. 12.

Goar. p. 190. N. 30.

p. 13.

p. 19.

p. 22.

p. 27.

p. 12. b. 19. b. 20. p. 13.

this night changed more than all other nights? It follows amongst other things, En todas las noches nos comientes y bevientes quiera assentados y quiera rescobdados; y la noche esta todas nos rescobdados. In all other nights we Eat and Drink either setting or leaning as you will, and in this night all of us leaning after the above said way, you may see the very Posture repeated often in

Du Choul vet. relig. p. 6, 7.

the Coin's of *Vespasian* and *Titus*; where you will find *Judæa* represented by a Captive setting with the Elbo and Hand thus placed. So that I must take it to have been a common Custom of the *Jews* thus to express their Grief and Sense of any Affliction: and therefore of old it was particularly used at their *Paschal Supper* in solemn remembrance of their Slavery in *Ægypt*. This seems exactly agreeable to Christ's practice; and makes me suspect that it might not be taken up at first from the *Roman* way of Eating, but was purely the *Jews* own way after the first Passover; for I fancy the *Jews* in the *Romans* time, (no more than those of our dayes) would not have followed such a Fashion, if it had been meerly *Heathenish* or Foreign. And here I cannot but make this reflection. This posture, *whether of Lying along, or Leaning* at the Sacrament (and Christ certainly used one of them) is no where practised now in any Christian Church that I know of. Seeing therefore all other Postures are counted to be *in themselves* indifferent before God, I cannot but admire why our dissenting Brethren should Cavil at our Kneeling at the Sacrament in the Church of *England*. In *Holland* and elsewhere amongst many of the *Calvinists* they receive it Setting; all in the *Greek Church* every where, and the *Hugonots* in *France* at Charenton (as I have often been an Eye-witness to both) receive it Standing; and the *Latin Church* do it Kneeling. This last Posture we have chosen as the best of them all, it being the most Reverend, and most Humble, and the most Thankful way of Commemorating our Saviour's Passion, and acknowledging of all the unspeakable Mercies and Blessings of which we are ensured thereby. Now suppose the *Latin* Custom was really taken up (which I cannot easily grant, though our Brethren most positively, but too rashly, I Fear, affirm it) from that absurd belief of Transubstantiation; yet since our Church hath made so plain and so full a Declaration at the end of the Communion Service, *That Kneeling is only a signification of our Humble and Grateful acknowledgment of the Benefits of Christ therein given to all worthy Receivers, and for the avoiding of such Profanation and Disorder as might otherwise ensue. That thereby no Adoration is intended or ought to be done either unto the Sacramental Bread and Wine there Bodily received, or unto any Corporeal Presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood; for the Sacramental Bread and Wine remain still in their very natural Substances &c.* I cannot possibly see how any reasonable or sincere Christian can be offended at it.

Next the *Jews* singing or saying, after the *After-supper*, the 115 *Psalms* and the three next following, makes me believe that Christ and his Apostles did the like, ὑμνοῦσαντες singing of Hymns, (or Psalms) not a Hymn, as we render it, as if there had been but one.

But the most remarkable thing is that Antient and Modern use of this Declaration, *This is the Bread of Affliction which our Fathers have eaten in the Land of Ægypt*. Whether it was made before the Cup was Blessed, as the older Custom is said to have been; or whether we place it as it is now in the Modern ritual of the *Jews*, it shews most plainly that it was a familiar way of speaking amongst them, by which they could never be so Senseless and Stupid as to mean that *the Bread which they then did Eat, was indeed the very same individual Bread which their Fathers had Eaten so many hundred Years before; or that it was Metamorphosed or really Transubstantiated into it.* There is no *Jew* but would think a Man stark mad, who should seriously ask him, whether he believed so Monstrous a thing. If a *Jew* thought that Question worthy of an Answer, he would (as every Man of common Sense must) undoubtedly say, That that Phrase, *this is the Bread of Affliction,*

affliction. signifies no more, then, *This is in remembrance only of that Bread of Affliction*.

It is therefore most plain to me, that Christ, according to the common way of speaking then in use, meant no more by, *This is my Body, This is my Blood*, then, *This is in Remembrance of my Body, and of my Blood*; and he therefore added that most expressive Command to shew his meaning, *This do, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν, in Remembrance (or for a Remembrance) of me*. There-
fore to give you my Opinion clearly and plainly in this point, I verily believe
that Christ neither meant nor intended more then this, *As you had a Custom after the Paschal Supper to break Bread, and eat it in Remembrance of the Bread of Affliction, which your Fathers have eaten in the Land of Egypt, and to drink Wine, blessing God for the Fruit of the Vine, thereby owning your selves to be of the House of Israel, and under the same Law and Govern-
ment which God prescribed by his servant Moses; so you shall hereafter most solemnly break Bread, and eat it in Remembrance of my Body broken for you, and drink the Cup, not meerly blessing of God for the Blood of the Grape (as you did at the After-Supper, and at your Common Meals) but in Remembrance of my Blood shed for you*. And St. Paul seems plainly to me
to allude this, *The Cup of Blessing which we bless*, it is not that Cup now, which was drank after the Jewish way, and so named from their blessing of God for the fruit of the Vine, but it is a true Cup of Blessing still, where-
by we remember the Blood of Christ shed for us, and bless God for the in-
numerable Benefits received thereby. And by this our solemn Remembrance of Christ, we own and confess that he is our Lord and Master, and publicly sub-
mit our Selves to all his Divine Laws, and declare our unfeigned Faith, and Hope, and Trust in all his Promises, and are by this Spiritually united to Him, and mutually to one Another, by perfect Charity and brotherly Love. And this, I humbly conceive, is the full meaning of what follows in St. Paul, *This breaking of Bread and drinking the Cup now, is κοινωνία, The Communion, or Communication, of the Body and Blood of Christ, and we being many are one Spiritual Bread, and one Mystical Body thereby, and are thus distinguished and separated from the unbelieving Jew, and the Idolatrous Gentile*. And he seems most clearly to declare the Intent of the whole Sacrament to be no more
then a solemn Remembrance of Christ's Passion, in those Words which he subjoins to his Narration of its first Institution. *This, (that is break Bread and
eat it, and drink the Cup thus solemnly) do ye in Remembrance of me; for as
oft as ye eat this Bread and drink of this Cup, ye do shew (or publicly de-
clare) the Lord's Death till he comes*. To which words of St. Paul, St. Basil
immediately adds this Question and answer of his own, *What Profit have
these Words? (Or what Good do they do?) That Eating and Drinking we
might always remember Him, who died for us and rose again, making that
the main end and use of them*.

Therefore the Celebration of the Sacrament amongst the Primitive Christian
Jews, and from Them amongst all the rest of the first Christians, was very
solemn indeed, but very short and plain, as Goar himself confesseth. For besides
the brief Narration of Christ's Institution (as it is in the Gospels and St. Paul)
they added only the Lord's Prayer, and either very little or nothing of their
own. St. Jerom tells us, that Christ taught his Apostles that daily in the
Sacrifice of his Body, Believers should be bold to say, *Our Father which
art in Heaven, &c.* and makes the spiritual Sense of that Petition, *Give us
our daily Bread*, to be this, *that they might be counted worthy to receive
Christ's Body, that Bread, which is above all Substances*. And Gregory
the Great (perhaps from him as Hospinian saith) saith, that only the Lord's
Prayer was used. In our daily Masses immediately after the Prayer, (Lord
have mercy upon us, Christ have mercy upon us) we therefore say the Lord's
Prayer, because it was the Custom of the Apostles, that at That only Prayer
they should consecrate the Host of Oblation, and Bellarmine knew not well
how

Luk. 22. 19.

1 Cor. 11. 24.

1 Cor. 10. 16.

1 Cor. 11.

24. 25.

V. 16.

De Baptism.

l. 1. p. 672. b.

Paris. 1618.

Vid. R. Simon

in Gabr. Phi-

delph. Apolog.

77. a.

p. 139. 137.

l. 3. Contra

Pelagian. p.

248. c. Col.

Agrip. 1616.

l. 7. Indist. 2.

Ep. 63. p. 230.

G. Anu. 1573.

Hist. Sacram.

par. 1. l. 1. c. 3.

de missa l. 1.

c. 27. p. 340. a.

how to deny this. Some Body had composed another Prayer for that purpose, which he there blames, and saith, *it was very inconvenient to use that, and not that very Tradition, which our Redeemer composed, over his Body and Blood.* And I think that remarkable which I find in *Walafridus Strabo. Relatio Majorum est, ita primis temporibus Missas fieri solitas sicut modo in parascene Paschæ (in quo die apud Romanos Missæ non aguntur) communicationem facere solemus; id est, præmissa Oratione Dominica, & sicut ipse Dominus præcepit, commemoratione Passionis ejus adhibita, eos Corpori Dominico communicasse & Sanguini, quos ratio permittebat. Proficiente dehinc Religione amplius aucta sunt a Christi Cultoribus officia Missarum, &c.* Our Fore-fathers have told us, that Masses were used in the first Times to be made, as we use now to make the Communion in the Preparation of the Passover, (on which day there are no Masses made amongst the Romans) that is, Those, whom reason permitted, Communicated the Lord's Body and Blood, the Lord's Prayer being premised, and as the Lord himself have commanded, a Commemoration of his Passion being added. Afterwards Religion making a greater Progress, the Offices of Masses were more increased by the Worshipers of Christ, &c. And Amalarius in the Times of Charlemagne, saith thus, *Satis esset sine Cantoribus & Lectoribus & cæteris quæ ibi aguntur, sola Benedictio Episcoporum aut Presbyterorum, ad benedicendum Panem & Vinum, quo reficeretur populus ad animarum salutem; sicut primævis temporibus fiebat apud Apostolos.* Only the Benediction of the Bishops or Presbyters, without the Singers and Readers and other Things there used, would be sufficient to the blessing of the Bread and the Wine, by which the People would be refreshed to their Souls Health; as it was done amongst the Apostles in the primitive Times. And the Author of that Treatise there under the Name of Micrologus, saith (citing St. Ambrose and St. Austin much to the same purpose) *Quapropter & nos ibi tantum, &c.* Wherefore we also (at the Eucharist) remember only Christ's Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension. Therefore without doubt He, whoever shall diligently inspect the older and more correct Copies of the Synaxis, will judge all those Things which we have noted as Patches added to that Service, superfluous and such things as ought to be rooted out. And we there read in *Gemma Animæ*, That the Bread of old was a big large Loaf, but now (in both the Latin and the Greek Church) it is shrunk to a little Pittance; long, as in This; or round like a Penny, as in That. And the learned R. Simon ingenuously confesseth as much; *All Men must own*, saith he, *that in the first times of the Church, Christians had left off Ceremonies, and more of Piety, or Devotion.* Durandus owns the very same thing, as Hospinian quotes him; and I shall mention no more out of Him, but what I find in *Platina*; speaking of the Celebration of the Sacrament, he saith, *These Things were naked (or plain) at first, and all things were simply (or without Ceremony) performed.* For Peter when he consecrated, used the Lord's Prayer. Then he confesses, and shews at large, that Multitudes of Observances and Ceremonies were by Degrees added in following Times; and he particularly names many, who after one another brought in these Innovations; and without doubt the same was practised by the Greeks.

Next the Bread was broken at the Sacrament for several Ages after the Custom in the East both of Jew and Gentile; and accordingly the Wine was mixt with Water, as the Eastern People used to do at their common Meals. And from this latter Custom to this very day the Greeks have no other word in their vulgar Tongue for Wine, then *κρασί*, (*Crasî*) from *κρασις*, (*Crasis*) mixture or mingling. For proof of both these Primitive Ulages, amongst many other Instances of them brought by Hospinian, let that Passage alone suffice in Irenæus. The Bread which we break is the Communication of his Body. And again, When the mixt Cup and the broken Bread receive the Word of God, it is made the Eucharist of the Blood and Body of Christ.

And

De reb. Eccles.
edit. Cochla.
p. 549. c. 22.

Ibid. p. 1. §. 1.

Ibid. p. 104. c. 13.

p. 192. c. 58.

In Apolog. Gab.
Sev. p. 77. a.

l. 4.

In vita sexti
primi.

Vid. p. 32. hic.

Prov. 9. 2. §.

Const. Apost.

l. 8. c. 12. p.

480. c. Tho.

Aquin. 3a. q.

74. Art. 6.

secundum mo-

remissius terra.

ut supra. l. 2.

c. 1. & l. 5. c. 3.

& 5. & alibi.

l. 5. c. 2. p. 434.

Col. Agrip.

1625.

And *Tertullian* speaking of some Customs in his time received by Tradition, *We take the Sacrament of the Eucharist both in time of Victuals* (at Meals) and as commanded to all by the Lord even in the meetings before day; perhaps he alluded (by the time of Victuals) to the Antient *Agape* or *Love Feasts*, when the Sacrament was also Celebrated; the manner of Eating and Drinking by him seeming to have been the same in both. I chose here to mention that Passage of *Irenæus* abovesaid, because I find, some asserters of *Transubstantiation* lay a great stress upon that Phrase, (*percipit Verbum Dei*) *Receives the Word of God*, stretching it most wretchedly to serve their purpose; as if the Words in Christ's Institution *this is my Body, this is my Blood*; (which here seem to be understood) turn'd the Bread and Wine literally into the very Body and Blood of Christ; but *Irenæus* says only, *the Bread and Wine are thus made the Eucharist*; and he explains Himself in another place, *the Bread* saith he, *which is of the Earth, receiving the Invocation* of (or calling upon) God, *is not now common Bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two things, an Earthly*, (for it is Bread still,) *and a Heavenly*, it is now Consecrated or made Holy; and he seems, by the Word of God in the first place Quoted, and by *Invocation of God* here, to mean one and the same thing, the addressing of our selves to God in the Sacrament and calling upon him according to Christ's Institution, *which is the Word of God*. I would fain know what these Men think that St. *Paul* meant by those words, *every Creature of God is Good, if it be received with Thanksgiving, for it is Sanctified by the Word of God and Prayer*. First *ευλογεῖν* and *ευχαριστεῖν* to Bless God and to thank him or give him thanks for a thing, is the same; nay, to crave a Blessing from God for a Man, or upon a Thing, is sometimes meant also by *ευλογεῖν* to bless; as in our common sayings, *Bless me Sir* or *pray to God to bless me*, so to bless the Table, to beg or crave a Blessing from God upon it, to give Thanks, to say Grace, is all one. Now as our common Food, which by the Word of God is very Good and Clean of it self, and therefore is so far sanctified already, yet by Prayer, (by saying Grace, or craving a Blessing upon it) receives a higher degree of his Allowance and Bounty and is now doubled, to wit, it is his good Creature, with a peculiar Blessing annex; so the Elements in the Sacrament are God's Good, but common Creatures from the Earth, but being solemnly set apart and sanctified by the Form and Words of Christ's Institution, *which is his Word*, and by the Lord's Prayer or such Apostolical Invocations of God, they are made the Eucharist, that is, a compound thing, *Creatures still from the Earth*, and *Heavenly Symbols or Remembrances of Christ's Passion*; this latter addition conveying Heavenly nourishment to our Souls, as the *Earthly Creatures* do to our Bodies. And if you will believe *Amalaricus*, the Latines believed the very same thing, for he speaking of the Elements being communicated saith, *Hic credimus naturam simplicem panis & vini mixti verti in naturam Rationabilem, scilicet Corporis & sanguinis Christi*, we believe the simple or single, nature of the Bread and Wine mixt, to be turn'd into a rational nature, that is, of the Body and Blood of Christ. And this I take to be the plain meaning of *Irenæus*, for so indeed he explains himself in the words which there immediately follow, *so also*, saith he, *our works* (*percipientia Eucharistiam*) *receiving the Eucharist, are not now corruptible having the Hope of the Resurrection*; as if he had said, our Works in themselves are Earthly, Corruptible, and Dead; but by our Faith and Hope in Christ, which we solemnly profess in receiving the Eucharist, they are Enliven'd and made acceptable to God; Faith being added as a living Soul, breathed into, and going through the whole Body of our Works.

I think it is plain that the Latines *sealed Wafer* was not used or known in those Primitive times; neither was the Pieces of the Sacred Bread, when distributed, put into the receivers Mouths, by the Priest, or Deacon, but deliver'd into their Hands; nay, in *Clem. Alexand.* his time, when the Eu-

charist or Holy Bread, was divided, every one was permitted to take his Piece, or Portion, and feed himself with it as at common Meals. But he that desires to see more of the Primitive usages, and know what Corruptions by degrees followed afterwards, may be fully satisfied by that copious work of *Hospitality* above mention'd. I shall here only add that account which we have of this matter in *Justin Martyn*. "After their common Prayers were ended the chief of the Brethren or President took Bread, and a Cup of Wine and Water, which was offer'd to him, and gave Thanks and Glory to the Father of all things, through the Name of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and made a Thankful acknowledgment, at large, for being counted by him worthy of these things. When he had ended the Prayers and Thanksgivings, the People said aloud, Amen. Then the Deacons distributed to every one present, that they might partake of the Bread and Wine and Water, which had been thus Blessed with Thanksgivings, and carried it to them that were absent. And this (peculiar) nourishment they call'd the Eucharist, and it was given to none but to true Christian believers; for it was not counted as common Bread, or common Drink, but as Christ was by the word of God made Flesh, and had Flesh and Blood for our Salvation, so we are taught that That Nourishment, whence our Blood, and Flesh, by its change are nourished, after it hath been by the Prayer of the Word, which is from him, Blessed with Thanksgiving, is the Flesh and Blood, of that Jesus who was made Flesh. As the Jews Cake was the Bread of Affliction.

Here we see how solemn, but withal how simple and plain the celebration of the Eucharist was in the Primitive Church; and to me it seems most evident, That although the Bread and Drink after Consecration were no more indeed counted Common, yet they were then thought to be still true and really Bread, and Wine, and Water; and are so called plainly in this place when Distributed by the Deacons. And they are accordingly elsewhere called, the Bread of the Eucharist, and the Cup of the Eucharist; where a little above you have also with it set down the very end for which Christ commanded this Bread of the Eucharist to be made, that is, in Remembrance of his Passion. The Latins strangely wrest those words, By the Prayer of the Word, which is from Him, to favour their absurd notion of Transubstantiation, but they can signify no more than what is meant before by (*εὐχαριστῶν ποιῶν*) making a blessing of Thanks, or as I have rendred it, a Thankful acknowledgment; and so Repeating briefly (*ὡς προέφη*) the very same Thing or Practice, he explains it by (*εὐχὰς καὶ εὐχαριστίας ἀντίστροφον*) putting up Prayers and Thanksgivings, or Thankful acknowledgments, or Blessings with Thanksgivings. So that Justin here seems to say the very same with Irenæus, The Elements are still real Bread and Wine and Water, but they have received the most ample addition of being now sanctified by Prayer and Thanksgiving according to Christ's Institution, which is his Word. And Origen gives the very same account of this matter in his time; we eat, saith he, *ἀεὶ καὶ, τοὺς Λαβῆς, ὧν αὐτὰ ἐν εὐχαριστίᾳ καὶ προσευχῇ τῇ τοῦ κυρίου παρασκευάζονται*, which Loaves are made by Prayer, Body, being a certain Holy Thing, and what sanctifieth those who use it with a sound intent. The Loaves were still accounted Bread, but not common, being now made Holy.

C H A P. II.

Concerning the Greek Communion.

I Have thus far set down my Opinion (for so I must call it, and offer it only as such) concerning the primitive Administration of the Sacrament; and I cannot but be amazed when I think how this plain and easy Institution of Christ hath been abused by the Inventions and Contrivances of superstitious or designing Men, and disguised by the blind Zeal and misguided Devotion of over forward Governors of the Church in succeeding Ages. How that which He appointed only for a short, but most solemn *Remembrance of his Death and Passion for us*, hath been quite changed into the most absurd and grossest Idolatry in the World; How that familiar and primitive way of *breaking and eating Bread, and drinking Wine* together like Brethren, joining with plain and known Forms of Prayer and Thanksgiving in a devout *Remembrance of Him*, hath been loaded and clog'd with amusing Rites and empty Ceremonies, and perplexed with tedious and fruitless, and sometimes unintelligible, Stuff, and by the Great Churches at last turn'd into a meer Shew or Piece of Pageantry; I say, the Consideration of these things do strangely astonish me, as surely it must needs do any other sincere and upright Christian.

The strange Innovations of the *Latin* Church in this Point are very well understood by us, and have been sufficiently exposed, and justly cast off by the Reformation in the West; but the Practice of the *Greek* Church herein being not so well known, especially to those of the Communion of our own *English* Church, I shall now give you a clear View of it, and humbly add my own Reflections thereupon.

The Manuscripts and the printed Editions of *Chrysostom's* Liturgy are so numerous, and so various, and different from one another, that *Goar* (who mentions eight several Copies of it) justly confesseth that he was perfectly *affrighted at it*. But truly this strange Difference cannot much be wondred at; for we may well conceive (not to mention any of the other Liturgies of differing Christians in the East, as *Armenians*, *Abyssines*, or others) that in many Churches dispersed under the four Patriarchs of the *Greek* Church, they had and used (especially before Printing came in) for a long Time far different manuscript Forms and Readings of *St. Chrysostom's* Liturgy, (as well as of those other two hereafter mention'd) as there were several different *Missals* in the *Latin* Church, till the Council of *Trent*, and *Pope Pius* the fifth order'd one uniform Edition to be used every where, and abolished all other whatsoever. We are told by *Walafridus Strabo* and *Micrologus*, how the *Latins* added continually to the *Mass* whatever *Pope* or Great Man thought good, and you will find the very same thing taken notice of by the *Centuriators* out of *Berno*; concerning the *French*, *German* *Missals*; and without doubt the *Greeks* did the same. And hence I guess, the several Copies and Readings which we now have of that Liturgy arose; that is, from the different and distant Places where they were formed and used, and from the Additions which were frequently made. It is plain from the thing it self, that the Liturgy which we have now under his Name, is a miserable Jumble, or patcht Piece of Service; and *Goar* himself plainly confesses, that many new things which are now to be said and done by the *Deacon* and *Priest*, have been foisted into several places (*frequentius quam par est*) oftner then was fitting; which make the whole so confused and so tedious, as it takes away all Devotion.

Besides *Chrysostom's* Liturgy, there are those two also under the Name of *St. Basil*, and *St. Germanus*, (or as some will have it of *Greg. Nazianzen*) used upon certain Occasions by the present *Greeks*; and those of *St. James*

floruit initio secul. octav. Coetaneus Damasce. Arcud. l. 3. c. 35. p. 305. b. Germano tribuitur Liturgia Praesantificatorum. Goar. p. 200. not. b. & p. 210. 44.

Jur. Orient.
Interrog. 1.
p. 238.

In Gabr. Sev.
p. 209. a.

ut supra.
De Liturg.
S. Jacobi.
§. 13. p. 191.

p. 108. §. 2.

p. 98.

p. 109. a.

p. 104.

and St. Mark, were formerly used in the Churches under the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem, as we find in Balsamon; who withall informs us, that they then were forbidden to be used any more. All these, as they now are found, have manifestly borrow'd several Passages from one another, as likewise from many other pretended Liturgies forged in the East. Nay, R. Simon would perswade us, that every Apostle, where he founded a Church, compos'd for it a peculiar Liturgy. As many Churches at first either had contriv'd Liturgies themselves, or patcht them up from one another, so the chief Governors therein also added and stuff'd in, here and there, Rites and Fragments of their own, as either their Pride and Emulation towards one another, or their own fond Conceit, or pretended fanciful Devotion, suggested to them; and all this seems to me to give us a full Account, not only of these several Liturgies, but also of the several and different Readings, which we find in the Copies of each particular one. And not only Gear, but also the great Stickler, Allatius, do own as much; where what he saith of St. James his Liturgy, I suppose he would not stick to say of all the rest; He makes this Question, (Quænam sunt Jacobi?) *What part is the genuine Work of St. James?* (He might add, of St. Mark, St. Chrysostom, and the rest?) Then he gives this Answer, which may be apply'd to all the others; (*parum refert id discernere, & discernat qui volet; mihi satis sit dicere, &c.*) *it signifies little to distinguish, the genuine from the false, and let him do it that hath a mind to it; it is enough to me to say, whether they were St. James his doing, or any ones else, they are the Church's (Liturgies) and approved by it, to which I am subject, or submit.* Now suppose all these, and all other Liturgies, as they are now in our Hands, were still here and there used by the Greek or Latin Church, could their meer Practice give Authority to such Farragos or plain Huisepots of wild Rites, and Bits and Scraps of a mangled Devotion? Or be a sufficient Warrant to any Man, but Allatius (who professes himself to be a Subject, or meer Slave to the Latter) to use them? Would a Man, who loves Wine and hath any care of himself, if he was assured that his Vintner sold nothing but balderdash Stuff, and mixt only a very little good Wine, or perhaps none at all with it, would such a one say, It is no matter, it is sold by publick Authority of this City, and I will down with it at a Venture? Surely the Health of Men's Souls, is far more valuable then that of their Bodies; and therefore, (as Allatius himself allows those, that will distinguish the genuine from the false, to do it,) the Compilers of our Liturgy and Publick Services in the Church of England, with wonderful Prudence and sound Judgment did distinguish, or rather, as I may say, garble the Offices of Greeks and Latins; and retaining and adding only such Things as might promote true Piety and primitive Devotion, did cast away all the rest that justly seem'd to be Superstitious or Superfluous.

Goar giving us an account of the eight several Copies of Chrysostom's Liturgy which he perused, sufficiently vindicates my Notion of the rise of all the Differences which we now find in it; and amongst the rest he hath printed one Copy of it, which he saith is seven or eight Hundred years old. It hath (*what he counts a plain mark of its antiquity*) in a manner only the bare Prayers, with very little of the Rubricks; and scarce any at all of those Chops and Interlocutions of the Priest and Deacon till they come almost to the Prayer of Consecration; and at last he saith of it (*ut antiquius & sanum magis &c.*) *As it is older and more sound and sincere, so, if I be not mistaken, we must judge it more like, or nearer, to the Original heretofore set out, or made, by St. Chrysostom.* Here he seems to me plainly to suppose, that Chrysostom's first genuine Liturgy was made up of only short and plain Prayers, to which all the other Trumpery by degrees was here and there inserted; and himself hath here thus fairly offer'd at distinguishing the true Liturgy from the spurious ones. This Liturgy is very short, and according to his account sufficiently proves, that That other, which he gives us out of Chrysostom's Works, hath

hath been pieced and new modeld by a later Hand, and is none of His. Nay, he dare not say that even this short Liturgy is entirely his, but only that it is *(similius) more like, or come nearer to it.* Notwithstanding all this, he calls that Copy which he useth, and saith it is of the *Roman Edition*, (*castigatissimum & nullatenus improbandum*) *most correct and by no means to be disproved*; I suppose he said so because it may best fit his purpose.

Dalla counts the Liturgy in the Apostolick Constitutions to be the oldest now extant, (and *Goars* remarks make it so too; *by its consisting only of plain Prayers*;) yet he places it but about the beginning of the fourth Century, but surely the *Greeks* themselves did not believe these Constitutions to be *Clemens* his genuine Work; or the Liturgy there attributed to *St. James* to be his; much less, *that it was confirmed by all the Apostles*; for if all they had been own'd to be of so great Authority amongst the *Greeks*, they would have used none other Liturgy but only this. Whereas that which now goes under the name of *St. James*, is quite another thing from this; and therefore one of them, at least, is manifestly spurious. That in the Constitutions hath only Prayers without any of the modern Ceremonies, and with very little Rubrick. The Oeconomy or History of our Saviour, is there briefly summed up, and not fancyfully figur'd out by dumb shews and trifling observances, as it is now. For the Readers farther satisfaction I shall refer him to *Goars* own *Various Readings*; or let him but leisurely compare only that Liturgy of *Chrysostom*, Translated by *Leo Thuscus* and Printed by *Morellius* at *Paris*, with a *Greek* Copy of it there also Printed, and he shall find variety and confusion enough to amaze him. The Copy which *Thuscus* Translated seems, by his Prologue to it, to have been used in *Emanuel Comnenus* his time about the middle of the 12th. Century; The *Greek* Copy there is sufficiently jumbled and stuff with impertinent Trumpery, which shews it to be of a much later date.

I shall however here make use of only that Liturgy of *Chrysostome* which is Printed in the *Euchologium* at *Venice* in Quarto by *Nic. Glycas* anno 1673. it being the very Edition which the *Greeks* every where made use of in my time, (at the Celebration of which I have oftentimes been present my self,) and therefore it must be allow'd to give the most Authentick account of what the *Greeks* present Practice is. And I shall here first set down *the Ordering* or Preparation of the Elements (the Bread and Wine) upon *the Prothesis* (or By-Altar of Oblation) before they are carried in *Procession* to the *High Altar* (or Holy Table,) beginning at the coming of the Priest and Deacon to *the Prothesis*.

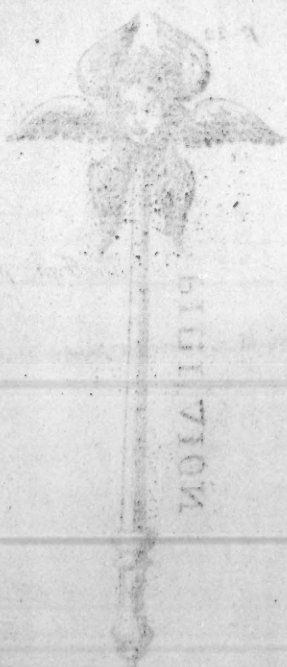
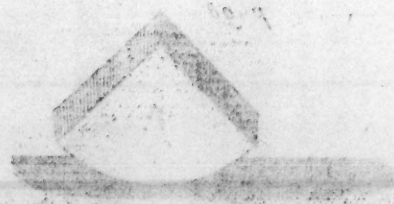
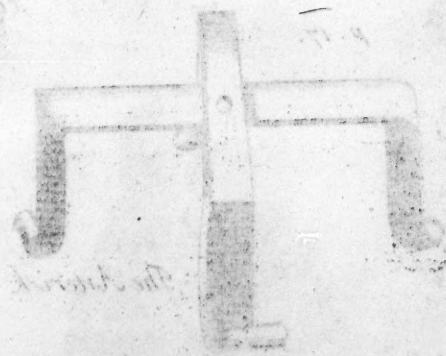
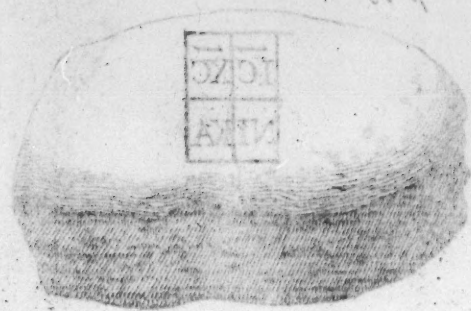
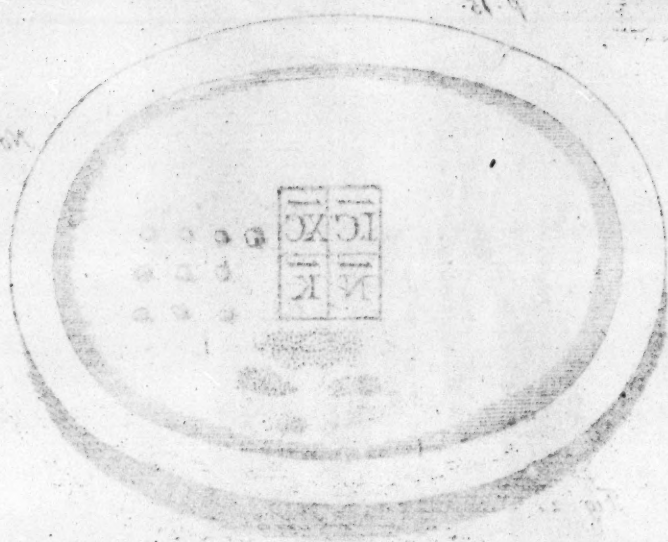
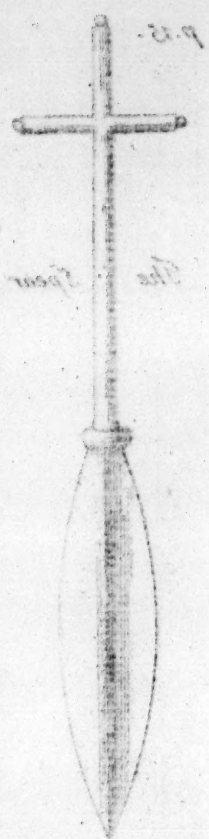
But first take this Plan of the Patriarch's Church at *Fanar*, by which you will better understand many things in the following Liturgy.



A Stone Bench where the Metropolitans sit upon many Occasions. The Altar, or Patriarch's Throne, which Words often are taken for the whole Chancel; on the Steps up to it the Priest stands, while the Epistle is read. The Xyle or Quire, where the Singers

A Door from the Prothesis into the Chancel. The Holy Table. Two Steps which lead to the Chancel. Hands, called Xyle, near the Holy Table, where all the Holy Ussels are kept. A Door from the Chancel into the

The



p. 15.

Fig. 7.

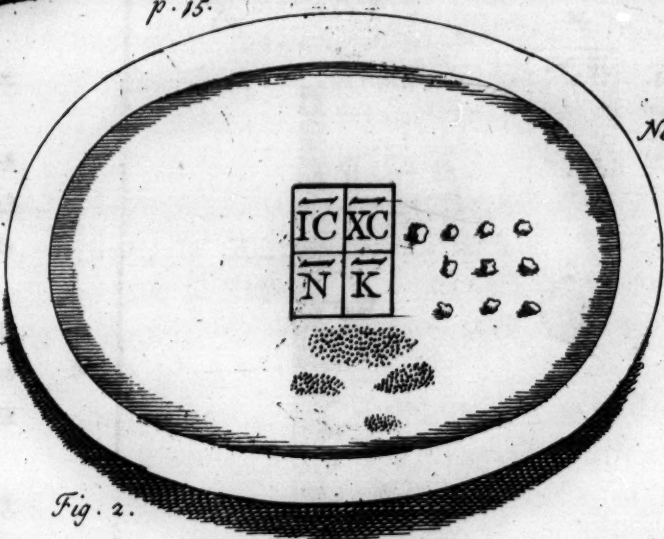
Not. p. 28.



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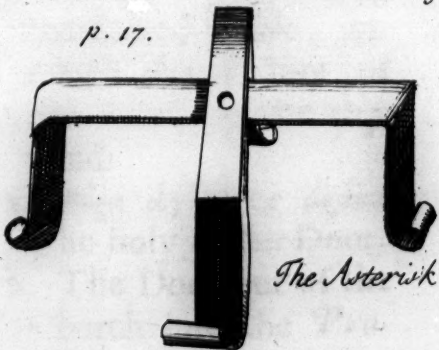


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Notes p. 31.
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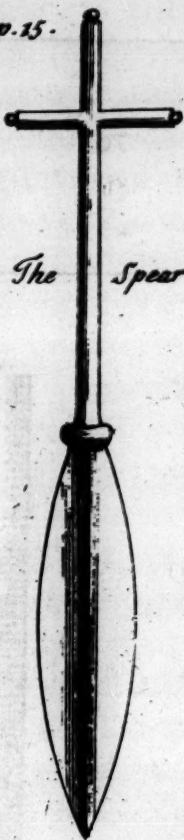
Fig. 2.

p. 17.



The Asterisk

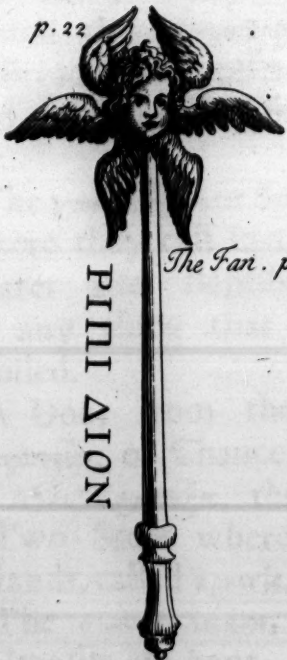
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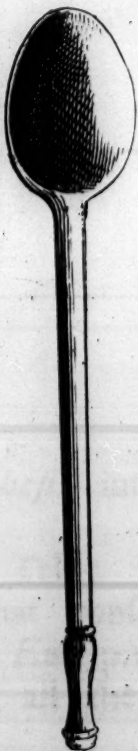
The Spear

p. 86.

p. 22.



The Fan. p. 38 Notes

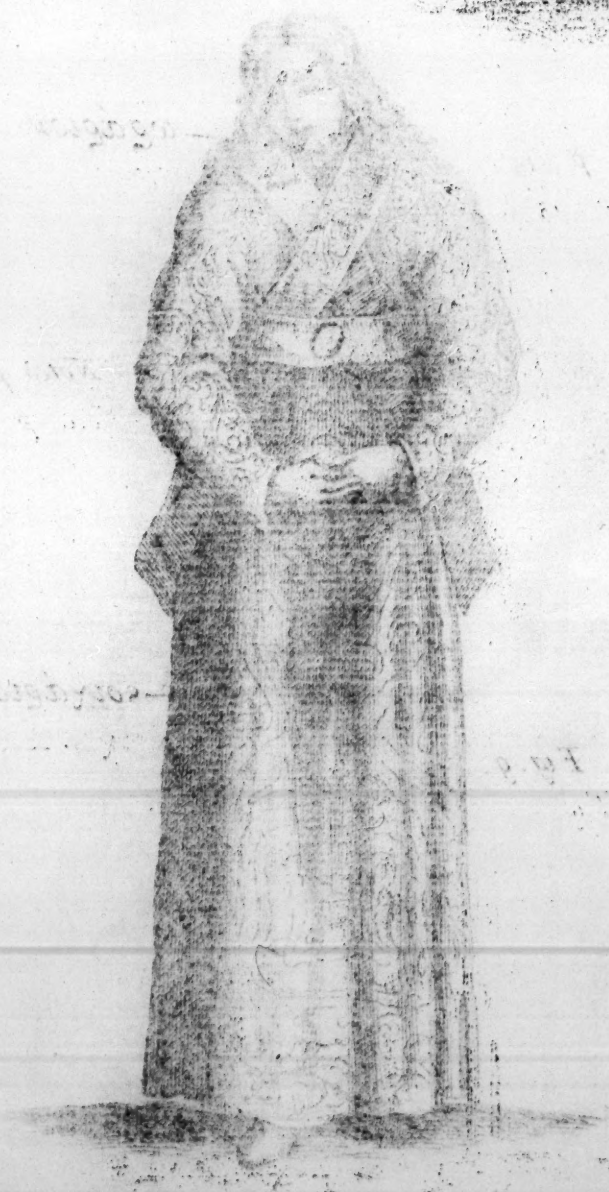
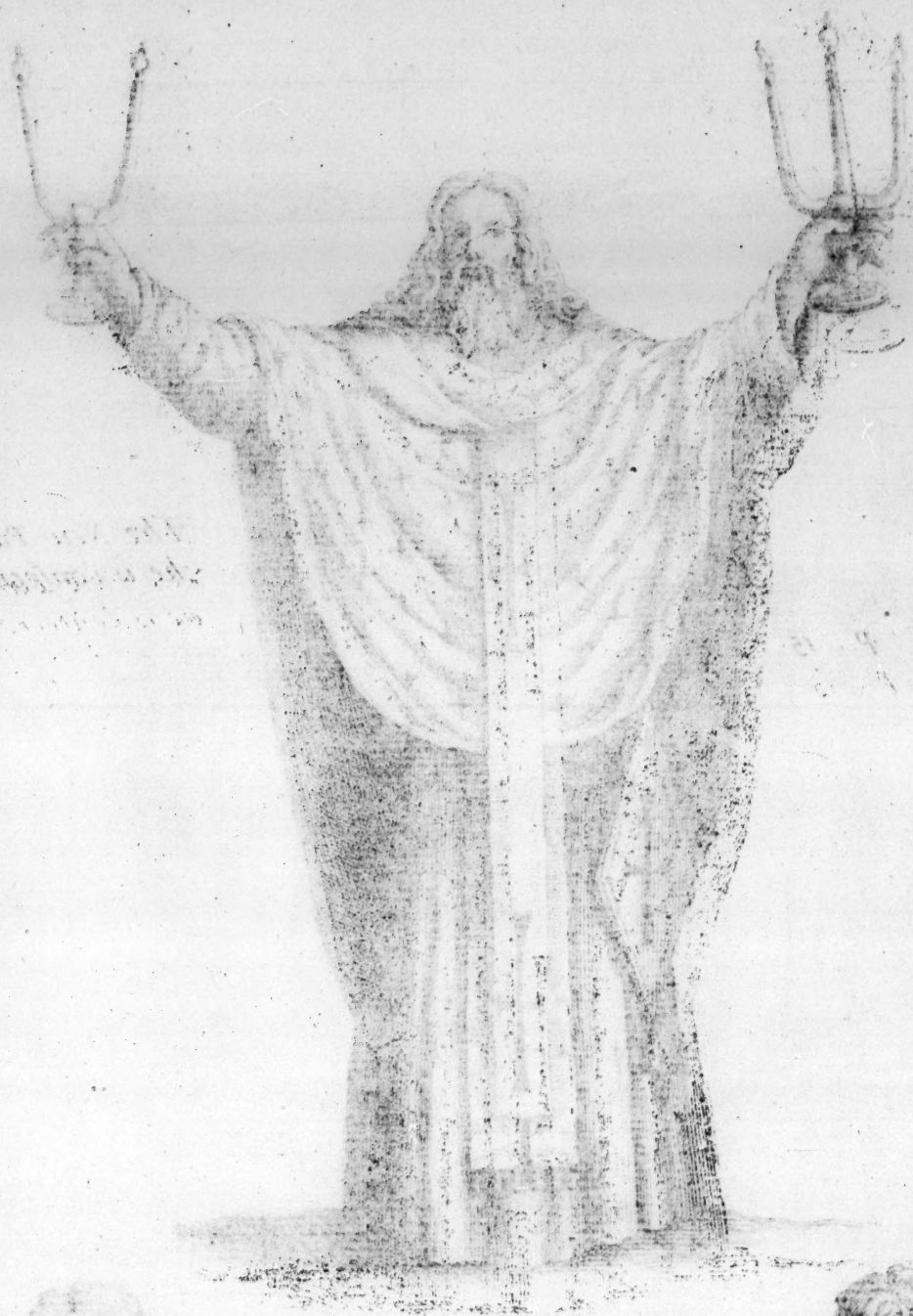


The Spoon

ΛABIC.

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The New Patriarch when he is consecrated.

p. 15



p. 15

Notes. p. 28.

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24.

Fig. 10



p. 15.

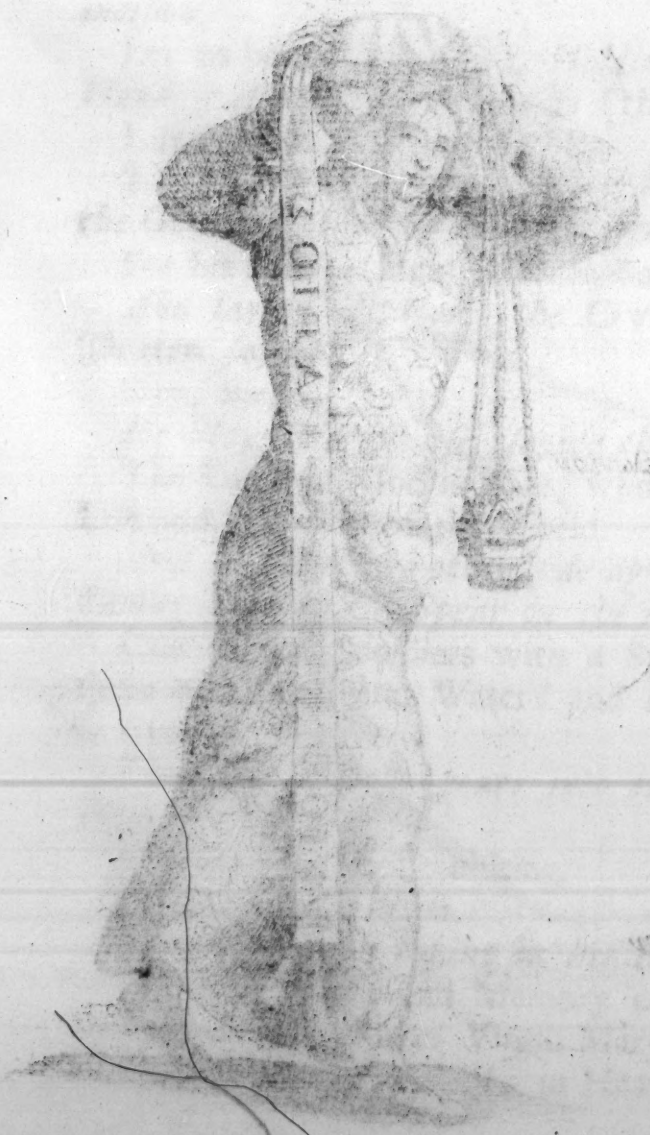
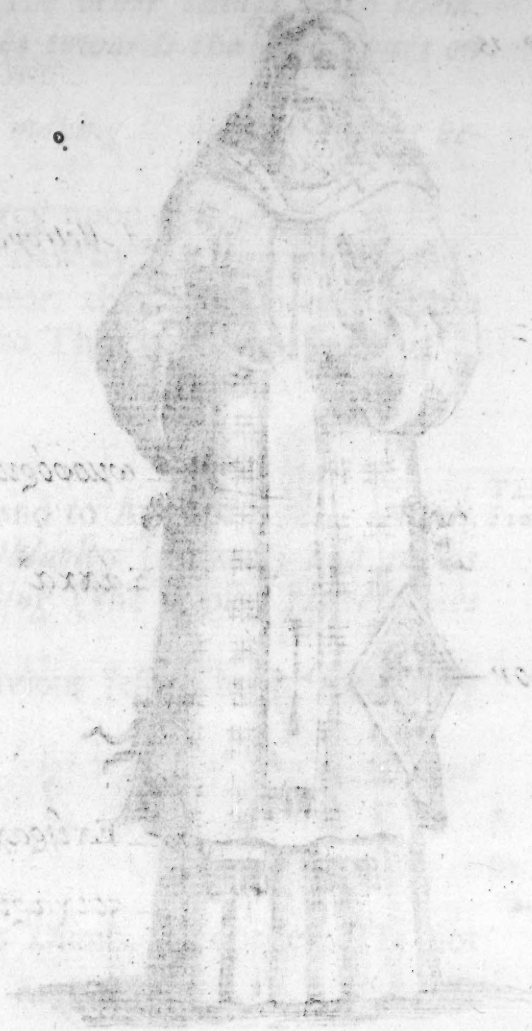
Notes. p. 28.

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24.

Fig. 9.

ωράριον.

σοιχάριον





RUBRICK. The Deacon After he hath put on his Vestments going to the Prothesis sets the Sacred things in order; putting the Holy dish on the left side and the Chalice on the right, and all the other things with them. The Priest (in the mean time) Worshipping thrice towards the East, puts on his Accoutrements.

Thus they (both) go to the Prothesis. Then making three Reverences before the Prothesis, each of them say,

God be Merciful to me a Sinner, and have Mercy upon me, And

Thou hast redeemed us from the Curse of the Law by thy precious Blood; being nailed to the Cross, and pierced with the Spear, thou hast given us from a Fountain, Immortality to Men, O our Saviour to Thee be Glory.

Then the Deacons say,

Sir give the Blessing.

And the Priest makes the Blessing.

Blessed is our God, always, now and for ever and to Ages of Ages. Amen.

Then the Priest takes in his left hand the Oblation (a Loaf) and in his right hand the Holy Spear, and with it Signing (the Cross) three times upon the Seal of the Oblation, he saith,

In Remembrance of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ.

This thrice,

And presently he thrusts the Spear into the right side of the Seal, and saith whilst he cuts it,

He was led as a Sheep to the Slaughter,

Then into the left side,

And as a blameless Lamb before his Shearer is Dumb, so openeth He not his Mouth.

Then into the upper part of the Seal,

In his Humiliation his Judgment was taken away.

Then into the lower,

But who shall declare his Generation?

The Deacon devoutly looking on this (religious) Rite, saith at every incision.

Let us beseech the Lord, Holding also his Horarium (or Tippet) in his Hand. After these things he (the Deacon) saith,

Lift up, Sir.

Then the Priest thrusting the Holy Spear obliquely into the right side of the Oblation, lifts up the Holy Bread, saying thus,

For his Life is taken from the Earth.

And laying it, with the Crumbside uppermost, in the Holy Dish; the Deacon saying,

Slay, Sir,

He Slays it crosswise, saying thus,

The Lamb of God is Slain, who takes away the Sin of the World, for the Life and Salvation of the World.

And he turns the other side upwards, which hath the Cross upon it, and stabbing it with the Spear on the right side, he farther saith,

One of the Souldiers with a Spear open'd his Side, and forthwith came there out Blood and Water, and he that saw it bare record and his record is true. Joh. 19. 34.

Then the Deacon pours into the Cup Wine and Water together, first saying to the Priest,

Bless Sir, the Holy uniting.

And he Blesses them.

Then the Priest taking in his Hands the first Seal, saith,

To the Honour and Memory of our highly Blessed, Glorious Lady, Mother of God, and ever Virgin Mary, by whose intercessions receive, O Lord, this Sacrifice unto thy Altar in Heaven.

Euchologium

P. 29. l. 8. T

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A. G.
TAB. II.
FIG. 2. 6.

PL. LXX. 45.
10.

TAB. II.
FIG. 2.

AG. 27. 5.

H.

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K.

K. 2.

And lifting up a Portion (or little piece) he sets it on the right hand side of the Holy Bread, near the middle of it, saying,

Upon thy right hand did stand the Queen in a Vesture of Gold wrought about with divers Colours.

Then taking a second Seal, he saith,

Of the Honourable, Glorious Prophet, Forerunner and Baptist, John.

1. And lifting up the first Portion, he puts it on the right side of the Holy Bread, near the Seal of the Mother of God, making the beginning of the first File; then he saith,

Of the Holy, Glorious Prophets, Moses and Aaron, Elias and Elisha, David and Jesse, the three Holy Children, and Daniel the Prophet, and all the Holy Prophets.

2. Then he places the second Portion under the first orderly; Then again he saith,

Of the Holy and Glorious and most Celebrated Apostles, Peter and Paul, of the Twelve and the Seventy, and all the Holy Apostles.

3. And so he puts the third Portion under the second, finishing the first File; then he saith,

Of our Holy Fathers and Universal Great Doctors and High Priests, Basil the Great, Gregory the Divine, and John Chrysostom, Athanasius and Cyril, Nicholas of Myra, and all Holy High Priests.

4. Lifting up the fourth Portion he puts it by the first Portion making the beginning of the second File; then again he saith,

Of the Holy First Martyr, and Arch-Deacon Stephen, the Holy Great Martyrs Demetrius, Georgius, Theodorus, and all Holy Martyrs Men and Women.

5. Then lifting up the fifth Portion he puts it under the fifth which is the beginning of the second File; then he saith,

Of our Holy inspired Fathers, Antonius, Euthymius, Sabbas, Onuphrius, Athanasius of Mount Athos, and all Saints Men and Women.

6. And so lifting up the sixth Portion he places it under the second Portion to the filling up of the second File; after these he saith,

Of the Holy, Wonder-working, Not-mercenary, Cosmus and Damianus, Cyrus and John, Pantaleemon and Hermolaus, and all Not-mercenary Saints.

7. And lifting up the seventh Portion he places it above making the beginning of the third File; and again he saith,

Of the Holy and Just, Godparents, Joachim and Anna, of the Saints of the Day, and all Saints, through whose Prayers, O God, regard us.

8. And he places the eighth Portion under the first in good order; moreover he saith,

Of our Father Saint John Chrysostom Archbishop of Constantinople, (if his Liturgy be then said, but if that of Basil the Great be said, he remembers Him,

9. And so lifting up also the ninth Portion, he places it in the end of the third File to fill it up.

Then taking a third Seal, he saith,

Remember, O Lord, Lover of Men, all Orthodox Bishops, our Bishop, N. N. the Honoured Presbytery and Deaconry in Christ, and all in Holy Orders, our Governour, N. N. our Brethren and Fellow Ministers, Priests and Deacons, and all our Brethren whom thou hast called to thy Communion by thy Bowels of Mercy, O all Good Lord.

And lifting up a Portion he places it beneath the Holy Bread.

Then he Remembers also the Living, whom he hath by name, and so lifting up Portions he places them below.

Then taking another Seal he saith,

For the memory and remission of the Sins of the Blessed Founders of this Holy Monastery.

Then

Then he remembers the Archbishop which ordain'd him, and others who are dead, such as he pleases, by name; and lastly he adds this,

K. 2.

And of all our Orthodox Fathers and Brethren, who have slept in Hopes of the Resurrection, Life Eternal, and in thy Communion, O Lord, Lover of Men.

And he lifts up a Portion.

Then the Deacon, he also taking a Seal, and the Holy Spear, remembers those of the Dead, whom he pleaseth; and lastly saith thus,

L.

Remember also, O Lord, my unworthyness, and forgive me every misdeed both voluntary and involuntary.

Then he also remembers those of the living, in another Seal, whom he pleaseth in like manner, and places the Portions beneath the Holy Bread, as the Priest did.

M.

Then taking the Sponge, he gathers all the Portions, that are in the Dish beneath the Holy Bread, together, so as they may be safe, and that nothing may fall out.

Then the Deacon taking the Censer, and putting Frankincense upon it, he saith to the Priest.

Bless, Sir, the Incense.

And immediately adds,

Let us beseech the Lord.

And the Priest says the Prayer of Incense;

M. 2.

We offer unto Thee, O Christ our God, Incense for a Savour of Spiritual Sweetness; which Thou having received up to thy Altar above the Heavens, send down, as a return, to us the Grace of thy All-holy Spirit.

The Deacon,

Let us beseech the Lord.

And the Priest Incensing the Asterisk set it over the Holy Bread, saying,

TAB. II. FIG. 3.

And a Star coming stood over where the Child was.

N.

The Deacon,

Let us beseech the Lord.

The Priest incensing the first Covering, covers the Holy Bread with the Holy Dish, saying,

The Lord is King, to the end.

The Deacon,

Let us beseech the Lord, Cover, Sir;

Then the Priest incensing the second Covering, covers the Holy Cup, saying,

Thy Virtue, O Christ, cover the Heavens, and the Earth (was) full of thy Praise.

Habak. 3. 3.

The Deacon,

Let us beseech the Lord, Cover, Sir;

The Priest incensing the third Covering, that is the Aer, covers both, saying,

r.

Cover us with the covering of thy Wings; chase away from us every Enemy and Adversary; Give us a peaceable Life, O Lord; have mercy upon us and thy World, and save our Souls, as Thou art Good and a Lover of Men.

Then the Priest taking the Censer Incense, the Prothesis, saying thrice, Blessed is our God, who hath been so well pleased. Glory to Thee.

And the Deacon at every time, saith,

Always, now, and for ever, and to Ages of Ages. Amen.

And they both of them reverently worship thrice.

o.

Then the Deacon taking the Censer, saith,

At the Proposition of the honourable Gifts, let us beseech the Lord.

And the Priest (saith) the Prayer of Proposition.

O God our God.

o.

*And after this he makes the Dismissal there, saying thus,
Glory be to Thee, O Christ, God, our Hope; Glory be to Thee.*

The Deacon.

P.

Glory, and now. Lord have mercy. Bless, Sir.

O. 2.

*And the Priest makes the Dismissal, saying thus, if it be Sunday,
Who rising from the Dead,*

O. 3.

If not,

Christ our true God, by the Intercession of his All-immaculate Mother, of our Holy Father John Chrysostom Archbishop of Constantinople;

But if the Liturgy of Basil the Great be celebrated, he saith,

Of Basil the Great, of Cæsaria, Cappadocia; and of all Saints, have Mercy and save us, as he is Good and a Lover of Men.

The Choir,

Amen.

After the Dismissal the Deacon Incenses the Holy Prothesis; Then he goes away and Incenses the Holy Table.

Thus far is the Preparation of the Elements, which are left thus standing covered till (*μεγάλη εἰσοδος*) the great Entrance, or Procession is made, in carrying the Elements in the Dish, and the Cup from the Prothesis to the Holy Table. But before that, there is a very long confused, incoherent Piece of Pageantry, rather than solid and sincere Devotion, carried on by the Priest and the Deacon (sometimes loud, oftentimes soft, intermixing with some Set-Prayers, many, many Suffrages, Versicles, Responses, Repetitions, with numerous and various Rites or Ceremonies) and by the Singers and Choir, (who carry on a Service by themselves in the mean time, and now and then in peculiar Places mix their Responses and Suffrages with them) in such a manner as we may justly say of the whole Service, what is said of our Service before the Reformation; *The number and hardness of the Rules called the Pie (πίναξ, the Tables or Rubricks of Direction) was the Cause, that to turn the Book only (and understand what is to be done) was so hard and intricate a Matter, that many times there was more business to find out what should be read, than to read it (and do it) when it was found out.* And in the Greek Church, this is the main Study of the Priests and Deacons to know what they are to do; and indeed he that shall diligently peruse this Liturgy only, will find that its Performance by heart (as they always do it) exactly according to their Rubrick, will require Time, and Memory, and Attention enough. So that here likewise, what is quoted by our Church out of St. Augustin, may have just place, *The Ceremonies in the Greek Church are grown to such a Number, as the estate of it is in worse Case concerning this Matter, than were the Jews.*

Common
Prayer, con-
cerning the
Service of the
Church.

Of Ceremo-
nies, why some
be abolished,
some retained.

Epist. 119. ad
Favian. Edit.
Lugd. 1563.
Octav. p. 664.
Vol. 1.

In the Greek Church, all the Liturgy being said by Heart, (as is noted before) it is no easy task for the Priests and Deacons to remember their Parts so perfectly, as to Act them every day exactly; and it is as nice a matter for the Singers and Choir, and the Anagnostæ or Readers to remember their several Keys, or Cues (as our Actors call it in their Plays) when they are to enter in their Performance throughout the whole Service; which, if it be entirely performed, and not curtail'd, nor any Parts omitted, (as it is frequently done in Country, or poor Parishes, or at a Panegyris, or when only one Priest does all) it will last two Hours at least; as I have known it done in the Patriarch's Church at Fanar, and in Laura, and other of the Great Monasteries at Mont Athos. So that it is no wonder that most of the Greek Priests, that daily attend at the Liturgy, and all other their daily Offices, especially on Holy-days and Vigils (as shall be elsewhere more fully noted) are so little acquainted with any other Learning.

In the Middle of this Theatrical Devotion comes in a Scene for reading the Epistle and Gospel, which are carried up from the Prothesis through the Body of the Church to the Chancel, with lighted Candles in a pompous Procession, which

which they call, *μικρὰ εἰσοδος*, the lesser Entrance. The Epistle is read at the Chancel door by (*ἀναγνώστης*) the Reader, but the Gospel is carried down again (in the Patriarch's Church) towards the West end with like Pomp by the Deacon, and read there by him. And there are the like numerous fragments of Devotion and Ceremonies inserted, before and between, and after the reading of the Epistle and Gospel. Amongst other things I cannot but mention one; the Priest and Deacon together sing the thrice Holy Hymn, which the Singers had sung before; that is, ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, Holy God, Holy, (Thou that art) Strong, Holy (thou that art) Immortal, have Mercy upon us. Of which Hymn we have in several Authors, a strange Story to this purpose, A Youth, they say, in a solemn Assembly being Miraculously caught up into the Air, in sight of them all, heard it from a Divine Voice, which commanded it to be ever afterwards used in their supplications. The Latins have this Hymn in as high an Esteem as the Greeks; Cedrenus, saith, It was order'd to be Sung all over the World, by Theodosius junior and Pulcheria, in whose time this wonderful Revelation is said to have been made. This Hymn then hath been plainly patcht into the Liturgy since Chrysostome's time. But Jobius in Photius, though he mentions Proclus to have been the Author of this Hymn, by Revelation, (I suppose from the above-said Story, Proclus being then Patriarch of Constantinople) yet he saith, that a learned Christian Jew gave another original of it, which is mention'd also by Goar amongst other opinions. Next Cedrenus tells us, that the Divine Voice in the Air commanded, *μὴδὲν ἕτερον προσθεῖναι*, that nothing else should be added to it; yet Photius tells us out of St. Ephraim, that some added to it ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, who was Crucified for us; others left that out, and added ἁγία τριάς, Holy Trinity, have Mercy upon us; Cabasilas saith, the Repeating of Holy three times, was taken from the Angels; God, Strong, Immortal, from David. That the Church collected it, and Dedicated it to the Trinity, and added to it, have Mercy upon us, so that after all we have but a very blind and uncertain account of this whole matter; and one may well suspect that after this Hymn was once brought in, (no Man knows how) Proclus his Revelation, and the above-said Story upon it, and Jobius his narrative, and the opinions of Cabasilas and others, (who, as Goar saith, *torquentur, beat their Brains about it*) might be all variously forged to support it. This Hymn was at last drawn into a kind of charm; for in, (*Hore beate Marie*) the V. Mary's Psalter or Prayer Book, Printed in London by Julyan Notary, in Henry the eighths time, I find it thrust into a Latin Prayer which is recommended in the Rubrick before it, as an Amulet; so that if one beareth it about him he shall be secured from Fire, and Water, and Battle, and Poison &c. It is written in Latin Letters, AGYOS OTHEOS, AGYOS YSKYROS, AGYOS ATHANATOS ELEYSON YMAS. *Sancte deus, Sancte fortis, Sancte & immortalis, miserere nobis.* It is there pretended that this Prayer was Revealed to St. Augustine by the Holy Ghost, and it may, for ought I know, be as authentick a Tradition, as the others of the Original of the Hymn it self.

There are twelve Prayers now in the *Euchologio* scatter'd up and down in this long Preamble, before you come to the great Entrance, or Procession, for carrying the Elements from the Prothesis to the Holy Table; many of which may possibly be truly Antient; but of whose making neither Goar, nor any one else can tell. However the last Prayer is confessed by him, to be of much later Date than either Chrysostom or Basil, yet is found in both their Liturgies. It is mumbled over by the Priest to himself, whilst the Cherubical Hymn (to which it relates) is sung by the Singers; which Hymn was brought in by the Command of Justinus junior: In this Prayer is this Passage, *Σὺ γὰρ εἰ ὁ προσφέρων καὶ προσφεγόμενος, καὶ προσδεχόμενος καὶ ἀσπιδιδόμενος*, Χεῖρ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, For Thou, O Christ our God, art he who offerest, and art offered, who receivest (Goar renders it in the Latin, *assumis, suscipis*) and art distributed (*distribueris*) or received. This was such a piece of unintelligible Stuff, as

Nicetus. l. 7. §. 5.
p. 137. b.
p. 76. 78. infra

Eucholog.
p. 45. l. ult.

all the learned Men, in *Mannet Camnerus* his time, could not agree about its interpretation. However the Point was settled by the Emperour, though we find not what was made the last determinate Sense of it; and several of those, whom my Author seems to have accounted the most Wise and Learned Men amongst them, were turned out upon it.

I shall here take no farther notice of this Preamble, but now set down what follows in order to the administration of the Sacrament.

RUBRICK. Thus (the Priest and the Deacon) go in to the Prothesis, the Deacon going before; who incensing the Holy Things, praying to himself thus,

God be Merciful to me a Sinner,

Saith to the Priest,

Take up Sir,

And the Priest taking up the Aer (the upper covering) lays it upon the Deacons left shoulder saying,

Lift up your Hands unto the Holy Things and bless the Lord.

Then taking the Holy Dish he sets it on the Deacons Head with all wariness and devotion.

The Deacon also at the same time holds the Censer with one of his Fingers.

But he (the Priest) takes the Holy Cup in his Hands. They go out (of the Prothesis) on the North side, lighted Tapers being carried before them; and they fetch a round in the Church, Praying to themselves and saying,

May the Lord God remember us all in his Kingdom, always, now and forever, and to Ages of Ages.

But the Deacon entring within the Holy Doors, stands to the Right; and as the Priest is about to go in, he saith, to him,

May the Lord God remember thy Priesthood in his Kingdom.

And the Priest to him,

May the Lord God remember thy Holy Deaconship in his Kingdom always, now and for ever and to Ages of Ages.

And the Priest sets down the Holy Cup upon the Holy Table, and taking the Holy Dish from the Deacons Head, he sets that also upon the Holy Table, saying,

Honourable Joseph taking from the Tree,

To the end.

Bodily in the Sepulcher.

As the bringer of Life, as more beautiful then Paradise.

Then taking the coverings off from the Sacred Dish, and from the Holy Cup, he lays them down on one side of the Holy Table. Then taking the Aer from off the Deacons shoulders, and Incensing it, he covers the Holy Things with it saying,

Honourable Joseph, to that part of it, having fitted it for the Burial he laid it.

And taking the Censer out of the Deacons hands, he Incenses the Holy things thrice, saying,

Then shall they offer young Bullocks upon thine Altar

And giving back the Censer, and letting fall his Phanolium, and bowing his Head, he saith to the Deacon,

O Brother and fellow Minister remember me.

And the Deacon to him,

May the Lord God remember thy Priest-hood in his Kingdom.

Then the Deacon bowing his Head also, and at the same time holding his Horarium with three Fingers of his right Hand, saith to the Priest,

Holy Sir, Pray for me,

And the Priest,

The

The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the Power of the Highest shall overshadow thee.

A.
Luk. I., 35.

And the Deacon,

The very same Spirit shall Minister with us all the days of our Life.

And the Deacon again,

Holy Sir, remember me.

And the Priest,

May the Lord God remember you in his Kingdom, always, now, and for ever, and to Ages of Ages.

And (the Deacon) adding,

Amen.

And kissing the Priest's right Hand, he goes out, and standing in the usual place, he saith,

Let us finish our Prayer to the Lord.

For the precious Gifts proposed, let us beseech the Lord.

For this Holy House, and for all that enter therein with Faith, Devotion, and the fear of God, let us beseech the Lord.

That we may be deliver'd from all Affliction, the Wrath of God, and Tribulation, let us beseech the Lord.

The Prayer of Offering after the divine Gifts are set upon the Holy Table.

O Almighty Lord God, who only art Holy, who receivest the Sacrifice of Praise from those who call upon thee with their whole Heart, Receive also the Prayer of us Sinners, and bring it to thy Holy Altar, and make us fit to offer unto Thee, Gifts and Spiritual Sacrifices for our Sins, and for the Ignorances of the People; and make us worthy to find Favour in thy sight, that our Sacrifice may be acceptable unto Thee, and that the good Spirit of thy Grace may rest upon us, and upon these proposed Gifts, and upon all thy People.

Receive, Save, be Merciful.

Let us beg of the Lord, that every Day may be Perfect, Holy, Peaceful, and without Sin.

Let us ask of the Lord, the Angel of Peace, the faithful Guide, the Keeper of our Souls and Bodies.

Let us ask of the Lord Pardon and Forgiveness of our Sins, and Misdeeds.

Let us ask of the Lord those things which are Good and Profitable to our Souls, and Peace to the World.

Let us beg of the Lord that we may compleat the remaining time of our Life in Peace and Repentance.

Let us ask of Christ Christian ends of our Life, without Pain, without Confusion, Peaceful and a good Apology before the dreadful Tribunal.

Of our most Holy, Immaculate, above all Blessed, Glorious Lady.

Aloud.

By the Mercies of thy only begotten Son, with whom thou art Blessed, with the All-holy and Good and Quickening Spirit, now and for ever, and to Ages of Ages.

Peace be to all.

The Deacon,

Let us Love one another, that we may with one Mind confess.

And the Priest adoring thrice, kisses the Holy Things so as they are covered.

And in like manner also the Deacon adores with him in the place where he stands, and kisses his Horarium where the sign of the Cross is made, and saith thus aloud,

The Doors, the Doors; let's attend in Wisdom.

The People,

I believe in one God. &c.

The

The Deacon.

Let us stand well, let us stand with fear, let us attend to offer the Holy offering in Peace.

And the Priest lifting up the Aer from off the Holy Things, lays it aside, saying,

The Grace of the Lord.

But the Deacon having Worshipped, goes into the Holy Tribunal (or Chancel), and taking the Fan, he devoutly Fans the Holy Things.

Aloud.

The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the Father, and the Communication of the Holy Spirit, be with us all.

Let us lift up our Hearts.

Let us give thanks unto the Lord.

The Priest goes on Praying.

It is meet and just to celebrate Thee, to bless Thee, to Praise Thee, to give thanks unto Thee, to worship Thee in every place of thy Dominion; For thou art God Ineffable, Inconceivable, Invisible, Incomprehensible, always Existing, being after the same manner, Thou and thy only begotten Son, and thy Holy Spirit. Thou out of nothing broughtest us to be, and when we had fallen Thou hast raised us again, and hast not left doing all things, until Thou hast brought us back to Heaven, and hast given us thy Kingdom to come. For all these things we give thanks to Thee, and to thy only begotten Son, and to thy Holy Spirit; for all things which we know, and which we know not; for all the Benefits done unto us manifest and hidden, we also thank Thee for this Holy ministration, which thou hast vouchsafed to receive from our hands; although Thousands of Archangels and Myriads of Angels, the Cherubims and the Seraphims, having six Wings, with many Eyes, Sorers a loft, Flyers, wait upon Thee.

Aloud,

Singing, Crying, Shouting and saying *the Triumphant Hymn.*

Here again the Deacon taking the Asterisk off from the Holy Dish makes the sign of the Cross upon it, and kissing it lays it by.

The Priest goes on Praying,

With these Blessed Spirits, O Lord, Thou lover of Men we also cry and say, Holy and All-holy art Thou and thy only begotten Son, and thy Holy Spirit. Holy and All-Holy art Thou, and magnificent is thy Glory, who hast so loved thy World, as to give even thy only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not Perish but have everlasting Life; who coming and having fulfilled the whole Dispensation for us, in the night wherein he was delivered, or rather delivered himself for the Life of the World, taking Bread into his Holy, Immaculate and Unblameable Hands, having given Thanks, and Blessed, Sanctified, Broken (it) He gave (it) to his Holy Disciples and Apostles saying,

Aloud,

Take, eat, This is my Body which is broken for you, for the Remission of Sins.

Whilst this is said, the Deacon shews the Holy Dish to the Priest, holding also his Horarium with three Fingers of his right Hand.

In like manner when the Priest saith,

Drink ye all of This,

He also sheweth at the same time the Holy Cup.

The Priest softly to himself,

In like manner also the Cup after Supper, saying.

Aloud,

Drink ye all of this, This is my Blood (which is, or that) of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many for the Remission of Sins.

The Priest goes on Praying,

Being therefore mindful of this saving Commandment, and of all Things which

which have been done for us, the Cross, the Sepulcher, the Rising again the third Day, the Ascension into the Heavens, the Setting on the right Hand, the Second and Glorious coming again.

Aloud,

Offering to Thee, Thine of Thine in all Things, and for all Things.

The Priest goes on praying,

Moreover we offer unto Thee this rational and unbloody Worship, and we intreat, and pray, and beseech, send down thy Holy Spirit upon us, and upon these Gifts proposed,

And the Deacon lays down the Fan, and comes nearer to the Priest, and they both worship thrice before the Holy Table, praying to themselves and saying,

Lord who sentest down thy Holy Spirit at the third hour to thy Apostles, take him not, O Thou Good, from us.

The Versicle,

Create in me a clean Heart, O God, and renew a right Spirit within me.

This again.

The Versicle.

Cast me not away from thy Presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from me.

And this again.

Then the Deacon bowing his Head, and shewing with his Horarium the Holy Bread, he saith softly,

Bless, Sir, the Holy Bread.

And the Priest standing up, signs the Holy Gifts thrice, saying,

And make this Bread the pretious Body of thy Christ.

The Deacon.

Amen.

Then he again,

Bless, Sir, the Holy Cup.

And the Priest blessing, saith,

And what is in this Cup, the pretious Blood of thy Christ.

The Deacon,

Amen.

And again the Deacon shewing with his Horarium both the Holy's, saith,

Sir, Bless them both.

And the Priest blessing both the Holy's, saith,

Changing by thy Holy Spirit,

The Deacon,

Amen, Amen, Amen.

And the Deacon bowing his Head to the Priest, and saying,

Holy Sir, Remember me a Sinner,

Stands in the place where he stood before, and taking the Fan, he Fans the Holy's as he did before;

The Priest goes on Praying,

That to all that Receive (them they) may be made to Soberness of Mind (or Soul) to the Remission of Sins, to the Communication of thy Holy Spirit, to the fulness of the Kingdom of Heaven, to Confidence towards Thee, not to Judgment or Condemnation;

Moreover we offer unto Thee, this rational Service for our Fore-fathers, Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Preachers, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, Strict-Livers, who are Departed in the Faith, and for every righteous Spirit perfected in the Faith,

And the Deacon Incenseth the Holy Table round about, and remembers whom he pleaseth Living and Dead.

The Priest with a loud voice,

Especially for our All-holy, Spotless, above all Blessed, Glorious Lady, Mother

A.

B. C.

D.

E. F.

G. H.

I.

K.

L.

M.

N.

O. P.

Q. R.

Mother of God and always Virgin, Mary,

A. *The Deacon Commemorates the Diptych, (or Tables) of the Dead;*
But the Priest goes on Praying,

For the Holy Prophet *John*, the Fore-runner and Baptist, the Holy, Glorious and most Celebrated Apostles, for the Saint *N. N.* whom we Commemorate, and all thy Saints by whose Prayers, O God, do Thou regard us, and be mindful of all that have slept in Hope of a Resurrection of Life Eternal.

B. *And give them rest where they behold the Light of thy Countenance, or where the Light of thy Countenance seeth.*

Moreover we beseech Thee, O Lord, be mindful of all the Episcopacy of the Orthodox, those who rightly divide the Word of thy Truth; of all the Presbytery, the Deaconry in Christ; and of all the Holy Order.

C. *Moreover we offer unto Thee, this rational Service for the whole World; for the Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church; for all that lead a Chaste and Holy course of Life; for our most Faithful and Christian Kings; for their whole Court, and their Forces. Give them, O Lord, a peaceful Reign, that we also in their Peace, may lead a still, and quiet Life, in all Godliness and Honesty;*

Aloud,

D. *Chiefly, O Lord, remember our Arch-Bishop (N. N.) whom do thou bestow upon thy Holy Churches in Peace, Safe, Honourable, Sound, Long-liv'd, and rightly dividing the word of thy Truth.*

And the Deacon standing at the door, saith,

For the Patriarch. *N. N.* the Metropolitane or Bishop,

Whoever it is, and the rest.

The Deacon commemorates the Diptychs of the Living, but the Priest prays on.

Be mindful, O Lord, of the City in which we live, and of every City and Country, and the faithful Inhabitants in them. Remember, O Lord, those that Travail by Water, or by Land; those that are Sick, those that Labour, Captives, and the Salvation of them all. Remember, O Lord, those who bring forth Fruit and good Works in thy Holy Churches, and who have remembered the Poor, and send down thy Mercy upon us all.

Aloud,

And grant unto us with one Mouth and one Heart to Glorify, and with Hymns to celebrate thy All-venerable and Magnificent Name, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, and to Ages of Ages.

Aloud,

And the Mercies of the Great God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ shall be with you all.

And the Deacon taking convenient leave from the Priest, and going out and standing in the accustomed place, saith,

Remembring all Saints let us again and again in Peace, beseech the Lord.

E. F. *For the precious Gifts which are offer'd and sanctified, let us beseech the Lord,*

That our God, the Lover of Men, having received them unto his Holy, and

G. *Super-cœlestial and Intellectual Altar for a Smell of Spiritual Sweetness, would in lieu of them send down to us his divine Grace and Gift of the Holy Ghost. Let us beseech (the Lord.)*

Let us beseech the Lord that we may be delivered from all Affliction, Wrath, and Tribulation.

The Priest goes on Praying,

O Lord, thou lover of Men, we recommend to Thee our whole Life and Hope, and we Beg, and Pray, and Beseech, count us Worthy with a pure Conscience to partake of thy Super-cœlestial and dreadful Mysteries of this Sacred and Spiritual Table, for the Remission of Sins, for the Pardon of Offences, for the Communion of the Holy Spirit, for the Inheritance of the Kingdom of Heaven, for Confidence with Thee, not for Judgment or Condemnation.

H.

Then

Then the Deacon repeat several suffrages softly, and at last Aloud saith,
And make us worthy, O Lord, with confidence, unblameably to make bold
to call upon Thee, the Super-coelestial God, *Father*; and to say,

The People

Our Father which art in Heaven, &c.

The Priest,

For thine is the Kingdom, &c.

Then

Peace be to All.

The Deacon.

Bow your Heads unto the Lord.

The Priest goes on Praying,

We thank Thee, O King invisible, who by thine immeasurable Power hast made all Things, and by the multitude of thy Mercy hast brought all Things from nothing into Being; Thou, O Lord, look down from Heaven upon those who have bow'd down their Heads to Thee; for they have not bow'd to Flesh and Blood, but to Thee, the terrible God. Thou therefore, O Lord, equally apply unto us all the Things proposed for Good, according to every one's proper necessity; Sail with those that Sail, Travail with those that Travail, heal the Sick, O Thou Physitian of Souls and Bodies,

Aloud,

By the Grace, and the Mercies, and the Good-will to Mankind of the only begotten Son, with whom Thou art blessed, with thy All-holy, and good, and quickening Spirit, now and for ever, and to Ages of Ages.

The Priest goes on Praying.

Regard, O Lord Jesus Christ our God, from thy Holy Habitation, and from the Throne of Glory of thy Kingdom, and come to sanctify us, Thou who settest above with the Father, and art here invisibly present with us; and vouchsafe by thy powerful Hand to make us partakers of thy spotless Body and precious Blood, and all thy People by us.

Then the Priest worship, and likewise the Deacon in the place where he is, both saying to themselves thrice,

God be merciful to me a Sinner.

But when the Deacon sees the Priest stretching out his Hands, and touching the Holy Bread to make the Holy Elevation, he cries aloud,

Lets attend.

And the Priest lifting up the Holy Bread, saith aloud,

Holy Things to those that are Holy.

Then the Deacon puts on his Horarium crosswise, and goes into the Chancel, and standing on the right Hand of the Priest who holds the Holy Bread, saith,

Sir, divide the Holy Bread.

Then the Priest with Attention and Reverence dividing it into four parts, saith,

The Lamb of God is divided and made into Portions, who is divided into Portions but not into separate Parts; who always is eaten but never consumed.

And the Deacon shewing with the Horarium the Holy Cup, saith,

Fill, Sir, the Holy Cup.

And the Priest taking a Portion which lies uppermost, with it makes a Cross over the Holy Cup, saying,

The fullness of Faith of the Holy Spirit;

And so he puts it into the Holy Cup.

The Deacon,

Amen.

And taking the hot Water he saith to the Priest,

Bless, Sir, the hot Water,

And the Priest blesseth, saying,

D

Blessed

A.

B.

C. D.

C. D.

E.

F.

G. H.

I.

K.

Tab. II.
Fig. 9. 10.

L.

M.

N.

O.

Blessed is the Heat of thy Saints, always, now and for ever, and to Ages of Ages. Amen.

A. And the Deacon pours crosswise into the Holy Cup, as much as is sufficient, saying,

The Heat of Faith full of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

And setting by the hot Water, he stands a little at a distance,

Then the Priest say,

Come hither, Deacon;

C. D. And the Deacon approaching makes his low Reverence, asking Pardon.

E. And the Priest holding the Holy Bread, gives it to the Deacon;

F. And the Deacon kissing the hand that gives it, takes the Holy Bread, saying,

Sir, Impart to me the Pretious and Holy Body of our Lord, and God, and Saviour Jesus Christ.

And the Priest saith,

To the Sacred Deacon, N. N. is imparted the Pretious, and Holy, and Immaculate Body of our Lord, and God, and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the Remission of his Sins and for Eternal Life.

And he (the Deacon) goes away behind the sacred Table, bowing his Head, and prays on as the Priest does,

nt infra.

And in like manner the Priest taking one Portion of the Holy Bread, saith,

The Pretious and All holy Body of our Lord, and God, and Saviour Jesus Christ is imparted to me, N. N. Priest, for the Remission of my Sins and for Eternal Life.

And bowing down his Head he prays on, saying,

G. O Lord, I believe and confels.

And,

Of thy mystical Supper this day.

And last of all this,

Lord, let not the partaking of thy Holy Mysteries be to me for Judgment or for Condemnation, but for the healing of Soul and Body.

And so they partake that (Bread) which is in their Hands with fear and all wariness;

H. I. Then (the Priest) rising up takes with both his Hands the Holy Cup with the Covering, and partakes of it three times; and so wiping his own lips and (the brim) of the Holy Cup with the Covering, which is in his Hands, he calls the Deacon, saying,

Deacon, come hither.

And the Deacon comes and adores once, saying,

K. See I come to the Immortal King.

And,

M. O Lord, I believe and confels, entirely out.

And the Priest says,

M. The Servant of God, Deacon N. N. partakes of the Pretious and Holy Blood of our Lord, and God, and Saviour Jesus Christ for the Remission of his Sins and for Eternal Life.

Whilst the Deacon communicates the Priest, saith,

O. This hath touched thy Lips, and will take away thy Transgressions, and thoroughly purge thy Sins.

M. Then the Deacon holding the Holy Dish over the Holy Cup, wipes it with the Holy Spunge very carefully; and with Attention and Devotion, covers the Holy Cup with the Covering; and in like manner he puts the Asterisk and Coverings upon the Holy Dish.

N. Then the Priest saith the Prayer of the Eucharist,

We thank Thee, O Lord, Thou Lover of Men, and Benefactor of our Souls, because even this present day Thou hast counted us worthy of thy Heavenly and

and Immortal Mysteries. Direct our Way; strengthen us all in thy Fear; protect our Life, secure our Steps, by the Prayers and Supplications of the Glorious Mother of God and Always-Virgin Mary, and all thy Saints.

And so they open the Door of the Holy Chancel, and the Deacon adoring once takes the Cup with Reverence, and comes to the Door, and lifting up the Holy Cup shews it to the People saying,

Draw near with the Fear of God, with Faith and Charity.

And the Priest bless the People saying aloud,

Save thy People, O God, and Bless thy Inheritance.

And the Deacon and the Priest return to the Holy Table, and the Priest incenses it thrice, saying to himself,

Be thou exalted, O God, above the Heavens and thy Glory above all the Earth.

Then taking the Holy Dish, he sets it upon the Head of the Deacon, and the Deacon taking it with Reverence, looking outwards towards the Door, (but) saying nothing, he goes away to the Prothesis and sets it down.

But the Priest adoring and taking the Holy Cup, and returning to the Door, he beholds the People, saying secretly,

Blessed (be) our God,

And aloud,

Always, now and forever and to Ages of Ages. Amen.

And the Deacon going out and standing in the accustomed place, saith,

We partaking rightly (or right up) the Divine, Holy, Spotless, Immortal, Heavenly, and Quickening dreadful Mysteries of Christ, let us worthily give Thanks unto the Lord.

Receive, Save, be Merciful unto us and Preserve us O God, by thy Grace.

Let us recommend our selves and one another, and all our Life to Christ (our) God, begging that every day may be Perfect, Holy, Peaceful and free from Sin.

Aloud,

For thou art our Sanctification, and to Thee we return the Glory, to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, now and for ever and to Ages of Ages.

Let us proceed in Peace.

Deacon.

Let us beseech the Lord.

The Prayer behind the Pulpit said with a loud voice by the Priest without the Chancel.

O Lord, who bledest those who bless Thee, and sanctifiest those who believe in Thee, save thy People and bless thine Inheritance; Preserve the fulness of thy Church, sanctify those who love the decent Ornament of thy House; Do thou return Glory to them again by thy divine Power, and forsake us not who hope in Thee; give Peace to thy World, to thy Churches, to the Priests, to our Kings, to the Army, and to all thy People; for every good Gift, and every perfect Gift, is from above, coming down from Thee, the Father of Lights; and to Thee we return Glory, and Thanksgiving, and Worship, to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, now and for ever and to Ages of Ages.

This (Prayer) being ended, the Priest goes through the Holy Doors, and going to the Prothesis, he saith this present Prayer,

Thou thy self, O Christ our God, being the fulness of the Law and of the Prophets, who hast fulfilled all the Father's dispensation, fill our Hearts with Joy and Gladness, always, now and for ever, and to Ages of Ages.

But the Deacon, he also going in through the North side, lays up the Holy Things with Fear and all Carefulness, so that not one of the smallest things

things may fall or be neglected; and he washes his Hands in the accustomed place.

A. B.

But the Priest going out gives to the People the Antidorum,
The People.

Glory and now.

The Priest,

The blessing of the Lord (be) upon you.

And a full Dismissal is made. And going into the Chancel, he puts off his Priestly robes, saying,

Lord now lettest thou,

The thrice Holy,

C.

And the rest. The Dismissory. The Ejaculation of the Day. The Hymn to the Virgin Mary. Lord have Mercy, twelve times. Glory, and now. The more precious. And he makes the Dismissal. And adoring and giving thanks to God for all Things, he goes his way.

C H A P. III.

Some Notes upon this Liturgy Attributed to St. Chrysostom.

It would have been a very tedious Thing, and Impertinent to our Purpose, to have Translated the whole Liturgy of Chrysostom; I have taken out only what relates properly to the Communion; by it you will sufficiently see what a confused, intricate, comical piece of Service this is, and by it guess at all the rest. It is altogether useless to the common People, not only because it is all in the old School-Greek, but because far the greatest part of it is mumbled over by the Priest and the Deacon; and very little pronounced aloud so as the People may hear it; and that is done very imperfectly, and to them is insignificant and unintelligible. For the Readers better understanding of it, I shall here add these following Notes upon the whole, beginning at the Deacon and Priest coming to the Prothesis, or By-Altar.

A. p. 15.

His Vestments] These several Garments you may see, (Tab. 2.) the Deacons φοιχάριον, or Cassock (Fig 9. 10.) Ωραρίον, or Tippet, (Fig 7.) which sometimes is on one shoulder, sometimes is on both, sometimes put about him cross-ways, as (Tab. 2. Fig 9. 10.) ἑπιμανίχια, Sleeves, which are fastened on to each Elbow under the Sleeves of the Deacons and Priests Cassock, and cannot be express'd in the Figure. The Priest hath also his φοιχάριον or Cassock; next his ἑπιτραχήλιον or Tippet, which is broader than the Deacons, as you may see the ends of it, (Tab. 3.) with two Tassels at each end: You may see the Fashion of it exactly in the Embroidure laid by the Heathen Priests upon the back of the Bulls as they are led to the Sacrifice. Then his ζώνη or Girdle; then his πελῶν or Cloak, like a Petticoat with a hole on the top for to put his Head through, and the rest of it hangs down round about him, unless when he lifts the forepart of it up upon his Arms, to use his hands. See more of this πελῶν. Not. χ.

Titus Triumph.
T. 4. 5.

All other Ministers of higher Quality have several other Garments of distinction conformable to their Degrees, from the Deacon to the Patriarch himself; which I shall here omit as Foreign to our Purpose. At the putting on of these several Robes, the Deacon and Priest, have particular ejaculations and expressions which they are to say upon every particular thing as they put it on; which at your leisure you may see in Goar p. 59.

B. p. 15.

The Prothesis] It is a By-Altar (Tab. 1.) upon which they prepare the Elements of Bread and Wine, before they are carried up to the Holy Table.

C. p. 15.

Sin. give the Blessing] εὐλογεῖν signifies not only to crave a Blessing from God, upon our Selves or his Creatures; but also to ascribe all Blessedness to Him, as it is here expounded by what follows, Blessed is our God, or Blessed

be

be our God; It is an Expression of our Thanks to him. See p. 9. before going.

The Oblation] The Greeks at the Sacrament use Loaves of common fermented wheaten Bread, made high like our ordinary white Loaf; and marked as appropriated for this peculiar use. In the Monasteries at Mount *Athos*, there are peculiar Ovens and (lay Brothers) Bakers appointed only to make and bake these Sacred Loaves; but in other places some good People bring and offer them for themselves and for their absent Friends, Living and Dead; and the Priest particularly recommends them to God in the (Εὐχὴ τῆς προθέσεως) *Prayer of Proposition* (ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν) where amongst the rest are these words, *Remember O thou Good, and thou lover of Men, those who have Offered, and those for whom they did Offer*, for I take these words as peculiarly relating to them. For this Prayer is to be said at the *Prothesis*, after all the *Portions* are prepared and set there, (See Not. v. p. 17. following.) But in St. Basil's Liturgy you have this (after Christ, words amongst other suffrages) *μνησθῆναι χάρις &c. Remember, O Lord, those who offer'd to Thee these Gifts, and for what things, and by whom, and for whom they have offer'd them*, so that they are there called and accounted *still Gifts*. Of old all the Communicants offer'd Bread and Wine in order to the Sacrament. And Goar hints the same out of *Eusebius*. From hence every one of these sealed Loaves, offer'd upon the *Prothesis*; is called (προσφορά as מנחה) an *Oblation*, or *Offering* or *Present*. And here the Priest takes up one of them in his left hand. (See the Loaf T. 2 N. 1.)

The Spear] (See Tab. 2. N. 4. p. 15.) I have often seen it without the Cross on the handle.

The Seal] In the middle of the Loaf on the upper side is imprinted in a square a plain Cross, with IC. XC. NI. KA. in the four Corners between the sides of the long Square and the respective lines of the Cross; as (Tab. 2. Fig. 1.) these Letters stand for, *ἰησοῦς χριστὸς νικᾷ, Jesus Christ overcometh*. Goar hath made a round Seal; I suppose in favour of the *Latins* round Wafer, as he doth often all along pervert the *Greek* Customs and bend them to his own; for I do not remember that I ever saw in any place any such round Seal used at the Sacrament; and yet he lets fall these Words, *whether the Seal be round or square it is always digged and taken up with the Spear*, Square; if so, the four sides, in the round Seal, will be left upon the Loaf; which I never saw in any place.

In Remembrance.] *Εἰς ἀνάμνησιν*. The only end of the Institution of the Sacrament is the *Remembrance of Christ Crucify'd*, or of his *Passion*, according to his own Words, and no farther Mystery is in it; As the Jews Cake at their Pascha, is in Memory of the Bread of Affliction which their Fathers did eat in the Land of Egypt. Christ seems to me plainly to have abolished that Traditional Custom of the Jews, and to have instituted this in its place.

This thrice.] the Greeks give this sorry reason for this Ceremony, Because there are three compellations there of Christ, *Lord, God, Saviour*. I believe at first this sentence was said but once, and at each of those three Words, a Cross was made upon the Seal, but now it is repeated thrice.

Lift up the Holy Bread.] He lifts up only the whole Seal, or Square piece in the middle, which is often called *ἅγιον ἄρτον, the Holy Bread*, by way of Excellency, it being indeed only *Christ's Portion*, as afterwards shall be said; the rest of the Loaf is either laid by, if there be many more; or used for the several, *μερίδες, Portions* following, if there be but one Loaf; and the remaining parts of this one Loaf, or of the rest (if there be more) are cut into small pieces for the *ἀντιδόστον, mock Communion*, as they now make it, of which more in its proper place.

In this square piece, which they dig out, the crust side forsooth represents the Back, and the crumb side the Belly of the *Mystical Lamb*, which (Goar tells us) this Seal represents; and this explains what follows, *the Priest slays it by cutting into the crumb side or the Mystical Belly*; for the Lamb lays on its Back, when you open the Belly.

Slays

a. p. 15.

Euchol. p. 36.
Goar. p. 63.

Goar. p. 171.

f. Dalle de
cult. lat. 1.3.
c. 2. p. 289.
p. 116. 29.
Psal. 40. 7.

β. p. 15.

γ. p. 15.

p. 117.

δ. 31.

ε. p. 15.

Matt. 26. 29.
Mark 14. 25.
Luk. 22. 15;
16, 17, 18.
E. p. 15.

ζ. p. 15.

p. 118. 35, 36.

z. p. 15.
at supra.

r. e. a.

r. p. 2.

p. 2. b.

u. p. 15.

4. p. 15.

p. 8.
Prov. 9. 5.

Slays it.] The Priest cuts the Crumb side cross-wise, but not quite through, that it may be afterwards the more easily divided; but Goar gives it also a Mystical meaning, *because Christ's Sacrifice was finished on the Cross &c.* In all this representation of Christ's Sacrifice, there is foisted into their present Liturgy abundance of strange Theatrical stuff, which I find in none of my MSS, many of the present Ceremonies are quite left out; the Rubricks all omitted or with various readings. The sentences that are applied out of Scripture are much the same in mine. But there is not one word of the continued Dialogue between the Deacon and the Priest. There is only the sealed piece in the middle, taken out and laid in the Dish for Christ, and it is in one of my MSS. here called τὸ τετράγωνον, *the four square piece*; but I never met with that Word any where else in this Sense. There is no other *Portion*, or piece of Bread, laid by for the V. Mary; neither are there any particular pieces or scraps laid by in Memory of the Saints and Angels, *to form that fanciful Squadron*, (in Imitation of the nine Orders of Angels,) *following*. After the τετράγωνον or *Christ's Piece* is laid by, my MSS. go on continuedly. Then (the Priest) *taking the second Oblation*, or Loaf, *saith*, προσβέας κύριε τῆς ὑπεραγίας δεσποίνης ἡμῶν, *by the Mediations, or Intercessions, O Lord of our Ever-holy Lady, the Mother of God, and Ever-virgin Mary*; then taking a third Oblation, he *saith*, ταῖς προσβέαις τῶν πμίων ἐπεφανίων δυνάμεων ἀσωμάτων, *by the Mediations of the Honourable, Heavenly, Incorporeal Powers, or Angels*, (so they make them also *Mediators*) of John Baptist, of the Apostles, Prophets, Righteous Men, of the Saints whom (now particularly) *we remember*; and of all thy Saints, ὧν ταῖς ἱκεσίαις, *through whose supplications, O God, regard us*; and remember our Kings; and so forth. All this is done more briefly then in Goar with only the third Loaf. If there are many Loaves offered, he adds at last *Remember, O Lord our God, the Souls of those that Offer'd (them) and of those for whom they Offer'd (them).* I think it is most Evident that this Liturgy hath, at least in this place been sufficiently patcht and new Model'd since Chrysostom's time. Give me leave here once for all to note the Words θυσία a *Sacrifice*, and θύειν to *Sacrifice* which I render to *Slay*. Surely the Priest's cutting the Crumb side of the τετράγωνον and stabbing it afterward on the right side when it is turned, cannot be literally a *bodily true Sacrifice*, but only *Symbolical*. Why then are these words afterwards to be taken in a literal Sense, as if the real Body of Christ was at the high Altar truly and daily Sacrificed again and again? Therefore the *true Sacrifice of Christ once Offer'd*, is in the whole Service only *Spiritually repeated*, by our thankful Commemoration of it according to his command.

On the right Side] Goar confesseth that the Exposition, which he here gives of all this wild Ceremony out of a nameless Author, is done (*merudite*) *very sillily*, and I suppose the Reader may think so too.

Wine] The Greek word is νέμα, which now by Ecclesiastical Writers, especially in the Sacrament, signifies Wine. See *Du Cange Glossary in Νέμα*; the mixing Wine and Water at the Sacrament, in the Primitive Church, was undoubtedly taken from the Eastern Custom at Meals, as is abovesaid. Hence Justin's ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ νεμά. Irenæus's, *mixtum calicem*, Clemens's, κέρναται ὁ οἶνος ὕδατι, &c. Grotius in Matt. 26. 27. p. 251. For my part I suspect that the Wine brought of old to the Sacrament, was diluted with Water before it came there; and therefore it was called by the Antients, as well as here, νέμα, *fluentum*, Liquor; and νεμα, *common Mixture*, by Justin; and hence I cannot but think, that the primitive Fathers and Christians did not in the least Dream of any *Transubstantiation*, or real change of this Water, as well as Wine, into the very Blood of Christ; but that they only followed the custom of the East, at Meals, of tempering Wine and Water for Sobriety sake. But the later Greeks, who would explain all the Ceremonies in the Liturgy as being representations of the several parts of Christ's Oeconomy, invented this new Mystery in adding here Water to the Wine, (which I fancy of old came diluted thither

thither before) that as *Water* and *Blood* came out of Christ's side, when pierced by *Longinus*, so when the Priest here pierces the right side of the Seal, this Water, now mixt with the Wine, might represent that. But St. *Cyprian* large-ly gives us the Primitive Interpretation of it, as many other Fathers have done the like. *The Wine represents the Blood of Christ, the Water represents all the Christian People.* So that this Mixture expresses to our thoughts, the Union of Christ the Head, the rest of the People the Members of his whole entire Mystical Body the Church; both being only *Takens and Memorials* of it. And if the Primitive Fathers added yet more Water at the Sacrament to the common Wine, which was diluted before, (as it is very likely they did, by *Justin's* ὕδατος καὶ οἴνου, and by ὕδατος καὶ οἴνου here, which is taken from the Antients,) it was in order only to express more Sobriety, at the Sacrament, then at common Meals. And hence the following Greek Writers (by an ordinary carelessness amongst them) might as well in time take *ῥάκη*, liquor, and *οἶνος* mixture, for plain or pure Wine, as well as they now do, *οἶνος*, mixture, for it, as is above said. But now what Edification can this Ceremony give to the People, who, being in the Choir, neither see, nor hear, nor know any thing of it, or of the meaning of any of the rest, all being done by the Priest and Deacon, mumbling their several parts over only to themselves at the *Prothesis*. And the like may be said of all that follows.

The first Seal] I have already noted, that the great Seal or Square raised out of the middle of the first Oblation, or Loaf; is particularly often called, ἅγιος ἄρτος, the *Holy Bread*, for I take that to be Christ's, *right Portion*. The other Pieces, or Portions, here following are called also σφραγίδες Seals, and προσφοραί, Oblations or Offerings. For if there be many Sealed Loaves offered, they take out all these Portions out of several Sealed Loaves; especially in Monasteries at *Atbos*, and some elsewhere; and perhaps at first these Portions were the very Sealed Parts of the several Loaves then made of several Bignesses; but these might thus take up too much Room, and therefore they now often, only with the point of the Spear, dig out not whole Seals, but little Pieces severally for the Portions as followeth. I have very often seen only one Sealed Loaf made use of for all the Portions, not only in small Congregations, but in the Patriarch's Church it self. Therefore the first Seal here, signifies the first sealed Loaf; which the Priest takes after that out of which the *Holy Bread* was taken, if there be more then one, and that Loaf be then laid by, and new ones used for the rest of the several Portions. And here the second Seal, or Loaf (which is here named the first after the *Holy Bread*) but in *Goar* it is called the second, is in Honour of the Virgin *Mary*; the third Loaf (which is here called the second Seal) is in Honour of the several Saints there mention'd; so the fourth Loaf (here named the third Seal) in Honour of their Bishops; and so the Seal which the Deacon takes, is a Loaf; And all these by their Constitution should be several Loaves, but I have often seen all these Portions taken out of one and the same Loaf, as is said.

This Sacrifice unto thy Altar] This must be meant only of a *Spiritual Sacrifice of Prayer*, &c. as hereafter more at large.

Mess. A Portion] It signifies every ones *Mess*, or *Portion*, or *Part*, of which I shall speak more at large, in a more proper place.

Right Hand side] *Goar* hath here made a great Blunder; He hath set the Portion of the Virgin *Mary* on the left Side. For according to him and the Greek Exposition before mentioned, the sealed Part of the *Holy Bread* represents the *Back* of Christ, and by consequence, that must be the left Side where he hath set it, and in my Copy there is a particular Explication added to the same Sense. And in all Places, where I have been, I never saw that Portion of the *V. M.* set otherwise then as I have set it; and it is clear by the Verse following. *Upon thy right Hand did stand*, &c. And the other nine Portions are likewise order'd to be placed on the right Hand near the Portion of the *V. M.* and he hath placed them also in his Figure; but that of the *V. M.* is

on

Epist. 63. Oxon.
Edit. p. 153.

p. 8. 7.

p. 15.

p. 15.

p. 16.

p. 16.

p. 117.

TAB. II.

FIG. 2. 4.

on the contrary Side; and the like mistake is in *Habertus* his Pontificale. *Goar* was sensible enough of this improper coupling of the following *Versicle*, with the *Virgin's Portion* set on the left hand; and therefore he tells us, p. 119. §. 42. That the Copy which he (and *Habertus* and others) followed, is according to the true antient Rite and Custom; and declares that the later Greeks, as in my printed Copy (which is now daily used by them) and in others, have instead of, ἐξ ἀριστερῶν, on the left hand, now put, ἐκ δεξιῶν μέγ, on the right side of the Holy Bread. So that if the old way of setting it on the left side be observed, the words following would be very absurd, upon thy right hand stood the Queen. To avoid this oversight of the former Greeks, the later ones representing the Court of the Heavenly King, seem, saith he, truly to say, on thy right hand stood the Queen; and so made some Sense of it. But I shall instance in many more such odd careless Expressions in their Liturgies, which the Latines can never fairly reconcile with their present Enormities, or indeed with the very Design, many times, for which they are brought.

μ. p. 16.

Of the Honourable] Here, and in all the rest that follow, is to be understood and repeated, εὐσεβὴς καὶ μνήμῃ, To the Honour and Memory, of the Honourable, &c.

1. 2. 3. 4. &c.

vid. TAB. II.

FIG. 2.

De Cœlest.

Hier. c. 6, 7, 8.

p. 36.

p. 76, 77, 78.

p. 119. 43.

1. 2. 3. 4. &c.] The placing of the nine Portions following in Rank and File, I think it is as odd a Piece of Holy Pageantry as ever was seen. They are nine forsooth, to imitate the nine Orders of Angels, which *Dionysius Areopag.* speaks of (and out of him *Glycas* in his Animals) as we are told by the Greek Exposition in *Euchologie*; so the Inventer of this pretty Mystery, hath marshal'd these Bits of Bread, to represent it seems, the Army of Saints and Martyrs, in a square Battalion. *Goar* ingeniously confesseth, that there is not the least ground for this in all the Antient Records. And truly it most evidently appears to have been a meer novel Invention by the Modern Saints there mention'd, and by my MSS. which here are very different from the printed Copies and from themselves, as likewise from what we find in *Habertus* his Pontificale.

ν. p. 16.

ι. p. 16.

The first Portion] He means the first Portion of the nine which follow.

A third Seal] That is a third sealed Loaf, if they have so many, and use more then two of them. See not. c. x.

ο. π. p. 16.

Our Bishop, our Governour] This part of this Suffrage is more peculiar to Monasteries; and the reason why here the particular Bishop is distinguished from the Governour, is this, Because some Monasteries are quite exempt, and are only under their Abbat, or their own Superior, who is called in some places, ἡγούμενος, in others, as here, καὶ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, Leader or Governour; others are under a Bishop or Metropolitane, as their Visitor, whom they here remember. In other Congregations they here only mention Bishops, Priests and Deacons, and all Christian Brethren in general.

κ. p. 16.

A Portion] I have seen (especially at Mount *Athos*) him that celebrates, dig out a little piece of the Loaf for his Portion, as likewise for the Founders in the next; but for all the rest he only scrapes off little Mites with the Spear from the Crust of the Loaf. You must understand that before they go to the Prothesis to begin the Liturgy, all good People who are so disposed to have their absent Friends (Dead or Living) commemorated, go to them that celebrate, and get their Names set down, (there being two Catalogues, one of the Living, the other of the Dead) for which they deposite some Aspers, or richer Presents, in Silver or Gold, as they are able, or disposed; this being a great part of the common Priest's maintenance, especially in countrey Villages. And as the Priest and Deacon read over these Catalogues, at every name there written, and at every name of those recommended to them or whom they themselves think fit to Commemorate, there is a scrap made upon the Crust to rub off some mites as their particular Portions. It would indeed be a very tedious service should they pick out a particular bit for every one they name; for sometimes, especially at great Festivals, the numbers of them which are to be Com-

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Commemorated in particular, are very great. And though there may be then many sealed Loaves offered, yet it would be impracticable to take many Loaves, or dig out particular bits for every one of these petty Portions.

The Deacon takes a Seal] You will find in *Goar* a great dispute whether the Deacon hath Authority to offer these Portions, *Sim. Thessalonicensis* absolutely denies it; so doth *G. Pachymer*, and also *Arcudius*, who would have these Rubricks quite taken away, being of Novel Invention. But *Goar* defends this practice by the Authority of *St. Germanus*; how well may there be seen; for I leave this Matter wholly to them and others, who have leisure (or a longing to decide this weighty Trifle. But now if these Portions be only in order, for a vicarious Communion of all the absent Persons commemorated (as I shall endeavour to prove hereafter, and *Goar* plainly allows) why may not the Deacon put in what Friends he pleaseth with the rest?

Place the Portions] You must understand that all these Mites pickt out, or scraped off, by the Priest and Deacon, (some few being bigger then ordinary dust, upon particular respect to some Persons, as above said) are laid in several little Heaps under the *Holy Bread*, those for Persons of more Note, for the Living, for the Dead; those commemorated by the Deacon, being scraped a part or placed, as you see *Tab. 2. Fig. 2. c. c.*

The Asterisk] It is an Instrument which opens with four Legs crosswise, which being set over the Portions keep up the Covering from touching them. *Tab. 2. Fig. 3.* It hath its Name from the next Versicle.

A Star] They who contrived this Comical Service (as they pretend) to represent Christ's whole Oeconomy or History, methinks made a great Blunder here. To represent the Star which stood over him when he was born, they set this Asterisk (or artificial Star) over him when he is here represented as slain, that is, Dead, *vid. p. 14. not. 2.*

The Lord is King] It is the beginning of the 93d Psalm, and goes on to the end of the 3d Verse, according to our old Translation. This also is very pretty, to express the glorious Apparel in the Psalmist by a common Covering, not to say a Clout. And the other mystical Representations which follow in the two other Coverings are likewise as remarkable.

The Aer] It is the largest square Covering, and covers both the Dish and the Cup together.

O God our God] This is the *Prayer of Proposition*, which you have entire in the *Eucholog.* p. 36. and *St. Basil's* Liturgy begins with it there, p. 58. For thus far is only the Preparation of the Elements upon the *Prothesis*, in order to the following Sacrament; and I believe in the primitive Church, when this Prayer was first pen'd, it was used just after the placing of the Offerings of Bread and Wine upon the Table; but after all that long Trumpery about making and placing the several Portions, as above, was invented (in following and much later times,) it was at last postponed and thrust in here, so far off from the setting on of the Oblations, to which it refers, as it is now made something obscure.

Glory and now] These are only the Beginning, or Parts of several Suffrages or Versicles, which the Deacon knows, having got them by Heart; as we mean the whole *Lord's Prayer*, by only, *Our Father*, and the Latins, by *Pater Noster*.

Upon the Deacon's left Shoulder] It is often laid upon both Shoulders, as here, he is said to take the Aer off from his Shoulders, and the Dish is often carried upon the Deacon's Neck and Shoulders upon the Aer there.

The Deacon's Head] The Dish is often placed upon the Deacon's Neck, or hinder part of the Head, when they make the solemn Entrance, or Procession; the Deacon can thus better see what is before him in his way, and step over the Sick, who are often laid on the Floor, before the Door, entring into the Chancel, as shall be noted afterwards. But in Country Churches, or poor Villages, where there is no Deacon, but only one Priest to officiate, He takes the Dish cover'd in his left Hand, and so bears it upon the Nape of his Neck.

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and carries the Cup cover'd in his right Hand, before his Breast, and thus makes a sorry Procession alone. I have seen the same at Holy Fountains in the Fields, and other Holy Places, where there are anniversary Meetings upon some certain Festivals, and only one Priest to officiate.

L. p. 10.
Tab. I.

Goar. p. 92.

De Offic. p.
134. §. 45.
p. 131. §. 110.
p. 132.

Tab. I. ζ.

p. 132.

p. 131.

A Round in the Church] In the Patriarch's Church, They go out of the *Prothesis* at λ, and going down the North-Isle, they turn into the Nave of the Church at ω, and so go right up to the Chancel, x.g. π. Before the Door x. in that part of the Nave, (that is between the Singers ψ. ψ. at the spotted Rows x.) they lay their Sick and infirm People for the Priests and Deacons to pass over them in the Procession. The Pomp of this Procession, especially on high Days, or when the Patriarch celebrates, is very great. Many of the *Lectors* go before with lighted Candles; *Subdeacons*, *Deacons*, *Priests* follow; Then comes the Deacon with the Dish, and the Priest with the Cup. Then several carry the various Vessels and Instruments to be used at the Table, or to adorn it. See this stately Pomp described briefly in *Goar's* Comment upon *Codinus*, and at large in his Comment on the *Eucholog*. But I never saw the Deacon who carries the Dish, go backwards all the way to the Chancel, as he saith; neither can I see how it may well be done; especially amongst a Croud, he would be in danger of falling over the Sick, which lye in his Way, if it were so; and it would be ridiculous for Tapers to be carried before to light him, if his Back was always towards them. At those Anniversary Meetings in the Fields at Holy Fountains, or the like (mention'd in the foregoing Note) there is commonly but one poor Altar or Table made up of Brick, or Stone, or Earth, and repair'd against the day, if decay'd, or any part be broken down) and that serves both for a *Prothesis* and a *Holy Table* too. The Priest having first prepared the Elements and *Portions* upon it, and laid them in the Dish, and put the Wine and Water in the Cup, he carries them in the manner before said, and makes his Procession from that Altar, fetching a Compass among the People to it again; and here they lay their Sick likewise before the Altar, that he may pass over them in his return. Here I cannot but take notice, that at this *Great Entrance* or Procession, as the *μείδης*, *Portions* or Elements are carried through the Body of the Church, The Patriarch (if he be present, and doth not celebrate) comes down from his Throne a step or two, and He, and all the Metropolitans, and Bishops present, adore them, pulling off their, ἐξοχαυλάχη, outward Hood, or Vail of their Head; and all the rest of the People bow with Reverence, every one according to the various Measures of his Devotion. This Custom gives a ground of much dispute amongst both *Latines* and *Greeks*, some in both Churches Commending and Defending it, others as much opposing or blaming it. You may see an account of this in *Goar*, who palliates the matter, and at last offers in some measure to excuse it, from other Customs of like nature, instancing in the Reverence and Respect which Courtiers in *England* pay to the Chair of State as they pass by it, though the King (or Queen) be not there present. Yet in another place a little before, he owns the bare Truth; That the People adore the Elements, as if the King of *All* himself was there, surrounded or guarded invisibly with Troops of *Angels*; and they call upon *Christ* as if present, in these words, *Lord remember me when Thou comest in thy Kingdom*. Some blame this Adoration, and say it arose only out of mistake; Because they did adore the Elements (already Consecrated) as they are carried by in, ἀκολουθία τῶν προσηλασμένων, the *Lenten Liturgy*, they by inadvertency used the same Adoration here, not well minding the difference between the two Offices. The cleverest come off, seem to be hinted by *Sim. Thessalonicensis*, That this Adoration may be only a civil Reverence paid to the Priests, whose Prayers, by it, they seem humbly to desire; and this may appear more reasonable, because both Priest and Deacon all along as they go, are to say the Ejaculation following, *May the Lord God remember us all, &c.* But of this whole matter, I shall humbly offer my own Conjecture in another Place. I remember, the Illustrious *Marquess de Nointel*,

Nointel, the French Embassadör, was once with me present at the Patriarch's Church, upon a new Patriarch's Enthronment, and seeing this Adoration, he smiled upon me, and afterwards used it as an Argument for the *Latines* adoring the Host; but when I informed him that the Elements were not as yet Consecrated, he dropt the Discourse.

Honourable Joseph] This Scrap is taken out of *Mark* 15. 43, 46. and you have it entire in *Goar*.

F. p. 20.

P. 73.

G. p. 20.

Bodily in the Sepulcher] Here we meet with a very different Reading, or rather a confused Jumble. These words are the beginning of an Eulogy or Acclamation to Christ, and are in this *Euchologio* here order'd to be said by the Priest, when he sets the Elements upon the Holy Table; of which *Goar's* Copy (which he follows) here mentions nothing; but in him (where you have it entire) it is order'd to be mumbled over by the Deacon himself, who goes out from *the Prothesis* to the Holy Table, whilst he incenses it round about; and this he is to say, whilst the Elements are still upon *the Prothesis* before *the lesser Entrance of the Gospel* is made; and by consequence much longer before *the great Entrance* of the Elements. *Goar* takes notice in his Various Lectons, that the later Copies, Printed at *Venice*, have this Passage as it is here in my *Euchologio*; but it is not in any of the other Copies which he gives us afterwards. I doubt not but it was design'd (by those who first new model'd this Office, to represent Christ's whole Oeconomy or History) to represent Christ now taken from the Cross and laid in the Sepulcher; and so the right place was then where *Goar's* Copy hath put it, Christ being supposed to lye there on *the Prothesis* for some time, (as he did in the Sepulcher) till they take him up to carry him to the Holy Table. But following Managers of this matter, either being ignorant of that Mystery, or out of Carelessness, or perhaps from some new Conceit afterwards thrust it in here.

P. 63.

P. 91. F.

Phalonium] See note A. p. 18. The Greek word is variously written among Authors: Φελώνη, Φελώνη, Φελόνιον, Φελώνης, Φελόνης, Φαινώλιον, Φαινόλιον, Φαινόλης. This Variety, I suppose, comes from the Vulgar Greeks, α and ε, ο and ω, being by them pronounced alike, and often written one for the other, and λ and ρ are often transposed. There is some dispute amongst the Criticks whether the Antient *Penula* was of this fashion, and so this word might be taken from thence; I confess I am inclin'd to the Opinion that it was so, not meerly from the gingle of the Word, but from the usefulness of such a Garment. *Penula* was worn both by Men and Women in Winter upon their Journeys, for I take it to have been made of this very Fashion, purely to fence off Rain or cold Winter-like Weather. For (it being made in the form of a Woman's Peticoat) when the Head is put through the Top, all the rest hangs down round on all Sides, sloping like the Top of a round Tower, or the Roof of a House, and with ease will cast off the Rain; which in our Riding-Coats is stopt at the Sleeves, and in the various Foldings (if they are girded close) and lodged in the Wrinkles, where it soaks thorough. Under this Cloak one may on Horseback hold his Bridle and use his Hands, and yet keep all dry. *Tully* takes notice that it was a peaceable Garment, (and so much more becoming St. Paul and a Greek Priest) for he excuseth *Milo* from being guilty of Murder from having it on; *cum Penula irretitus*, when he was wrapt up in his Winter Peticoat, what could be less prepared or fit for Fighting? For a Man cannot handle a Sword or any Weapon under it, either to assault another or to defend himself. I have seen, τζομπάν, *cioban*, a Turkish Herdsman, sheltred in such a Coat; Their common, *jaghmurlyk*, or Mantle against Rain, is not much unlike it, if it was but closed before. But perhaps you would have it rather taken from some other Sacred Garment used by the Heathen, as *Telephorus* is represented in one not unlike it, in Sculptures and *Basserilievo's* which I have seen, only his seem sometimes open before. The Reasons which *Goar* gives for this Ceremony here, (to wit, the Priest his thus letting fall his *Phalonium*) are notable indeed, *Because it shews*

H. p. 20.

Greiser in Cod. de offic. c. 182. 3.

Mich. Ducas. c. 37. p. 146. b. Goar. 112. 20.

Lamprid. in Alex. Severo. p. 184.

Orat. Milone 40.

2 Tim. 4. 13.

Ruben. dere vestiar. 322. &c.

Spon. Miscell. p. 312.

p. 125. 75.

more Majesty when he hath nothing in his Hands, and it might represent Christ clothed with Human Flesh, and found in Humility as to his Habit; How it should represent Majesty and Humility at once, I cannot conceive.

A. p. 21.

The Holy Ghost] The Priest and Deacon very confidently promise the *Holy Ghost* to come upon one another, as if they had the same commission which the Angel had, who used these very words to the Virgin Mary; They are more modest p. 24. note C. and D. But I wonder, if they design'd this Office as a representation of Christ's *Oeconomy*, what part of it doth this passage here bear; for the Angel's Words were spoken before Christ was conceived, and cannot suit with what is here acted now.

C. p. 21.

Sacrifice of Praise. Spiritual Sacrifices] The true Intent and meaning of the Primitive Christians, and even of the first composers of this, and some other of the following Prayers, concerning the Celebration of the Eucharist, seem plainly to me to have been merely this, that it was only a *Spiritual Sacrifice*, of Praise, of Prayer, of Thanksgiving, of Confession of Sins, in a word, of Humble Acknowledgments of the Infinite Mercies of God vouchsafed unto us, and to all Faithful and true Penitents by the Death and Sufferings of Christ; which *Spiritual Sacrifice* they offer'd up in this *solemn Remembrance* of Him, according to his own Institution. I take this Prayer to be truly Ancient and Genuine, and being said at the very beginning of this Holy Performance, when the Elements were Offer'd and set upon the Table, it related to the whole Solemnity following, and declared that it was only a *Sacrifice of*

Ad Scapulam.

c. 32.

Praise, and of Prayers for Sinners; According to *Tertullian*, we *Sacrifice to our God*, pura prece, by pure Prayers. And *Minucius Felix* libabitis hostia, &c. *An acceptable Sacrifice, is a good Mind, and a pure Heart and a sincere Conscience, &c. these are our Sacrifices.* If they had been then this *Roman Sacrifice* he would have mention'd it; and therefore in it are mention'd only these *Spiritual Sacrifices for their Sins and the Ignorances of the People*; and it is there desired of God that *they might be acceptable unto him.* So that they then thought of no other *Sacrifice* but this (of a Thankful, Humble, and Penitent Heart,) after that one real Sacrifice of Christ himself (*offer'd once for all*) was made upon the Cross, which they now thus Commemorated. This is indeed a *Rational and Unbloody Sacrifice*, as it is truly here called, after the words of Christ (*this is my Body &c.*) are pronounced, and they duly there implore the *Descent of the Holy Spirit upon themselves and the Gifts*, (*the Bread and the Wine*), the Creatures used in this Solemnity; as you have the same again afterwards. And when they are there mention'd as *received unto God's Intellectual Altar for a smell of Spiritual Sweetness*, this cannot be understood otherwise then in a *Spiritual Sense*; and therefore in the next Prayer of the Priest there, the worthy Communicants are said to *partake of the Mysteries of this Sacred and Spiritual Table*; and they are said, further on, *not to have bow'd down their Heads to Flesh and Blood, but to God in Heaven*, which could not be true, if *the Bread and Wine*, which are now Worshipped, had been thought to have been the very *Flesh and Blood* of Christ. Indeed I am apt to believe that primitively there was only one long continued Prayer at the *Eucharist*, as we find in those called the *Apostolical Constitutions*; and that at first it was even so here one continued Prayer from hence to the end of that, *πρόχες χάρις ἡοὺ χριστοῦ, Regard O Lord Jesus Christ.* But the later *Greeks* have cut it into these several Pieces, and interlaced it with a vast deal of other Matter, and thereby have made several Scenes for the Deacon to Act in, whilst the Priest (who should have made only one continued Prayer of all) thus comes in at these several chops and Pieces of it. And I think my Conceit is something favour'd by the Repetitions all along of that *Rubrick* which in the *Euchologio* yet remain; *the Priest, πρὸς χεῖρας, (which I render) goes on Praying*, or continues the Prayer. The later *Greeks* by patching, and adding, and indifferently interweaving new Rites and incoherent Conceits, and

1. 8. c. 12.

p. 26.

at last blindly jumbling altogether, have sufficiently disguised and confounded their first, *Primitive*, Usage, (as is often noted,) yet here and there are plain marks of it still remaining; as I take these divided Prayers to be, according to Goar's own Judgment; concerning the sixth Copy which he mentions, which Prayers can never be reconciled to *Transubstantiation*, either as the Greek or Latin understand it.

Receive, Save &c.] These are only the beginning of Suffrages which you have at large in Goar, as also the last here (imperfectly set down) in Memory of the V. Mary; and they are all said by the Deacon, though that *Rubrick* is wanting in this Edition of the *Euchologion*.

The Doors, the Doors] They have so shuffled, and chopt, and chang'd their Service, as they now understand it not themselves, as *Bessarion* himself acknowledges, as hereafter is noted. I fancy these words were at first the beginning only of some longer matter, which they have forgotten, and so they now use only these which are unintelligible, yet something must be invented here to save their Credit, and Goar gives us three Opinions for it. First, that the Doors were here to be well lookt after, that all Hereticks, or Penitents or Possessed People should be excluded. But he rejects this because that is taken care of before the great Entrance, as you have it in him for the *Catechumens*. And I will add that if by these Doors were meant those of the Chancel, these Persons mention'd could never come there, being stop't at the *Northex*. Secondly, *Cabasilas* turns the words to a Mystical meaning, viz. *Not the material Doors are to be shut, but the spiritual Doors open'd of their Minds, their Mouths, their Ears, that they might the better attend to the Creed which immediately follows.* Goar likes this as little as the former, saying, *it is not the meaning of the Church;* and closeth with the third, of St. Germanus, which I confess I think the worst, or altogether as trifling; he saith, *the lower Doors were to be shut hatch-wise (as Goar explains it) and the Curtins, which shut the part above, to be drawn, and the Holy Gifts to lie covered with the Aer; and all this represents the night in which Christ was betray'd;* Indeed he hath mended the matter strangely. Yet I find in Germanus his, *ἐμπνεύμα, exposition* (Printed at Venice, 1672. p. 61.) an account much like the first of *Cabasilas*. But if the first contrivers did thus intend to make this whole service only a shadow of Christ's History from his Birth to his Death, the following Greeks have quite lost the *Cabala*, and are wonderfully perplex't in their new Inventions to make it out; this whim of Germanus seems very wide of the matter, for it is here surely very absurd, by shutting the Doors and Curtains to represent the Night in which Christ was betray'd, when he is now lookt upon as Dead, lying in the Sepulcher or on the Table. Now if Goar and all the other learned Commentators are thus puzzled to understand this stuff, how shall the poor Ignorant common People, who only gape on, be the better for it? Thus where the Priest speaking of the Angels, hath these four words, *Singing, Crying Shouting, and Saying;* at every one of these words the Deacon lifts up the Asterisk and knocks it cross-wise (once at every word) upon the Dish to make the People listen to it; (for these words are spoken aloud) Goar gives us for this Ceremony this pretty, cunning, subtle conceit (as he calls it *argula expositio*) of St. Germanus. These four words (I suppose with the four Tinks which the Deacon makes with the Asterisk and Dish) do not signify, saith he, *the four quarters of the World* (as perhaps was some other Mens opinion) but the four Animals whose figures the Cherubims and Seraphims are said in Scripture to bear, *ἄδοντα, singing as the Eagle, βοῶντα (crying, or) bellowing as an Ox, κειγνύοντα (shouting or) roaring like a Lion, λέγοντα (saying or) speaking as a Man.* You will see more such elevated interpretations afterwards.

Let us stand well] Standing was of old made the common and usual Posture of Adoration, Ministering, and Praying before God. Hence to stand and Minister before the Lord is so often mention'd as the posture of the

Priests

p. 109. a.

E. p. 211

p. 74.

H. p. 211

vid. ejus verba
hic p. 49, 50.

Tab. I. p. d.

p. 136. 126.

A. p. 22.

Deut. 18. 5.

c. 19. 8.

Numb. 16. 9.

1 King. 8. 11.
1 Chron. 23. 30.
2 Chron. 29. 11.
&c.
Mark 11. 25.
Luk. 18. 11.
Psal. 95. 6.

Priests and Levites in their Ministration under Moses's Law, and the Adoration of the whole Congregation. And this is mention'd as the Posture of Praying in the New Testament. It was usual at their entrance into the Temple to Worship and fall down, and kneel before the Lord, (as I have seen the Armenians do it in their Church at Brusa to this Day,) but the whole Ministration afterwards was always executed standing. And from thence I believe it is that the Greeks took up their Custom of performing all their publick services standing. There is in their Church at Fanar, a Throne for the Patriarch, and Seats opposite to it for the Ex-patriarchs, and Metropolitans, and the Singers, and the Officers of the Church, who at certain times set, but all the rest stand during the whole Service. I have been amongst them at their ἀγρυπνία Vigils, upon some great Festival following, where we all have stood from the very beginning of the Vespers, during all the following Offices to the end of the Liturgy; that is from the Evening till Noon the next day, without sitting or kneeling at all. This Exhortation therefore of the Deacon is to stir up their Reverence and Attention in this their solemn Posture of Adoration. And that admonition which I have hereafter noted, σοφία ὁρῶι, may be understood of this standing; as if the sense had been, σοφία, the Gospel, attend, ὁρῶι, or be ye Standing or Erect.

p. 73. §. 1.

B. p. 22.

p. 136. 128.

1.8. c. 12.

p. 137.

C. p. 22.

See Gr. Enchol.

p. 43. Goar.

p. 30. Euchol.

52. Goar. 79.

&c.

The Fan] See Tab. 2. Fig. 5. It hath an Angel's Head at the top surrounded with three pair of Wings. Taking hold of the handle they keep it streight out at length over the Holy things, wriggling it very fast backwards and forwards to right and left. Goar first tells us that the plain design of this Instrument, was to drive away Flies lest they should fall into the Cup, or (I suppose) light on the Portions and defile them; it was used of old if you allow the Apostolical Constitutions to be genuine. But he remarks (mysterium longè profundius) a far deeper Mystery in it, out of Jobius and St. Germanus, relating to the Cherubims and Seraphims above; which Mystery will be quite spoiled, when they Fan the Holy Things with only the Covering or Aer wrapt up conveniently for that purpose, as it happens in thousands of poor Congregations where to my knowledge there is no Fan, and Goar himself cannot but own it.

With us all] In some Copies it is ἡμῶν, with us; in others ὑμῶν, with you; and in several other places of the Liturgy you will find the like variety. The present Greeks in pronuntiation every where leave out the Aspirate; next ὡ and η sound and always alike, so that ἡμῶν, ὑμῶν are both Emone; and you must be forced to guess at the word by the Sense, which here is much at one. See Not. G. at p. 22. following in the next page.

See Note C. at page 21. here p. 38.

E. p. 22.

G. p. 22.

Refut. part 2.

p. 235. 236.

de cult. lat.

l. 3. c. 12.

p. 353. 354.

The Triumphant Hymn] Holy, Holy, Holy Lord of Sabaoth, Heaven and Earth are full of thy Glory, Hosanna in the Highest, &c. you have it in Goar. p. 76.

This is my Body] It is to be understood according to the usual and common speech of the Jews in our Saviour's time; This is my Body, that is, in Remembrance of my Body, as they said then, This is the Bread of Affliction, that is, in Memory of the Bread of Affliction, as is above said. And it is

much after the same manner that Arnold is forced to own that those words (which are Sung in the Latin Church on Good Friday,) Ecce lignum Crucis. Behold the Wood of the Cross, are not to be expounded so grossly, as if they were real Wood, (for they may perhaps be Silver or of some other matter) or the very Cross on which Christ died, but, seulement l'image, only the Image or representation of Christ. So not unlike this, where in Moses's Law a Sacrifice for Sin is only called absolutely sometimes ~~NON~~ a fault or offence, sometimes ~~NON~~ a Sin, it is expounded (Heb. 10. 3.) by ἀνάμνησις ἀμαρτιῶν, a Remembrance of Sins; that is, the Creature Sacrificed is called a Fault or Sin, not that it self is so, but that it is in Remembrance of Faults or Sins committed. Dalla's remark is very rational, these words (saith he) This is my

favour their Absurdity, by specifying that very *Body of Flesh*, which was given or broken for us upon the Cross, into which very Body, they tell us, that the Bread is turn'd. Surely these words are a more necessary part of *Christ's Form* than their, *Enim, For*, which they have foisted in of themselves. As to their Form of Consecrating the Cup; it is strange they should make one purely of their own, which agrees not with any one of those set down in Scripture; and is at best confessedly but a *figurative Speech*. Now how this *figurative Form* of their own Invention, framed and stuffed with foreign Matters, should have in it the Power and Efficacy to turn the Wine and Water into *Christ's very Blood*, without his own Words or Authority, I cannot see; I am sure, *this is the Cup of my Blood*, are not his Words. Now as for our *English Form*, since we look upon these Words, *This is my Body, This is my Blood*, as meant only, *In remembrance of my Body, and of my Blood*, the worthy Compilers of our *Synaxis*, have justly and discreetly added out of all the Forms in Scripture, what is most proper to excite such a devout *Remembrance* in us.

Aquin. tert.
q. 78. art. 30.
primi.

Not. in Gabr.
Philadelph.
p. 99. a.

Act. 2. 42, 46.
c. 20. 7, 11.

C. à lapide in
locos.

H. p. 22.

A. p. 23.

Cedren.

p. 386. c.

And here give me leave to add this one thing. There is a great Controversy between the *Latins* and *Greeks*, whether Fermented or Unleavened Bread ought to be used at the Sacrament, I find in the learned R. *Simon* this whole Controversy called *λογομαχία*, a meer squabble about Words; cum divina virtus &c. seeing the Divine Power, or God, can change as well the one as the other. Yet with that Authors leave I must confess that I have still this scruple about it. It is certain that the Bread which Christ used at the first Institution was either only one or the other. Now if Christ by his own words, *This is my Body, Transubstantiated* (as they would have it) leavened Bread, how dare the Priest pretend to *Transubstantiate* unleavened Bread by only repeating Christ's words upon it? By what Authority, or Power, or Example doth he do it? The like may be said of the *Greeks* leavened Bread, if Christ used only unleavened Bread. Whereas if the Sacrament be only a Commemoration of Christ's Passion, and the Bread be only a Figure or Representation of His Body, and the Wine of His Blood, (as we believe and say,) the Scruple cannot be so great. And if those passages, *The new Converts and the Apostles continued in breaking of Bread and Prayer, and daily with one accord in the Temple, and breaking of Bread from House to House, and there coming together the first day of the Week to break Bread*, I say, if these passages are meant of the *Eucharist*, as the *Latines* expound them, we cannot conceive but that it was celebrated with *Common fermented Bread*, such as we use. And they that say that after the *Eucharist* was over, immediately follow'd the *Agape* or love Feasts, cannot think that there was *unleavened Bread* for that, and *leavened Bread* for these, but that it was the same *Common Bread* in both.

In like manner also] These words are left out in some Printed Copies (as *Ven.* 1622. and 1673. and others) by mistake of the Printer, but are in most others (as 1672. &c.) and are always in this place used by him that celebrates.

Thine of Thine] This I fancy (*tua ex tuis, Thine of Thine.*) was taken up and inserted in *Justinian's* time, who having re-edified the *Cupelo* of St. *Sophia*, and made a new Holy Table under it with Gold, Silver, precious Stones and all other Materials of immense Value, wrote round about the side of it, *thy Servants, O Christ, Justinian and Theodora offer unto thee Thine of Thine, &c.* And the Patriarch might probably insert this scrap from thence to flatter the *Emperor*. But if this Phrase was before in the Liturgy, *Justinian's* Inscription fairly interprets it; viz. that these Elements were not after consecration *Christ's Body and Blood*, but meer *Bread and Wine, Creatures of God* as *Justinian's Gold and Silver and Jewels* were; and were, as His, offer'd unto him again. And the words here following, *Offering to Thee, Thine of Thine, πάντα ἅπαντα καὶ διὰ πάντα*, in all things and for all things, must signify that, all things, whatever we offer to God, are his Creatures, or Gifts, or

from

Him, and for all things and purposes for which he hath order'd them to be.

And therefore here *Thine of Thine* is plainly the same with what *Irenæus* saith, 1. 4. c. 32.

Novi Testamenti novam oblationem, panem qui ex creatura est, & calicem qui

ex creatura, the new Offering or Oblation of the New Testament; Bread

which is of a Creature, and the Cup which is of a Creature, this is plainly,

Thine of Thine. So in another place he hath these very words, offerimus quæ

sunt ejus, we offer unto him what things are his, and afterwards explains them

after the words here quoted above. And the Prayer which here immediately

follows, yet evinces this Sense more clearly, for having offer'd these material

Oblations, Bread and Wine, They offer next, or moreover a rational and

unbloody worship, and pray God to send down his Holy Spirit upon these

Gifts, or Oblations, (the Bread and Wine) as well as upon themselves, and

so both of them wanted his farther Benediction alike. If they were now, after

the Consecration, *Christ's real Body and Blood*, there would have been no

need of this. *Goar* in expounding this, *Thine of Thine*, shuffles most misera-

bly: He saith, The same Gifts are thrice offer'd (as in the Liturgy now

model'd.) 1st. Upon the Prothesis (where remember *Christ's Portion* is pierced

with the Lance) and according to their mystical Tragedy, *Christ is slain*,

that is sacrificed; I should think there once for all was enough. 2dly. They

are offer'd when the Elements after the Great Procession are set down upon

the Holy Table; for which the Prayer of Offering follows. *Christ* all this

while is supposed not only Dead but laid in the Grave. 3dly. He saith, here

they are offered again, where the Priest takes greater courage than he had

before. But they are the same Gifts still, that is meer Creatures, else why

would he pray for the descent of God's Spirit upon them, as is before said.

See what a trifling Account he there gives for this threefold Offering. But

however he hooks in his Transubstantiation by this special Gloss, In Sacrificio

nec nudus, &c. In the Sacrifice (which as is noted was over long before)

neither bare Bread, nor the Body of *Christ*, simply speaking, but Bread truly

consecrated, and the Body of *Christ*, covered with the species of Bread, is

Sacrificed as the Sacrifice of the whole World. How is it now Sacrificed?

there is not one word of it here, or in the words of Consecration; at the Pro-

thesis indeed there is a great deal of stuff to that purpose as is above said. He

had forgot what he had freely said in expounding the word εὐχαριστία, where

speaking of several sorts of Prayer, he hath these Words, Est quoque aliud

Orationis genus &c. There is also another kind of Prayer by which we im-

plore God not only as a benefactor, but also offer unto him His of His,

or we depute a Creature to his Worship, and make our selves at length

Holy, or think to receive or derive divine Holiness from Him; this hap-

pens, either when we return thanks for benefits, when we dedicate Vessels,

Altars, Temples, the Matters or the Elements of the Sacraments, we desire

they may be made the Promptuaries or Store-houses of Grace, and lastly we

think to render our selves more Holy by any means, yet by the help of

Prayer being added; and so a Creature deputed not for the use of Man

alone, but chiefly for the service of God is sanctified by the word of God

and Prayer. Here he gives a truer account of this very saying, we offer unto

Thee *Thine of Thine*; that is, we depute these Creatures of *Thine* (Bread

and Wine) to thy Worship, and we pray that (by thy Holy Spirit) they may be

made Promptuaries or Store-houses of thy Grace, and that (by partaking of

them) we may be render'd more Holy thereby.

Rational Worship] This is refer'd to the whole Service and is meant

only Spiritually. In the Prayer before the great Entrance or Procession, this

Office of celebrating the Eucharist is called θυσία, a Sacrifice; the Priest there

owning his commission from *Christ*, saith that he gave him, τῆς λειτουργίας

ταύτης ἡ ἀναμάρτη θυσία τὴν ἱερουργίαν, the Holy office of performing this Mi-

nisterial and unbloody Sacrifice; but the word Sacrifice there must relate to

the whole Administration of the Eucharist, and cannot be wrested to signify

literally, or to justify the absurd *Sacrifice* of the *Latins*, unless you will say Christ was before really Sacrificed on the *Prothesis*; it therefore signifies the *Spiritual Sacrifice of Prayer, Praise and Thanksgiving* carried on throughout the whole Office. Accordingly it is here and often afterwards expounded by, λογικὴ λατρεία, a *Rational Worship or Service*. Surely after the Consecration had been the properest place to have named it a *Sacrifice*, had it been meant literally so in the Prayer above mention'd; but it is called all along no otherwise then a *Rational*, that is a spiritual *Service*. And this is fully explain'd in *Basil's Liturgy* in the Prayer after the Prayer of Oblation, σοὶ προσφέρω ἐν καρδίᾳ συντριμμένῃ καὶ πνεύματι ταπεινῶσιν τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν ἡμῶν, to offer unto Thee in a broken Heart, and in a spirit of Humility this our rational Worship; for in the words just before we are told what this Worship is, σὲ αἰνεῖν, σὲ ὑμνεῖν &c. To praise Thee, to sing hymns to Thee, to bless Thee, to adore Thee, to give thanks to Thee, to glorify Thee; and from this spiritual Sacrifice the whole Communion is truly called, the Eucharist. So *Nazianzen*; He deserves not the name of a Priest, who hath not first presented himself a Living, Holy, Sacrifice, and who hath not shewn or demonstrated, λογικὴ λατρεία εὐάγεσιν, a rational Worship well-pleasing, and who hath not Sacrificed to God a Sacrifice of Praise and a broken Spirit (ὡς μόλις θυσίαν, which only Sacrifice He, who hath given all things, requires of us) how should I dare to offer to him τὴν ἐξωδον, τὴν τῶν μεγάλων μυστηρίων ἀντίτυπον, the outward Sacrifice, the Antitype of the great Mysteries, or to take upon me the habit and name of a Priest before I had Sacrificed, &c.

Rom. 12. 1, 2. None can explain this λογικὴ λατρεία rational Service better than St. Paul himself hath done it; he plainly makes it the presenting of our Bodies, that is, our Selves, to God with Faith and true Repentance, being transformed by the renewing of our Minds; and this he calls a living Sacrifice, Holy, acceptable to God, our rational Service. And in this Sense all Christians are called by St. Peter, a Holy Priest-hood, obliged to offer up spiritual Sacrifices, of Praise and Thanksgiving; David tells us how acceptable these Spiritual Services were to God, and they are so still by Jesus Christ. Goar mentions this as Melancton's opinion, and thus offers at an answer to it. The principal part, saith he, of divine Worship is an external Sacrifice, to be performed with an humble Mind and Reflection, (very right, and we present our Bodies a living Sacrifice, Holy and Well-pleasing unto God, a rational Service: We offer broken and contrite Hearts, and the Sacrifice of Thanksgiving and Prayer; we offer both External and Internal Sacrifices of Body and Soul,) and this Sacrifice, saith he, must be the very Body of Christ the Lord, slain on the Altar of the Cross for the Salvation of Man, (this was done by himself once, and cannot be done again by us; neither can it be proved to have ever been done either by Latins or Greeks; so that here he meely begs the Question) and, as he goes on, consecrated on the Altar by an unbloody way, which is offer'd in Memory of his Passion. If he had proved that Christ's very Body and Blood are thus consecrated (that is, really made,) and offered upon their Altars, he had done his business. But we are otherwise taught by Justin Martyr, who (answering the Jews, excusing themselves for want of offering their Bodily Sacrifices then at Jerusalem, because they said, their Prayers in their dispersion were now as acceptable) saith, that he indeed himself own'd, that Prayers and Thanksgivings, made by worthy Persons, are the only Sacrifices which are perfect and well-pleasing unto God, and that Christians have learnt to make only these, at the remembrance of Christ's Passion. In another place he saith, the fine Flower offer'd for Lepers, was a Figure of the Bread of the Eucharist, which Christ commanded to be made in the remembrance of his Passion. And there he seems to give the very reason why the celebration of the Lord's Supper is called the Eucharist, or Thanksgiving, by way of Excellence; because Christ commanded, with the use of the Bread, that we should give thanks to God, both for having Created the World with

all

Goar. p. 165.

Apologeticon
in Pantum.
p. 38.

1 Pet. 2. 5.

Heb. 13. 15.

Psal. 69. 31.

1 Pet. 2. 5.

p. 139. 136.

Rom. 12. 1.

Psal. 116. 17.

Psal. 51. 17.

Heb. 7. 27.

c. 9. 28.

1 Pet. 3. 18.

Dialog. cum
Tryph. p. 345. a.

p. 260. a.

all things therein for Man, and for freeing us from all the Evil in which we were set, and for utterly destroying Principalities and Powers by him that was made to suffer by his Counsel. And you will find the general Sense of these Thanksgivings, scattered up and down in these very Prayers; by which we may conceive, that as to this point, they have not much varied from the usage in Justin's time.

Send down thy Holy Spirit] What need is there of this earnest *Intreating, Praying, and Beseeching* for the descent of the *Holy Ghost* upon the *Gifts*, as well as upon themselves, if the *Gifts* after the words of Christ wanted it not as well as they? Therefore it is first plain, that the Compilers of this Prayer did not believe that the *Gifts* were *Transubstantiated* by the words of Christ, or that they turn'd it into his very Body and Blood. For it would have been impious to have called for the *Spirit* upon them, equally with themselves, nay, after themselves. The Priest and Deacon indeed promised Boldly to one another, the descent of the *Holy Ghost*, and the Power of the most High, and that they should be with them for ever, and it was therefore highly requisite for them to pray earnestly (as they both do here) to God to make it Good. But why should this descent be upon the *Gifts*, if they were already Christ himself? The *Gifts* therefore were thought, by the first contrivers of this Prayer, to be still the same very Bread and Wine, and the *Holy Ghost* was pray'd to for his assistance, that by the taking of them in Remembrance of Christ's Passion, (*ὡς περὶ τοῦ σώματος &c.*) thus they may be made to every one that receives them to soberness of Mind and Remission of Sins, as follows in the next Prayer; though that Prayer is now jumbled a good way off from this. For if you would reduce the words, without the Interruptions which follow, made by the Priest and Deacon, into due frame and order, the Prayer would stand entirely thus; *send down thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon these Gifts; create in us a clean Heart, O God, and renew a right Spirit within us; cast us not away from thy Presence, and take not thy Holy Spirit from us; Thus far they pray for the Spirit upon themselves) and make this Bread the precious Body of thy Christ, and what is in this Cup the precious Blood of thy Christ, changing by thy Holy Spirit, that to all that receive (them) they may be made to Soberness of Mind, to the Remission of Sins, to the Communication of thy Holy Spirit, and the rest that follow; here they pray for the Holy Spirit upon the Gifts, that they may by God's Grace be so changed as to work in the Receivers these blessed Effects.*

Now before I come to give an account of this whole Prayer, give me leave to take notice, that although the *Latins* during my stay in the East, and since, have boasted that the *Greeks* did own *Transubstantiation* as well as themselves, yet supposing (what I cannot grant) that the thing it self was true, yet there is still a vast and an irreconcilable difference between the *Latins*, and those *Greeks* which favour that Opinion, about the Form and Means of effecting it. It is well known that the *Latins* positively assert, that only the Words of our Saviour, *this is my Body, this is my Blood &c.* pronounced by a lawfull Priest with a true intention, and the like, immediately does the thing; so as nothing of the very Substance of either Bread or Wine remains, but only their sensible Accidents. There are *Latins* and *Greeks*, who are well inclin'd to own that the thing is done, yet as positively assert that it is not done till the Priest hath added, after Christ's words, this Prayer to the end of those words, *μεταβαλὼν τὸ πνεῦμα σὲ τῷ ἁγίῳ, changing by thy Holy Spirit.* For this, not to mention any of the *Greek* Authors, who upon Record have been Zealous

D. p. 23.

Goar. p. 139.
137. p. 140.
139. r.

Paris when I was there 1679. The Ambassador shew'd me it at his Palace in Pera, with many other Subscriptions, and gave me this Copy himself, with a Translation of it also in French for his own use, because he did not understand Greek; of which and all the rest I shall speak more fully in a more proper place.

It is this. Περὶ δὲ τῆς Φεικτῆς μυστικῆς τῆς εὐχαριστίας, πιστεύομεν καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν ἅδι, γὰρ τὸ τῷ σῶμα ἢ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ πάρεστι ἀράτως πραγματικῇ παρουσίᾳ ἐν τῷ μυστηρίῳ. ὅτι γὰρ τὰ εἰπεῖν τὸ λειτουργεῖν ἱερεῖα μὴ τὰ κυριακὰ λόγια, Ποίησον τὸ μὲν ἄρτον τῷτον ἥμιον σῶμα τῷ Χριστῷ σου, τὸ δὲ οὖνον τῷ ποτηρίῳ τῷτον ἥμιον αἷμα τῷ Χριστῷ σου μετὰβαλὼν τῷ πνεύματι σου τῷ ἁγίῳ, τότε τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ τῆς παναγίας πνεύματι, ὡς φησὶ καὶ ἀρήτως ὁ μὲν ἄρτος μεταποιεῖται εἰς αὐτὸ ἐκείνο τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα ἢ σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ πραγματικῶς καὶ ἀληθῶς καὶ κυρίως, ὁ δὲ οἶνος εἰς τὸ ζωντὸν αἷμα αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν ὅλον τὸν Χριστὸν πιστεύομεν εἶναι τὸ προσφέροντα καὶ προσφερόμενον, καὶ προσδεχόμενον καὶ ἀναλαμβάνον ἀπαξ ἅπασιν καὶ ὁλόκληρον ἀπαθῶς ἐοδιόμενον. οἱ μὲν ἀξίως μεταλαμβάνοντες αὐτὸ ζωοποιῶνται ἐνώμενοι αὐτῷ τῷ Χριστῷ, οἱ δὲ ἀναξίως κατακτανόμενοι καὶ εἰς ὀλεθρον ῥίπθουσιν ἑαυτοῦς. ὅπερ μυστήριον καὶ λατρεία ἐστὶ καὶ λέγεται, καὶ θεωρεῖται ὅτι αὐτὸ λατρεύειν τὸ πεποιημένον σῶμα ἢ σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ, καὶ θυσία προσφέρειν ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ὁδοδύων χειρῶν ζώντων καὶ κεκοιμημένων.

*In the French, terrible.

Concerning the * dreadful Mystery of the Eucharist we believe, and without doubting confess, that the Living Body of our Lord Jesus Christ is present invisibly, by a real presence in the Mystery; for by the Priest, who celebrates, his saying after the Lord's

†Fr. honorable.

Words, Make this Bread the † precious Body of this Christ, and that in this Cup the precious Blood of thy Christ changing by thy Holy Spirit, Then by the Power of the Holy Spirit, supernaturally and ineffably, the Bread is changed into that very proper Body of the Saviour Christ, Really, and Truly, and Properly; and the Wine into his Living Blood. And we be-

‡ French, qui offre & qui est offert & receu & distribue. See Goar p. 72. qui offers & offert & assumis & distribuens. p. 164. qui offers & offert & suscipis, qui suscipis & impertis.

lieve that the same entire Christ is both he † that offers, and he that is offered, and he that receives, and he that is distributed at once to all, and is without suffering any thing entirely eaten. They also who worthily receive him are quickned, being united to Christ himself; but they who unworthily, are condemn'd, and cast themselves into Destruction. Which Mystery both is and is called Worship; and in it, as is worthy of God, is worshipped the deified Body of the Saviour Christ, and is offer'd a Sacrifice for all Orthodox Christians quick and dead. The Greeks (or at least some

Lab. Conc. Flor. p. 489. E. 492.

few of them) at the Council of Florence, seem to have been much of the same Opinion, as to this Point; for we find that four of their chief Managers in that Council (though they were Persons who wish'd well to the Latin Cause, &c.) thus answer'd the Pope touching this same Matter. Ἡμεῖς εἵπομεν,

ὅτι ὁμολογοῦμεν ὅτι τῷ ῥημάτων τῶτον τελειῶν τὸν θεῖον ἄρτον, καὶ γίνεσθαι σῶμα Χριστοῦ. ἀλλ' ὑπερον καθὼς καὶ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, Κέλυσον προσενηχθῆναι τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα τῷ Χριστῷ ἁγίῳ ἀγγέλου εἰς τὸ ὡς φησὶν σου θυσιαστήριον, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς εὐχόμεθα, λέγοντες, Κατελθέτω τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ ποιῆσαι ἐν ἡμῖν τὸν ἄρτον τῶτον, ἥμιον σῶμα ἢ Χριστοῦ σου καὶ τὸ οὖνον τῷ ποτηρίῳ τῷτον, ἥμιον αἷμα τῷ Χριστῷ σου, καὶ μετὰβαλὼν αὐτὰ τῷ πνεύματι αὐτοῦ τῷ ἁγίῳ ὡς φησὶ γενέσθαι τοῖς μεταλαμβάνουσιν εἰς νίψιν ψυχῆς, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν μὴ γενώσθαι εἰς κέλημα ἢ εἰς κατακείμενα ἡμῶν. We said, that we confess,

that by these words (the words of Christ the Holy Bread is consecrated, (The Latins to hook in their absurd Doctrine, render the word τελειῶν here, most impudently Transubstantiari to be Transubstantiated; though a little before they have render'd τελειωθέντων, sanctificatis, sanctified. R. Simon is

Not. in Gabr. Philad. p. 125. b.

so ingenuous as to own such Versions to be made, ad mentem Theologorum, according to the Divines Opinion, that is, those of the Roman Sect. Goar is something more modest, and interprets it transmutari to be changed, and made the Body of Christ. But afterwards even as you say, Command these Gifts to be brought by the Hands of a Holy Angel to thy Heavenly Altar above, so we also pray, saying, That the Holy Spirit may descend upon us, and make in us this Bread the precious Body of thy Christ, and what is in this Cup the precious Blood of thy Christ, and to change them by his Holy Spirit, that they may be, to those who receive, for the purifying of the Soul, for the Remission of Sins; that they may not be to our Judgment

In the Canon of the Mass. Answer p. 1631. p. 306.

or

or Condemnation. Now let the *Latins* make what use they can of these Declarations of the *Greeks*, it is impossible to reconcile their Opinions concerning the manner and words which make this Change, be it what it will: The *Latins* say, *Christ's words do it*, The present *Greeks* say, *It is done a good while after*, τὸν, Then, when the Priest hath ended part of the Prayer at, changing by thy Holy Spirit: Nay, a very learned Author hath shewn at large, that the *Latins* themselves cannot agree about this Point; and he cites many of them, Men of Learning and Renown, who explode the School Opinion, and approve that of the *Greeks*. Nay, he cites a Bishop who is so bold as to censure even two Infallible Popes, Gregory the Great and Innocent the Third, for their Opinions about it. So that all the *Latin* School Divinity about the Form of *Transubstantiation*, is plainly exploded by the present *Greek* Subscribers; and as to the Matter they differ not a little; The *Greeks* (as is well known) using always common fermented Bread, the *Latins* only a small unfermented Wafer, and the *Greeks* after Consecration put hot Water into the Cup, so that supposing the Wine and the first Water mixt at the Prothesis were Transubstantiated into Christ's very Blood, it is scurvily dasht with hot Water before the Communicants drink it. Give me leave here to make a Reflection or two upon these two Declarations: The present *Greek* Subscribers, though they have not used the word, μετασῳσις, *Transubstantiation*, yet they may seem to have indeed own'd the Thing, by declaring the Elements to be changed into the very proper Body, and living Blood of Christ, Really, and Truly, and Properly; as likewise we meet with the same thing in their, Ὁρθόδοξος ὁμολογία, *Orthodox Confession*, and other late Writings, (of which more in another place;) But by all this we may see that these Subscribers (for I can by no means say all the *Greeks*) are now more debauched, and by Degrees wrought much nearer to the *Latins* than Those in the Council of Florence; for they only said, that the Bread by the Words of Christ, πλεῖστον, was consecrated and made the Body of Christ; this is far enough from *Transubstantiation*, or such a change as these modern *Greeks* allow; for in a figurative Sense we say the same. The *Florentine Greeks* in their Declaration seem principally to aim at that Point, The compleat manner of the Consecration. However all the Contest in that Council about the Sacrament was managed, ἀπὸ ζώσης Φωνῆς, by word of Mouth, and what the whole Matter of Dispute was, and the Determination of it, is not to be found either in Labbè or Syropulus. We meet with no word tending to *Transubstantiation*; we have, πλεῖστον, consecrated, and πλείους τῶν δώρων, the Consecration of the Gifts, of which the *Greek* Synod would say nothing, ἀγνοῦντες τὴν ἀληθῆ ἔπερὰ καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν, being ignorant of giving any true Decision of the Matter: By which it is plain that they were not then acquainted with the *Latin* *Transubstantiation*. The Cardinals urged that no Union could be made without a Determination of this Point, τῆς ιερουργίας, about the celebrating of the Sacrament. The Emperor would not have it put into the Definition, neither is it there. Again we find all the other Points of Controversy mention'd, but this not touched. At last we find δύο, διδασκάλους, Masters (whether *Greeks* or *Latins* is not there clearly express'd) taught or asserted before the Pope, that the Lord's Words, ἀγιάζουσι, do sanctify the Bread and, μεταποιῶσι, change it into the Body of Christ, not the Prayers of the Priests; and we read there, that much was said about it, but nothing was concluded. Now first, I cannot but imagine, that if the *Florentine Greeks* had then as thoroughly own'd *Transubstantiation*, as the Modern Subscribers seem to have done, surely it would have been put in the Definition, (where there is not the least jot of it,) or they would at least have dropt here and there (where so many Occasions offer'd themselves) some plain and fully significant words to express or at least intimate their Opinion in this Point, and not have been all along so cautious in using those words only, which are above mention'd, none of which imply any such Matter. The *Latins* who have been so bold as to translate πλεῖστον, *Transubstantiari*, me-

thinks

thinks would have then in stead of it, put μετασῆσαι into the Definition, or some other place, or some other equivalent word (for I believe that word was not then coin'd, or at least not publickly known) if they had thought it would have past with that Greek Synod.

In the Marquess of Nointel's Declaration you have inserted that profound, and to me, most unintelligible Expression out of the Greek Liturgy, *Christ is he that offers and is offered, that receives and is received*, which I have taken notice of before.

As for the Greeks Declaration in the Council of Florence, I think they give a very cunning answer to the Latins Objection, as to the second Point the manner of Consecration. It was thought an Absurdity in the Greeks, to pray for the Descent of the Holy Ghost, upon the Gifts after Christ's Words, *This is my Body, This is my Blood*, by which the Latins say they are fully Transubstantiated: Instead of a plain answer, The Greeks charge them with what seems in them every whit as absurd, to wit, why they in their Mass should after the Words of Christ, pray for an Angel to carry the Gifts up to the Altar in Heaven; if the Gifts were really now made very Christ himself. The Latin Mass saith, *Offerimus præclaræ Majestati, tuæ de tuis donis ac datis Hostiam*, we offer unto thy glorious Majesty, of thy Gifts and what is given a Sacrifice; Then, *supra quæ (dona) propitio vultu respicere digneris, upon which (Gifts) vouchsafe to look with a favourable Eye*; and, *Jube hæc perferri per manus Angeli, &c.* Command these (Gifts) to be carried by an Angel unto thy Altar in Heaven. And therefore in the Greek Text of that Council is put, *Κέλευσον τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα*, Command these Gifts to be carried, as the plain Sense is in this Prayer; but the Latin Translation there hath left out, *Δῶρα, Gifts*; and only put in, *Hæc, These*; that is, *These things*, or what they please. Now I cannot but think that they, who first contrived even the Latin Canon of the Mass, in this place understood nothing more but a Spiritual Sacrifice, and meant no more by the offering of these Gifts, and desiring that they might be carried up to the Altar in Heaven, then the Greeks did who invented the Prayer of Incense, which you have before. As they desired that, *That might be received up to the Altar in Heaven as a Savour of spiritual Sweetness*; so these, *That this spiritual Sacrifice might be received so too*. For I cannot but think that the first Latins never meant by, *προσενεγκθῆναι τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα*, that these Gifts may be carried to Heaven, (be they what they will) that they should be Bodily, or Literally, carried up by an Angel into Heaven, any more then the Greeks meant, that the Bodily Incense should; but that these Actions and Performances, or outward Services, accompanied with the Devotion of a pure Heart, should be accepted in Heaven, as offer'd there; This is, *λογικὴ λατρεία, a rational and spiritual Service* indeed.

Nic. Cabasilas, a Greek, who lived about the Year 1300, wrote an Exposition of their Liturgy, (which I have in a Greek MS.) you may find it in Latin, in *Bibliothec. Patrum*. He is there in the Preface justly own'd, by the

Ludg. 1677.
p. 175. r. 26.

Latins themselves, to have been a pious and learned Man; yet he there most admirably, and indeed I think invinceably, maintains the Greek Opinion for using the Prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Gifts after Christ's Words, and amongst many other Things urges the Latins with the very same Difficulty abovemention'd, to wit, *their praying for an Angel to carry the Gifts &c.* after Consecration; and presseth it very home; and I doubt not but the Greek Fathers in the Council of Florence, borrow'd their very answer (as it is above) to the Pope, from Him.

vid. R. Simon.
not. in Gabr.
Philad. p. 163.
b. 164. a.

r. 13. Concil.
p. 489. E.

But now it is very remarkable that Cardinal Bessarion, who was Metropolitane of Nice, and Proxy for the Metropolitane of Sardis in that Council, and was one of the very four who gave that answer to the Pope, and by consequence was then of that Mind, should afterwards so earnestly oppose that Doctrine of the Greeks, as he hath done in a Dissertation to that purpose, which you will also find

find in the *Bibliothec. Patrum*, yet perhaps some will not wonder that the Pro-^{r. 26. p. 787.} motion to a *Cardinal's Cap* might be a sufficient motive to an Ambitious Man to change his opinion.

It is not my Business to enter into their Controversy, yet I cannot but take notice of some passages in *Bessarion*, which truly to me seem very odd. He saith, *That it is doubtful whether the Prayer, by which the Greeks say the* ^{p. 790. a.} *change is made, be accepted by God, or no; and it is unfitting so great a Sacrament should depend upon a thing that is doubtful.* But do not the *Latins* make it depend upon a far greater uncertainty, to wit the *Priest's steady intention* (to mention no more of common instances) *in pronouncing the words of Christ*, as required according to them. Besides the words of Christ, especially for the Cup, according to St. *Luke* and St. *Paul*, are very different from those of St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark*, as is before said. Now it is not a little uncertain which of these Forms were really the very words of Christ, and so the change, if supposed to be made by them (use which Form you will) must be uncertain. Next he owns the Liturgies of *Clemens* and *James*, and *Basil* and *Chrysostom*, to be really theirs whose names they Bear, yet in all these they pray for the *Coming* or the *Descent* of the Holy Spirit upon the *Gifts*, after the words of Christ. Yet for answer to them all, he depends upon one single Pas-^{p. 792. d.} sage in *Chrysostom*, which he expounds not only against the Practice of the first three Liturgies, but against *Chrysostom's* own likewise; as if *Bessarion* understood *Chrysostom's* meaning, better than *Chrysostom* himself did, for he makes his words plainly contradict his practice. Because I may have occasion hereafter to refer to these words of *Chrysostom*, I shall here set them fully down once for all. Πάρεστιν ὁ Χριστός, καὶ νῦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ τὴν τραπέζαν διακοσμήσας ἐκένω, οὐτὶς ^{Ed. Savil. r. 5.} καὶ ταῦτ' αὖτις διακοσμεῖ νῦν. ὅδε γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἐστὶν ὁ ποῖον τὰ προκείμενα γινέσθαι σῶμα καὶ ^{p. 559. In} αἷμα Χριστοῦ, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ σταυρωθεὶς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν Χριστός. ὅλημα πλησῶν ἐσηκεν ὁ ἱερεὺς, ^{prodit Juda.} τὰ ῥήματα φθεγγόμενος ἐκεῖνα· ἡ δὲ δύναμις καὶ ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ σῶμα, φησι. τούτῳ τὸ ῥήμα μεταρρυθμίζῃ τὰ προκείμενα· καὶ καθάπερ ἡ Φωνὴ ἐκεῖνη ἡ λέγουσα Αὐξάνετε καὶ πληθύνετε καὶ πληρώσατε τὴν γῆν, ἐρρέθη ἡ ἀπαξ, ἀλλὰ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ, γίνεται ἔργῳ οὐδυναμύσσει τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἡμετέραν πρὸς παιδοποιάν· οὕτω καὶ ἡ Φωνὴ αὐτὴ ἀπαξ λεχθεῖσα, καθ' ἐκάστην τραπέζαν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι σήμερον καὶ μέχρι τῆς αὐτῆς παρρησίας τὴν φύσιν ἀπαρρησιάζεται. *Christ is present, and now he who adorn'd that Table, even he adorns this now, for it is not Man who makes the things proposed to be the Body and Blood of Christ, but Christ himself who was crucified for us. The Priest stands fulfilling the Figure, speaking those words; but the Power and the Grace is of God. He saith, this is my Body; this word new Models, or new disposeth, the things proposed. And as that voice which said, be Fruitful and Multiply* ^{Gen. 1: 28.} *and Replenish the Earth, was indeed spoken but once, yet is always made actually empowering our Nature for the getting of Children, so also that same Voice having been once spoken, makes the Sacrifice compleat in all its Parts, at every Table in the Churches from that time to this present day and till his coming.* Give me leave to give this brief account of this my Translation; what I render *models* or *disposes* is μεταρρυθμίζῃ, which properly signifies *to dispose after another manner*, or as we say *to give a new turn to a thing*; and hence sometimes figuratively it signifies *to correct* or *amend*; and therefore, as is abovesaid out of *Irenæus* and *Justin*, the *Bread* is still *Bread*, but now *not common Bread*, because by Christ's Institution it is now alter'd by being *Sanctified* and made the *Holy Eucharistical Bread*; and it may indeed be said in this Sense, *Immutatus*, (as *Bessarion* renders it,) or μεταποιεῖται (as the Council of *Florence* once expresses it,) that is, *changed*; but this is far enough from being what he would have it, *Transubstantiated*. Next the word *φύσις* signifies *Sacrifice* not *Sacrament* (as *Bessarion* interprets it,) *this* I say is made *compleat in all its parts*; for so the word ἀπαρρησιάζει properly signifies, and so ἀπαρρησιάζει is taken for the *finishing* of a *Tower in all its* ^{Luk. 14. 28.} *parts*; and this exactly agrees with *Chrysostom's* drift in this place. In per-
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forming this *Eucharistical Sacrifice* there are two Persons concern'd; the Priest performs the *ἔκστασις*, *figurative part*, that is the representation; but Christ's commission, (*by his words once spoken upon Earth*) compleats the *spiritual Part* and crowns the whole work, to wit, *our solemn remembrance of his Passion*. And therefore *Cabasilas* (and from him *Marcus Eugenius*) urge rightly from this very place of *Chrysostom*, the necessity of the *Priest's Co-operating with Christ* in the celebrating and consecrating of the Sacrament, as well as of *Mens Co-operating with God* in the Business of Generation. And he says there must be as necessarily required a *Table* or *Altar likewise* and an *offering*. And the *Latins* cannot deny this, when (to mention nothing else) they make *the very intention of the Priest* so requisite, as Christ's words can do nothing without it. Now *the Priest, the Table, and the Offering* too, concur to the performing of this *Sacrifice*, but Christ's commission, *by his words once spoken*, Sanctifies all; and he being the Chief makes all the whole *Sacrifice compleat*. As in a building the Master *Architect* who designs, contrives, and only directs, is said *to do it*, and hath the name of *its Author*; though all the subordinate Workmen and Labourers, and the very Materials and Instruments were all concern'd in it.

Next I have placed these words, *ἡ φωνὴ αὐτῆς ἀπαγγελθεῖσα*, *this same voice having been once spoken*, separate from these, *at every Table*, because they are plainly meant of Christ's words *once spoken by Himself* on Earth, and not *once spoken* by the Priest *at every Table*. For otherwise the Comparison between God's words, *be Fruitful and Multiply*, and Christ's words, *this is my Body*, (but once spoken, yet taking effect for ever) would not be just.

p. 524. E.

p. 525. A.

p. 140. 139.

l. 3. c. 27.

p. 252.
ut supra.l. 3. c. 28.
de concord.

c. 29.

l. 3. c. 33.

p. 292. b. 293.

a. 301. b.

p. 287. b.

289. a.

At the Council of *Florence* the *Greeks*, amongst other things, are asked, *why after Christ's words they pray'd for the Holy Ghost to come, and make this Bread the precious Body &c.* and we are there told, *that the Metropolitane of Mitylene*, solved all, *κανονικῶς τε καὶ νομίμως*, *both Canonically and justly*. How that was done, we are not told; and I cannot see how it should be by *Cabasilas's Doctrine*; if the *Latins* were then thus satisfied by the *Greeks* in this Point, I am sure it is far otherwise now; and *Goar* confesseth, *That the words of that Prayer are not a little obscure, so as they have been*, *petra secundali, a rock of Offence*; and *Arcudius* saith, *Hæc illa sunt verba, &c.* *These are those most obscure Words which give us trouble*. And *Goar* again, *Non dissimulandum est, &c.* *We must not dissemble, that most Greeks have wrote of this matter either doubtfully or less clearly, and have thereby given occasion of Error to ill-affected Minds*. You will find the Authors, who have maintain'd the Greek Opinion, quoted at large in *Arcudius*, as likewise the antient Fathers whose Writings seem to favour their Party; in answering of which you will find that he hath work enough. He himself in many places is not satisfied with what *Bassarion* and others have answer'd before him; and his own solution, which he saith is *præcipua, solida, the chief, and solid*, is by putting this specious Gloss upon the Words (above mention'd) in the *Greeks* answer to the *Pope* in the Council of *Florence*; by which he would not only bring off the *Greeks* but carry favour with the *Latins* too, for their Prayers after Christ's words. *They own'd the Consecration to be made*, saith he, *by Christ's words, but said those Prayers*, *ut utilitas nobis ex tanto Sacrificio proveniat, that profit might accrue to us, in so great a Sacrifice; in which Sense the Latins also pray after Christ's words*. The *Greeks* indeed expounded their Prayer there, *that it was for the Holy Ghost to make that Bread, Christ's Body, ἐν ἡμῖν; In us &c.* which may something favour his Gloss, but remember they called it still *Bread* (of which more hereafter,) and in that Prayer in the *Greek Liturgy* there is nothing relating to us till after, *μεταβαλὼν, changing by thy Holy Spirit*, where the *Modern Greeks* lay the stress of their consecration or change; neither is there any thing relating to the Communicants in the *Latins* prayer for acceptance of the Gifts, nor

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in the next till after they have pray'd for an Angel to carry them up to Heaven; so that there is more, or at least, as much Profit pray'd for to accrue to the Gifts, as to the Communicants. Therefore the Florentine Greeks seem to me to have answer'd plainly according to Cabasilas's Opinion, (though they very cautiously covered it,) *The Bread is consecrated or sanctified by Christ's words, that is, by virtue of those which he himself once spoke* (not by those only repeated by the Priest at the Table) *and by the Priest's following Prayers.* And Cabasilas seems to maintain this Opinion so solidly, as all that Arcudius or Bessarion, or any other Latinized Greek hath yet said to the contrary, cannot shake it. And if we take the Word *πλειον* in its proper Sense, for being no more then only consecrated, sanctified, blessed, or set a part for the Eucharist, by Christ's Authority and the Priest's Prayers adjoin'd, (which I verily think was the plain Opinion of the first Composers, both of the Greek Liturgy and the Latin Mass,) I must confess my self so far of the same mind. Cabasilas words are these: *Τόδε τὸν ἕν καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ὃν εἶδεν διηγήσεως λεγόμενον, πρὸς ἁγιασμὸν τῶν δώρων ἀρκεῖν, ὅτε ἔτι τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἔτι τῶν διδασκάλων εἰπὼν φαίνεται. Ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν ἅπαρ ὑπὸ τοῦ καὶ ῥηθεὶς αὐτῷ τῷ ὑπ' ἐκείνου λέγεσθαι καὶ ἁπὲρ ὁ δημιουργικὸς λόγος ἀν' ἐργεῖ, καὶ ὁ μακάριος Ἰωάννης Φησὶν ὅτι δὲ νῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερέως λεγόμενος, ἅπαρ τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνου λέγεσθαι, τῷτο δυνάμει, ὁ δαμόθεν ἐστὶ μαρτυρεῖν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ὁ δημιουργικὸς λόγος ἀν' ἐργεῖ, ὅτι ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ τῶν γινόμενων ὑπὸ τινος, ἀνθρώπου λέγεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐστὶν ἅπαρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰρημένον.* *That the saying of our Lord, concerning the Mysteries, spoken by way of Narration* (as they are now only repeated) *was sufficient to sanctify the Gifts, not one either of the Apostles, or of the Doctors is seen to say; but that, being once spoken by the Lord, even for this thing that it was spoken by Him, as an affective Speech it thoroughly operates, even blessed John (Chrysostom) saith, But that now it being spoken by a Priest (even for this that it is spoken by Him) it can do this, we can no where learn. As neither do the very effective Words operate in every thing that is made, because it is spoken by some Man, but because it hath been once spoken by God.* So that according to him and the other Greeks, who follow'd him, these words, *This is my Body, This is my Blood*, being only spoken now by way of Narration, (as the Evangelists, and St. Paul, and all the Liturgies repeat them,) as such, effect nothing, till the Priest hath pray'd for the Descent of the Holy Ghost to sanctify the Gifts, according to the Efficacy of Christ's Words once spoken by Himself, at his first Institution. This is far from the Sense which Arcudius and the present Latins would impose upon them; and I do boldly say, (from what I have found in Discourse with many of the Chief in the Greek Church, in my stay amongst them,) That the Latins will not find amongst their Men of Sense, (who have look'd into this matter) one who will give any other Interpretation, in this Point, of the Modern Declaration of the Subscribers procur'd by the French Ambassador.

See how miserably Goar shuffles about this Point, and there quotes Bessarion in the same Sense to justify the Matter. *The (Greeks) Prayer*, saith he, *avail much, not that they make the Sacrament either in whole or in part, but that they should adorn the Purpose and the Action of the Priest, and accompany the most efficacious Words of Christ.* I know not how this Answer may please the Latins, but I am sure it never will satisfy the Greeks; they will still insist: *If Christ's words* (meerly as spoken by the Priest) *were most Efficacious, they would need no such inferior Company; the Prayers of the Priest would* (as the Latins say) *be, ματαιόντι καὶ παρέλκον πρᾶγμα, a vain and impertinent thing indeed, and plainly derogate from Christ's Power and Glory, in praying for the Holy Spirit to do a thing, which Christ* (as they say) *hath done already.* And if this Prayer was only for adding, plurimum ornatum, more pomp, or comeliness, or state, to the Action (as Goar adds out of Bessarion) why do the Latins blame them, and rather not insert it into their own Mass, for they love Pomp and State, to the full, as well as

p. 793. b.

the *Greeks*, and therefore they should add one Prayer more, to what they have already, after the Words of Christ. Next to shuffle off this difficulty, he runs into a greater; for he there owns (and quotes the same *Bessarion* for it) *that in the Apostle's time, there was nothing of this Pomp, no such Vestments, none but the Lord's Prayer used at the Sacrament.* Why then all this confused Heap of Lumber there now? All that he there brings out of the *Acts of the Apostles*, and *St. Chrysostom*, and *Proclus*, comes not up to the Point, or justifies this present Practice. The Apostles longer Prayers, which they sometimes used, might well be of another concern, and he cannot in the least prove, nor justly suppose, that there were any such jumble of Suffrages, Responses, Hymns, Versicles, Rubricks, Ceremonies, and the like in those Days as we find amongst them now. He owns that very Liturgy in the supposed Apostolical Constitutions of *Clemens* to be doubtful (*si vera est, if it be true*, saith he) and yet it is generally thought the oldest extant; and hath fewest *Interpolations*.

p. 797. H.

p. 798. H.

p. 795. A.

I cannot but mention a Shift or two more which they are put to. *Bessarion* is forced to say the words in the Liturgies *are transposed* sometimes, and that

sometimes they must be explain'd, per Synodochē aut per hystero-logiam, by a *Rhetorical Figure*, or by what we call setting the Cart before the Horse.

And, *Nestri*, ut multa alia, quæ primum apud nostros ortum habuerunt, propter calamitates temporum perdidere, ita etiam horum rituum sunt obliiti. Our (Greeks) saith he, *as by reason of calamitous Times they have lost many other things, which had their rise amongst them, so they have also forgot these Rites.* The Liturgies have indeed been sufficiently jumbled (as is above noted) but that will do him no Service at all in this Point; unless he could plainly shew it to have been so done here; for it is *utterly impossible that all*

in Philad. not.

p. 148. &c.

l. 3. c. 33.

p. 293. a.

p. 294. a.

p. 309. a.

p. 311. a.

p. 289. b.

p. 290. a.

p. 313. b.

p. 289. b.

Can. missa.

p. 311.

p. 293. b.

294. a.

p. 797. H.

Liturgies should have been thus altered here, which now agree; as R. Simon hath shew'd in general, and *Arcudius* honestly confesseth of the *Greeks* especially, yet he also harps upon the same String, and notes out of *Maximus*, *that many choppings and changes* have been made by the *Greeks*; and he himself would needs be correcting the Text of the Liturgy, as he saith the *Latins* have done their Mass, at their putting a little Piece of the Host into the Cup. The word *Fiat*, of old was placed first, *Fiat commixtio*, but now it is transplaced, and it is read, *Hæc commixtio*, &c. of which more hereafter. *Arcudius* offers at the like shuffling answer to the words of *Cyrril*, but at last he ingenuously confesses, that *Cyrril* did indeed think the Consecration was made by the *Priest's Prayer*, but saith, *that he would have considered better of this Controversy had it been moved in his Time.* And *Bessarion* is as complementary to *Job. Damascen*, for what is cited out of him for the Greek opinion. *We must*, saith he, *remember he was a Man, though of wonderful Holiness; and sometimes it might be, that out of the weakness of human Wit, he might think something not rightly:* Indeed, I think, we may make this serve in many Things for a tolerable Answer to some other reputed Fathers, as well as he did it to *John Damascen*.

De fide Eccle-
sia Oriental.

p. 145. b.

p. 164. b.

172. 173.

145. b. 117. b.

p. 163, 164.

p. 180.

He that desires to see quoted at large the Authors both *Greek* and *Latin*, who have wrote concerning the words of Consecration, for or against the *Greeks* opinion for using the *Invocation* of the Holy Spirit upon the Gifts after Christ's words; let him read the learned *R. Simon's* notes upon *Gabr. Philadelph*. where he hath fairly not only set them down, but also hath given us an account of many of the *Oriental* Liturgies relating to this point. He all along tells us that *he only acts the part of an Historian*, (*Historicorum partes excuti, historicorum more*) which truly was wisely and cautiously done, for otherwise he would have been more obnoxious to the censures of either of those Churches. However he hath said enough to prove what I have before asserted, that the Controversy between the *Greeks* and *Latins* as to this point is absolutely irreconcilable; as he owns plainly, out of *Syropulus*, that it was so at the Council of *Florence*. Yet afterwards he Compliments both Churches

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and Palliates the whole Matter, by saying, *ingenuè & libere, ingenuously and freely, that only two much Metaphysical and Theological subtilty made and maintains this Controversy.* And truly if in our Sense he would look upon the *Eucharist* as only a *spiritual Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ*, I should be absolutely of his Opinion; for I am fully persuaded that the first Composers of this Liturgy, (now attributed to *Chrysostom*) meant no more than such a spiritual Participation of Christ; and therefore after Christ's words, they pray'd that the Holy Spirit would make *that Bread and Wine Christ's Body and Blood, ὡς ἡμεῖς, so as they might be to every faithful receiver, to Soberness of Mind, to the Remission of Sins, to the Communcation of the Holy Spirit &c.* But after the *Latins* had brought in that absurd and abominable Notion of *Transubstantiation*, and with their *Metaphysical and Scholastick subtilties* had made only Christ's Words, pronounced by a Priest, the *Form of this Mystrious Change*, the *Greeks*, who could by no means reconcile their own Prayers to this new Doctrine, justly attributed all the Efficacy in making this Change (whatever it was) to *that Invocation*. But the *Greeks* who were inclinable to this new invented Change, were still as much puzzled to assign the Critical minute, when it was made; and therefore the later *Greek subscribers* pi 45, 46. are more precise and punctual then the *Florentine Fathers* were; and tell you plainly it was made, *τότε, then*, when the Priest says, *changing by thy Holy Spirit.* So that since the *Scholastick subtilty of Transubstantiation* was brought in, this knotty point hath been, *Petra scandali, a rock of Offence* (as *Goar* calls it,) and contorsit *Latinorum ingenia, hath* (and will to the end of the World) *tormented and plagued the Latins wits*, to unloosen it and make it out, as *R. Simon* freely owns. However he offers at excusing the *Greeks* pi 147. b. usage of *this Invocation* after the words of Christ; by instancing in this form used by the *Latins* after Absolution is pronounced and given to a Penitent; *May the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ; the merits of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of all the Saints; the Prayers of the Holy Mother the Church; whatsoever Good thou hast done and whatever Evil thou hast suffered; avail thee for the remission of Sins, for Increase of Grace, and the reward of eternal Life.* I suppose by this he would prove, *that after a thing is really done, it is proper enough yet farther to pray, that it may be done.* For he moves these two questions upon it, first *what is the Absolution nothing, if this Prayer, which often happens, be omitted?* Secondly, *how can the Form of Absolution fall upon him, who already, by reason of his Contrition, hath obtain'd Pardon of his Sins;* This must be according to him, *actum agere, to do again, what was done before.* As to the first, I believe he cannot shew me any Antiquity for joining the *Merits of the Virgin Mary, and of all the Saints, with the Passion of Christ as means for remission of our Sins;* and therefore I must conclude, first that this Suffrage, or at least this part of it, hath been invented and attackt to their Absolution, when the Doctrine of Merit and Indulgences, or the dispensing of the Treasury of the Church was brought in. Next the whole Suffrage relates plainly to the Penitent's future State, not to his present Absolution; or else what means praying for *Increase of Grace?* And therefore it is many times left wholly out, especially, in articulo mortis, at the point of Death, where that *Increase of Grace* cannot well be expected. It is their Doctrine that a Man must habitually always repent, and for the *Aquin. tert.* continuance of the Penitent's Repentance this suffrage might at first have been q. 84. 9. c. made before it was thus depraved. So our Prayer in the Church of England after the Absolution at the Visitation of the Sick, relates wholly to the Penitent's future recovery of his Spiritual Strength, and not at all to his Absolution; so that I humbly conceive this Instance serves nothing to his Purpose. If he had shewn how the *Latins* Prayers in their Mass, used after Christ's words, (of which I have already touch'd and shall say more by and by) can consist with their Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, it would have been more to the Point. As to his second Question, our Church orders a General Confession

and Absolution to be said daily, and at the celebration of the Sacrament; as also a Particular one if any Sick Person finds *his Conscience troubled with any weighty matter, and he humbly and heartily desires it*. But all these Absolutions with us are Declaratory and upon this *Supposition* only, that the Person or Persons so Absolved *do truly Repent and Believe*; without this Condition (that is in his Phrase *clave errante*) the Absolution rather increaseth his guilt; but if he seriously repent, this declaratory Absolution upon *his desire*, adds to his Faith, and strengthen his Resolution; How the matter stands in his Church I shall not now trouble my self; but all this is far enough from clearing this Point. At last therefore he closeth with the Bishop of *Offuni* his solution, (which to me seems much the same with *Scotus* his) as being (as he thinks) most satisfactory; *That from the words of Christ to the end of the Invocation and Prayers it is all but one intire Action; what is divided by words or time is to be understood jointly as all one Thing*, what then must all be counted as the *Form* of the *Eucharist*; if, as in our Sense, the *Eucharist* be lookt upon only as a *Spiritual Communion*, the whole Action might entirely suit and agree with it. But in his Sense, if the change be entirely made by Christ's words, what mean the *Invocation and Prayers for the Gifts, the Blessing upon them*, in the *Greek Church*; and the *Prayers which follow in the Latin Church*. What will he say to all the *Oriental Liturgies*, where the *Invocation* follows often a long while after the words of Christ, there being sometimes five whole Leaves between them; nay, in one there are no words of Consecration at all; so that the words of Christ seem not at all required? What becomes of the *Latins Form, this is my Body, this is my Blood*, which only pronounced makes this amazing Change? Will he make the words of Christ, the *Invocation, the Prayers all together*, a new Form? How will this go down with his Schools? How will he satisfy *Cabasilas* and his *Greeks*? Will he say with them that Christ's words being only spoken *Narratively* by the Priest effect nothing? And that the *Invocation, and Prayers* (taken all together as he would have it) *only effect the Business*. Truly to me the whole matter between them stands as it did or rather worse, the *Latins* say *only the words of Christ*; the *Greeks* say *the words of Christ, spoken by the Priest, signify nothing, but the Invocation doth the thing*. *R. Simons* saith *all together*; effect this pretended and unintelligible Miracle. Give me leave to club my Opinion, I am persuaded, *it is done by none of them*.

p. 178. a.

p. 181. b. j.

p. 149. b.

p. 148. a.

But I shall now leave them to wrangle out this Point about the *Words or Means which Consecrate the Elements*, and come to the thing it self, to wit, *Transubstantiation*, which the *Latines*, positively assert, and the latter *Greek Subscribers* have in formal words seemingly allow'd.

As for the Words of Christ *this is my Body, this is my Blood*, what *Cabasilas* hath said is sufficient to prove them, as they are now spoken by the Priest by way of *Narration*, or rehearsing only the matter of Fact, or what Christ did himself on Earth, utterly insufficient to make any change at all, much less such a substantial Change as is now pretended; and if the first Compilers either of the *Latin Mass*, or the *Greek Liturgies* had thought that by these words, *the very Body and Blood of Christ*, that is, *very Christ Himself* had been Bodily there, they would not have added those Prayers, which follow after those words of Christ. The *Latins* would not have said, that they offer to God a *Sacrifice of the Things* (that is, the *Creatures*) which he had given them. They would not have pray'd God to look upon these Gifts with a *propitious Eye*, and accept them as he accepted the Gifts of *Abel, Abraham, and Melchisedeck*, (which were meer *Creatures*;) for surely God always lookt *Favourably upon the only Son of his Love*, and ever did and ever will accept him; and it had been not only, *καταλόν* a vain thing (as the *Latins* themselves objected to the *Greeks* in the same case) but the Highest Impudence to the Divine Majesty and the greatest affront to Christ Himself, thus to have mocked them. And it had been every whit as extravagant to have desired God

to command an Angel to carry (*hæc*) these Gifts up to Heaven, if they had thought that the Elements were no longer *Bread and Wine*, but the very entire Body of Christ, which was already there at God's right Hand. And they afterwards own these Gifts still to be meer Creatures, when signing the Cross thrice upon the Host and the Chalice, they say, *per quem* (Christum) *hæc omnia* &c. *through whom* (that is, Christ,) *all these always good things thou createst, sanctifiest, quickenest, blessest, and givest unto us.* Could they mean that God creates, sanctifies, quickens, blesseth Christ through Christ, if they thought *hæc*, these Elements (over which these words are spoken) were now verily Christ Himself? Therefore I cannot believe but the first Composers, even of the Mass it self, at first meant no more then a spiritual Sacrifice, and intended no Change in the Substance of the Elements, but only in their effect as to us; and therefore at the putting of the piece of the Host into the Cup, of old was said this suffrage (as *Arcudius* confesseth, and is above noted.) (*Fiat commixtio & Consecratio corporis & sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi accipientibus nobis in vitam æternam.* *May there be made a Commixtion and a Consecration of the Body and Blood of Christ, for us who receive, to life Eternal.* This is the plain English of these words, and they directly shew us the only Spiritual end and intent of the Sacrament; and they can mean nothing but the Spiritual change in the effect of the Elements received by us; as we receive common meat, *Praying that it may have the good effect of nourishing our Bodies*, so they pray'd that the *Eucharistical Bread and Wine*, might be mixt and Consecrated (that is, blessed after a more spiritual and solemn manner then common food) to the Spiritual effect of nourishing the Souls of the receivers to life Eternal. And *R. Simon* mentions two other readings, *hæc commixtio & consecratio fiat corporis & sanguinis, this commixtion and Consecration may it be of the Body and Blood*, and *hæc commixtio & consecratio fiat corpus & sanguis, this commixtion and consecration may it be the Body and Blood.* But the *Latins* have now altered this suffrage thus; *Hæc commixtio & consecratio corporis & sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi fiat accipientibus nobis in vitam æternam, This Commixtion and Consecration of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, may it be to Us, who receive, to life Eternal.* The old suffrages pray'd for a Consecration or Blessing then to be made; But the *Latins* making afterwards the words of Christ only to consecrate (or as they now say, *Transubstantiate*) the Elements, they transposed the word *Fiat*, and foisted in *Hæc*, this Consecration, meaning now, that they were fully Consecrated before. Many other such like passages there are yet remaining in the Canon of their Mass, which can by no means consist with the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, though they are wrested and miserably bow'd that way by all the Wits of their Schools; and therefore in their Original they plainly meant no other then a *Spiritual Communion*. But for these I will refer the Reader to the diligent and accurate *Hospitalian*. Now since the Primitive Authors of the Mass plainly meant only a spiritual Sacrifice, a spiritual Nourishment, a spiritual Effect in us, and so a spiritual Change only, no wonder if they added several Prayers and suffrages, tending to the same end, after the Narration of Christ's Action and Institution. And in this Sense it is very commendable, what *Bessarion* and others say, *That out of a fervent Zeal and insatiable Love, and almost incredible desire to obtain this Blessed end, they might again and again make their Petitions.* For only in this Sense, as to this point, that saying of *Theodorus* may be applied, *non satiatur orando Justus, a good Man in Praying is never satisfied.* Otherwise these prayers in this Case, (where the Thing Pray'd for is already most effectually done by Christ) would be but so many repeated affronts. And thus far *Cabasilas* and his Learned Brethren agree with me against the *Romish* sense put on Christ's words.

I will now come to the Prayers of the *Greeks*, and see whether the first Compilers of them could think, or intend, that any *Transubstantiation* of the Bread

P. preced. & Micrologum de missa. c. 17. 18. p. 268.

not. in Gabr. Phil. p. 171. a.

Hist. Sacram. l. 4. c. 10. p. 354. & vid. supra. p. 11.

p. 796. G. 797. A.

Bread and Wine (according to the modern *Subscribers* Opinion) should be wrought thereby; or whether they only meant, that the Holy Ghost should come and *sanctify, and bless* this Bread and Wine thus offer'd, and eaten, and drank solemnly, in Remembrance of Christ's Passion, with that spiritual Virtue, and supernatural and divine Effect upon the Souls of the Receivers, which is mention'd in those Prayers. The first of them is as above noted, and set down entirely; *Send down, κατὰ πνεῦμα, thy Holy Spirit, &c. ποίησον, make this Bread, &c. ὥστε γινῆσθαι, that they may be made, &c.* and the Florentine Greeks also make it one entire Prayer in their answer. The next Prayer is, *Let us beseech the Lord for the precious Gifts which are offer'd and sanctified. Let us beseech the Lord that our God, the Lover of Men, having received them into his Holy, and Supercæstrial, and Intellectual Altar for a Smell of spiritual Sweetness, would in lieu of them send down to us his divine Grace and the Gift of the Holy Ghost.* Now, I think, I may reasonably here play the Latin's Battery against the Greeks, (and even the Greek Detachments against themselves) as I have Rally'd the Greeks against the Latins. As to the first Prayer, as *Cabasilas* and his Followers have plainly proved, that by Christ's words, spoken by way of Narration, the Elements could receive no Change, much less a substantial one, so *Arcudus* and his Latins have truly observed, that by this Greek Prayer, they can likewise receive no bodily, but only a spiritual Change; Non simpliciter & universè Græcorum Presbyteros deprecari, ut fiat Corpus Christi, sed ut fiat suscipientibus. The Greek Presbyters do not pray that it might be made the Body of Christ simply and universally, but that it may be made to them who receive it. I will add this from the plain words of the Prayer; it is not that the Elements should in Substance be changed, but in the Effect, *That they may be made to all that receive them to soberness of Mind, &c.* And the Florentine Greeks (shuffling off the Point of Transubstantiation, as is said, by a tacite Meaning, I fancy according to *Cabasilas's* Exposition of Christ's words) in the latter part of their answer, wholly and plainly own a spiritual Change only as to us. So in the second Prayer, *That they might ascend to the Intellectual Altar as a spiritual Sweetness, and procure God's divine Grace and the Gift of the Holy Ghost,* all this is purely a spiritual Change, in respect to us, by a newly acquired holy Operation and Effect. Now to make this appear yet more plainly, I will here compare their Prayers for the Consecration of several other Things in their *Euchologion*, where are the same Phrases and manner of Speaking; which cannot be interpreted but in a spiritual Sense; not that there is any Change in the Essence or Substance of the things thereby made, but that a divine Blessing or supernatural Effect, may be given unto them. Thus for the Holy Ointment, κατὰ πνεῦμα, *Send down thy all-holy Spirit upon this Ointment, (ποίησον) make it a royal Ointment, a spiritual Ointment, a preservative of Life, &c. ἀνάδειξον αὐτὸ τῇ ἐπιφωτισθεί, pronounce it (or declare it made) by the coming of thy holy and adorable Spirit, a Garment of Incorruption, a Seal giving Perfection, &c.* So in another Form, (κατὰ πνεῦμα) *send down thy Holy Spirit, sanctify this Ointment, (ἡ ποίησον) and make it an Ointment of the Joy of the Holy Ghost, an Ointment of Regeneration, &c. That they that are anointed therewith — may be received into Eternal Rests, &c.*

So in Baptism, Thou, O King, (πάρεσο) *be present now by the coming of thy Holy Spirit and sanctify this Water, (This is said thrice, ἡ δὲ) and give it the Grace of Redemption, the Blessing of Jordan, (ποίησον) make it a Fountain of Incorruption, a Gift of Sanctity, an Expiatory of Sins, &c.* And in the next Prayer, Thou Lord of all Things, (ἀνάδειξον) *renounce, or declare, this a Water of Redemption, a Water of Sanctification, a purifier of Flesh and Spirit, &c.* And again, (ἐπιφάνηθι) *Appear, O Lord, in this (Water) ἡ δὲ μετὰ ποίησθαι τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ βαπτίζοντα, and grant that He that is baptized in it may be changed (N.B.) that he may put off the old Man, &c.*

Goar. p. 77.
13, &c.

p. 46.

Goar. p. 79.

l. 3. c. 33.
p. 289. a.

Officium Un-
guent.
Goar. p. 629.

p. 632, 633.

De Baptismo
p. 353.

&c. Again for the Oil then used, *Thou by the Virtue and Power, and coming of thy Holy Spirit bless this Oil* (ὡς γενέσθῃ) *that it may be made an Anointing of Incorruption, an Armour of Righteousness, a Renewing of Soul and Body, &c.* p. 354.

So for the Holy Oil (Ἀγίασον) *sanctify this Oil* (ὡς γενέσθῃ) *that it may be made to them that are anointed with it* (εἰς θεραπεύειν) *to the cure and driving away of every distemper and defilement of Flesh and Spirit, and of all Evil, &c.* and again, (κατάπεμψον) *send down thy Holy Spirit and sanctify this Oil* (καὶ ποιήσον) *and make it to this thy Servant, who is anointed* (εἰς τέλειαν ἀπολύτωσην) *to the perfect delivering from his Sins, and the Inheritance of the Kingdom of Heaven.* And again there, (Γένοιτο κύριε) *Let this Oil, O Lord, be made an Oil of Gladness, an Oil of Sanctification, &c.* De oleo Sancto p. 413.

So in the lesser Office for their Holy-Water, (ὡς τὸ ἀγαθὸν) *that this Water may be sanctified by the Virtue and Operation, and coming of the Holy Spirit,* (ὕπερ τὸ γενέσθῃ) *That this Water may be made a Medicine of Souls and Bodies, and a driving away of all opposite Power. That the Lord our God* (ἀναδείξῃ) *would renounce, or declare, us the Sons and Heirs of his Kingdom, by the partaking and sprinkling of this Water.* So again, (γενέσθω μετὰ ληψίς) *let the receiving of this Water be made* (εἰς ὑγίειν) *to the Health of Soul and Body.* So again in Barbarini's MSS. *Thou now, O Lord,* (Ἀγίασον) *sanctify this Water,* (καὶ ποιήσον τὸ γενέσθῃ) *and make it to be made to all them that partake of it, a fountain of Blessing, &c.* Again there more particularly, (μεταποιήσον, καὶ μετασχεύασον, καὶ ἀγίασον) *convert, or alter, and change, or transfer, and sanctify this Water,* (καὶ ἐνίσχυσον) *and make it powerful, or give it Power, against all opposite Operation,* (καὶ δὸς) *and give to all that use it health of Soul and Body.* And again (Ἀγίασον) *sanctify this Water, and* (κατάπεμψον αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν) *send down upon it the Grace of thy Holy Spirit* (ποιήσον) *make it a Medicine for those that are infirm, &c.* So in the greater Office for their Holy Water you have much the same, and amongst other Things this, (ὕπερ τὸ ἀναδείξῃ αὐτὸ) *That, the Water, may be renounced, or declared,* (ἀποτρεπάειν) *a preservative against all the evil designs of Enemies, visible and invisible,* (ὡς γενέσθῃ αὐτὸ πρὸς) *that it might be made for Purification of Souls and Bodies.* And again you have a large Prayer to the same purpose: But I shall add no more save only that remarkable one for Blessing Salt, (as I my self have seen it used;) *O God, our Saviour — Bless this Salt* (καὶ μεταβάλλε αὐτὸ εἰς θυσίαν ἀγαλλιástως) *and change it into a Sacrifice of Joy.* p. 447.
p. 449.
p. 450.
p. 455.
p. 459.
p. 705.
De Sole.

Now I would fain know why the first Composers of these Prayers upon the Elements, should be thought to mean a *substantial Change* made in Them, when in all other Things they can mean no such Matter, but only that a new supernatural and divine Effect should be given to Them. So where the very same Words or Phrases are used, why is it not to the same Intent, (κατάπεμψον) *send down thy Holy Spirit,* it is said upon the Gifts, upon the Ointment, upon the Holy Oil, upon the Holy Water. And (παρέσομαι) *be present,* and (ἐπιφάνηθι) *appear,* is the same thing in Baptism. So (ποιήσον) *make an Ointment, make a Fountain* (in Baptism) *make the Holy Oil, make the Holy Water, This or That,* is to have This or That supernatural Effect. So (ὡς γενέσθῃ) *that it may be, or may be made,* to This or That Holy End or Good Effect. And to the same Sense is used, (μεταβάλλων) *changing,* for the Salt and the Holy Water; where μεταποιήσον, μετασχεύασον, ἀγίασον, are expounded by ἐνίσχυσον, *Change, that is, Empower it, to do This or That; And in Baptism the Change is plainly and truly exprest, as meant of the Effect of the Water upon the baptized,* (μεταποιεῖσθαι) *that They should be changed, not the Substance of the Water.* So (ποιήσον) *make This Bread the Body, This Wine the Blood of Christ,* is not Absolutely or Literally meant, but so as to have this Effect in the Receivers, *to be made to Soberness of Mind and Remissi-* Genr. p. 449.

p. 46.

on of Sins; and it is remarkable how the Florentine Greeks expressed it, *that the Holy Spirit may make* (not absolutely, but) *In us this Bread the Body of Christ &c. and to change them*, (so as they may have this divine Effect,) *that they may be to the Receivers for Purification of Mind, and Remission of Sins.* So (ποίησον) *make this Water to be made a fountain of Blessing; And make this Ointment, a special Ointment, a preservative of Life, an Ointment of the day of the Holy Ghost, an Ointment of Regeneration, a Royal Garment, a Breast Plate of Strength, &c.* These and the like Phrases cannot be understood Literally or Substantially (for *Water is Water*, and the *Ointment* is in the same Substance *Ointment still*) but all is plainly meant of the great and blessed Effects only, which these things by Prayer are to have upon us. And the *Latins* themselves (in *Benedictione Fontis*, to name no more) in *their Blessing of the Font*, and the Waters in it, pray to the very same Intent.

p. 633.

Edit. Ant. 1631.

p. 243.

The Priest breathing into the Water, says, Tu has simplices aquas, *Bless Thou with thy Mouth these Plain Waters, that besides the Natural Cleansing, which they can afford to the Bodies, which are to be washed in them, they may also be effectual to the purifying of their Minds;* and immediately follows, *Let the Virtue of the Holy Spirit descend into this fulness of the Font, or Fountain, and may it fructify, or replenish, the whole Substance of this Water with the Effect of Regenerating.* The Water surely here was never thought to be *Transubstantiated*, though the whole Substance (which is still the same) be blest with such a Spiritual and Supernatural Effect. And to this very Sense, the word μεταβαλὼν, *Changing*, in the Prayer here of Chrysostom is plainly to be connexed to, ὥστε γενέσθαι, *that they may be, or be made, to the Receivers* (as is above noted) *to Soberness of Mind, &c.* that is, *that they may have this Glorious and supernatural Effect*, which common Bread and Wine in their own Nature cannot have as μεταβάλλει *Change*, must signify in blessing the Salt. For first even the Modern Greeks themselves own that the Gifts are not changed before part of this Prayer is said, and it would indeed have been very absurd to Pray, (ποίησον σῶμα) *make this Bread the Body*, if they had thought it were so before; and that pittifull shuffle, (of some of the top sticklers for the *Latins*;) is perfect Nonsense, to wit, *that the word μεταβαλὼν, Changing, is the second Aorist and signifies, having Changed already*, (that is, at Christ's words.) for I cannot comprehend how this would be Sense, *make this Bread the Body, having already changed it into the very Body.* And it is worth noting, that in one of the Copies which Goar hath Printed, and in one of my MSS it is plainly, μεταβάλλον (in the present tense) *now changing them*, and the meaning of *that change* is expressly set down in the words following ὥστε γενέσθαι, *that they may be to the Receivers &c.* For as I have often said, the first Composers made it all one Prayer, and ὥστε γενέσθαι *that they may be*, can be refer'd to nothing but ποιήσον, *make*, going before.

p. 97.

MS. A. 30.

But I find as great a Bussel made about that Liturgy, which bears the Name of St. Basil, as if that were plainly made either for or against *Transubstantiation*. Therefore I will in the next Place set down the Words in that which most concern this Point, and see what Sense they (being set down after Christ's Words) most plainly bear. I thus find them in a very fair, MS. Role lent me by the Reverend Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Talbot, my very kind Friend, and in a MS. of my own about 600 Years old.

* Goar reads,
ὁ ἱερεὺς κλίνει
τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐ-
τοῦ μυστικῶς.
p. 169.

* In Goar deest,
fed tamen ver-
titur, confiden-
tes.

† Goar. Oxf.
προσδέντες.

‡ Goar deest.

“ * Ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπιεύχεται.

Διὰ τὸ τοῦ δεσποῦ πανάγιε καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ καὶ ἀνάξιοι δούλοί σου οἱ κατὰ ξιωθέντες
λειτουργεῖν τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ καὶ ἀφ' ὧν τὰς δικαιοσύνας ἡμῶν, καὶ γὰρ ἐποίησάμεν τι
ἀγαθὸν ἐπὶ τῇ γῆς, ἀλλὰ ἀφ' ὧν τὰ ἐλέη σου καὶ τὴν οἰκτιρμὴν σου ἕως ἐξέχεας πλεονείκως ἐφ'
ἡμῶν, * θάρρῃντες προσεγγίζομεν τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ, καὶ † προσδέντες τὰ Ἀντίτυπα
τῷ ἁγίῳ σώματι καὶ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, ‡ σὺ δέουμεθα καὶ σὺ παρακαλεῖμεν ἅγιε ἁγίων,
εὐδοκίᾳ τῇ σῇ ἀγαθότητι, ἐλθεῖν τὸ Πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα
δῶρα ταῦτα καὶ εὐλογῆσαι αὐτὰ καὶ ἁγιάσαι καὶ ἀναδείξαι,

Καὶ

* Καὶ σφραγίζῃ τὰ ἅγια λέγων,
 Τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τῆτον αὐτὸ τὸ ἥμιον σῶμα τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ Θεῷ καὶ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ.
 * Ο Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, Ἀμήν.
 * Ο ἱερεὺς
 Τὸ δὲ ποτήριον τῆτον, αὐτὸ τὸ ἥμιον αἷμα τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ Θεῷ καὶ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ.
 * Ο Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, Ἀμήν.
 * Ο ἱερεὺς,
 Τὸ ἐκχυθὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἕως κόσμου ζωῆς,
 * Ο Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, Ἀμήν.
 * † Ο ἱερεὺς πάλιν ἐπεύχεται
 Ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐνός ἄρτου καὶ τῆς ποτηρίου μετέχοντες † ἐνώσασιν ἀλλήλους εἰς ἐνὸς πνεύματι καὶ ἁγίῳ κοινωνίαν, &c. as in Goar.

* Goar. καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς σφραγίζῃ τὰ ἅγια λέγων (Goar) μυστικῶς, quod deest in Oxf. Item Oxf. καὶ ἀνιστάμενος ὁ ἱερεὺς σφραγίζῃ τὸ ἅγιον τὸ αἷμα δάσκα λέγων.

† Oxf. ὁ ἱερεὺς εὐχεται. † Goar. ἐνώσας.

Then after several other Prayers comes the same Suffrages which you have in Chrysostom's Liturgy, with some little Alteration, in these Words.

ὑπὲρ τῶν προσκομιζόντων καὶ ἀγαθόντων τιμίων δώρων.
 Ὅπως ὀφιλάνθρωπος Θεὸς ἡμῶν * προσδεξάμενος αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ νοσούντων αὐτῶν δυσασπλήγιον εἰς ὁσμὴν ζωῆς πνευματικῆς † ἀντικαταπέλθοι ἡμῖν τὴν θείαν χάριν καὶ τὴν δωρεάν τῆς παναγίας πνεύματι, ἧς κυρίου δεηθεύμεν.

* Goar and some Printed Copies ὁ προσδεξάμενος.

† Goar and some Printed Copies ἀντικαταπέλθοι from the present vulgar Pronunciation, and all one; p. 79. So Oxford, ἀντικαταπέλθοι ἡμῶν by mistake for ἡμῶν.

Rubrick. The Priest goes on Praying.

" For this Cause, O all Holy Lord, even we Sinners, and thy unworthy
 " Servants, having been counted worthy to Minister at thy Holy Altar,
 " not for our Righteousness (for we have done no good Thing on Earth)
 " but for thy Mercies and thy Compassions which Thou hast plentifully shed
 " upon us, do boldly approach thy Holy Altar, and having proposed the
 " Antitypes, or Representations, of the Holy Body and Blood of thy Christ,
 " we pray Thee, and we beseech Thee, O Thou Holy of Holy's, by the
 " Good Pleasure of thy Goodness, for thy Holy Spirit to come upon us, and
 " upon these Gifts proposed, and to bless Them, and to sanctify, and to
 " declare,

Then he Signs the Holy's, saying,

" This Bread the very precious Body of our Lord, and God, and Saviour Jesus Christ,

The Deacon, Amen.

The Priest,

" And this Cup the very precious Blood of our Lord, and God, and Saviour Jesus Christ,

The Deacon, Amen.

The Priest,

" Which is shed for the Life of the World,

The Deacon, Amen.

The Priest again goes on Praying,

" And to unite us all, who partake of one Bread and Cup to one another,
 " into the Fellowship of one Holy Spirit, &c. and so on as in Goar. Here by the way take good Notice, that after all this, it is said, we partake of only plain Bread, it being still such.

Now it is plain by these two MSS. (as likewise by others mention'd in Goar) that all that Dialogue between the Priest and the Deacon which is in the Printed Copies of Basil's Liturgy, and is in Goar, hath been stuff'd into it out of Chrysostom's and other Liturgies. And not only Goar but R. Simon owns all this to be a meer patch foisted into the Liturgies by the latter Greeks. Besides there is no ποίησον τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τῆτον make this Bread the Body &c. no, μεταβαλὼν, changing by thy Spirit &c. here, and the like. So that I will now consider this Prayer as it was and ought to be entire in it self, without those Interruptions

p. 177.

p. 169.

In Apolog.

p. 146. b.

ruptions in the Printed Copies, or those Rubricks which are in these MSS, for it is in it self but one continued Prayer, and the word ἐνώσαις in *Goar*, seems to have been industriously put into the beginning of the latter part of it, (for the true word ἐνώσαι,) to make it appear as if that were a new distinct Prayer by it self; whereas it should go on entirely thus, ἐλθεῖν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὰ δῶρα ἐυλογῆσαι καὶ ἀγιάσαι καὶ ἀναδεῖξαι (τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τῆτον τὸ σῶμα, τὸ δὲ ποτήριον αἷμα) ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐνώσαι &c. *The Spirit to come and to Bless the Gifts and to Sanctify and to Declare* (this Bread the Body, and this Cup the Blood) *and to unite us* &c. For it is evident that ἐνώσαι, *to unite*, in the MSS must be Govern'd of πνεῦμα, *the Spirit*, as the other infinitive moods, ἐλθεῖν, ἐυλογῆσαι, ἀγιάσαι, ἀναδεῖξαι, *to Come, to Bless, to Sanctify, to Declare*, are.

In this Prayer then we have first, the Elements plainly called (after the Words of Christ have been pronounced) Ἀντίτυπα, *Antitypes*, which I have expounded *Representatives of Christ's Body and Blood*, according to *Goar's* own interpretation, (quæ repræsentavit Corpus, *the things which represent the Body*,) that is, the *Symbols* or *Signs* of them. Now for the Word, Ἀντίτυπον, *Antitype*, Bellarmine rejecting all other explications owns directly, nunquam pro exemplari, sed pro imagine, *that it is never taken for an exemplar or an Original*, (as some mentioned by *Arcudius* would have it) *but for an Image* of a thing, but *such a one as comes very near the Original*; and instances in *a Man's Face in a Glass*, as an *Antitype*, of the true and real one. Now if the Bread did put on the very outward Lineaments, Proportions, Colour, and other sensible appearances of *Christ's Body*, and the Wine receive the very Colour, Taste, Smell, and other the like sensible qualities of the Blood, his notion of an *Antitype* might perhaps in this Case pass, provided he still meant that, notwithstanding all this likeness these *Antitypes* were no more the real Blood and Body then the reflection in the Glass is the true Face. So when *Nazianzen* (quoted by *Arcudius*) calls the *Paschal night* from the multitude of Candles, an *Antitype* of the *Starry Firmament*, he meant that in some manner or likeness it only represented it, but was far enough from the thing it self. And so *Germanus* in his *Theoria* calls the *Altar* or *Holy Table* ἀντίτυπον τῆς ἁγίας μνήμας the *Antitype* of the *Holy Monument* or *Sepulcher*; and enough of other such examples there are of this word taken in this Sense for a *Figure* or *Representative*; but I will add no more but that of *St. Paul*. *Christ is not enter'd into the Holy places made with hands, which are, ἀντίτυπα, Antitypes, the Figures of the true, but into Heaven it self*. Then surely the *Antitype* is not the true thing which it represents. *Arcudius* justly owns that all the Fathers, both *Greek* and *Latin*, call the Elements, *Symbols, Images, Likenesses, Types, Figures, Signs, Notes* which represent the *Body of Christ*, and citing many of them concludes at last in *Bellarmino's* sense, that an *Antitype* must be taken, pro figura simili & imagine, for a *Figure* that is like an *Image*, and by consequence is so in this place, but thus it can by no means be the very thing it self. The *Latins* are sorely put to it to frame an Answer to this difficulty, and cannot agree though they have attempted several solutions of it; I shall only take Notice of that of *Bellarmin*, (to which *Arcudius* adheres and calls it solidissima, *the most solid*,) The Elements are called *Antitypes*, not only because the species (the outward Appearances) of *Bread and Wine* are signs of the *Blood and Body* there really existing, but also because the very *Body and Blood* of the Lord, as they are under those species, are signs of the same *Body and Blood* as they have been on the Cross; for the *Eucharist* represents the *Passion of Christ*. Then according to this, the *Paraphrase* or plain Meaning of *Basil's* Prayer must be this, *Having proposed only the Species*, or outward accidents of *Bread and Wine*, and now really neither *Bread* nor *Wine*, as *Antitypes* or *Representatives* of *Christ's real Body and Blood* there quite concealed, or invisibly couched under those accidents; and also that same *Body and Blood*, still indeed as like *Bread and Wine* as can be, as *Antitypes* or *Images* of the very *Body and Blood* of

de Euch. l. 2.
c. 15. p. 200.
H.A.
l. 3. c. 34.
p. 297.

Edit. Morel.
p. 163.

In Lexicogr.
passim, Euty-
chius Habert.
Archierat.
p. 253.
Heb. 9. 24.
p. 290, 299.
306.

p. 299. b.

ut supra
p. 201. c.
p. 301. b.
303. a.

of Christ which were on the Cross, (that is in his own Sense) wonderfully like indeed, but really no more than the reflection of a Face in a Glass is the real or true Face of a Man, we pray Thee, and we beseech Thee, &c. Here I must use the words of Arcudius as to another Solution, Hæc ingeniosè dicta quis negat? These things are very pretty indeed; But if Bellarmine or any Latin does, I must profess that I do not understand them. In this Solution do they not plainly beg the Question, and suppose the very Body and Blood to be there really present under these species, which they can never prove? Next do they not there make that supposed Body and Blood meer Antitypes, or Images of the Body and Blood of Christ at his Passion, that is according to them, very like but by no means the very same. For this, Bellarmine, and out of him Arcudius, have another whim, to wit, the Instance of a King himself acting over again on a Stage some exploit, which he had before performed elsewhere. But before this will do, they must first prove that the same Christ himself who suffered on the Cross, is really now here to Act his Passion over again; only saying or supposing that it is so, will not serve their turn; and only feigning that it is really Christ in the dress and guise of a Loaf of Bread and a Cup of Wine will prove but a Fable indeed.

Arcudius and the rest, I suppose, will readily own that where the Elements before the words of Christ are called Antitypes, the word signifies no more but plain Figures and meer Symbols, why will they then put such a forced and monstrous meaning upon it here? One would suspect that Arcudius, who was Græculus esuriens, a hungry Renegado Greek, pretended only to be Latinized, and so betray'd their cause, for otherwise he would not have taken such Pains to quote so many Fathers for calling the Elements only Symbols, and Figures and Antitypes too, even after the words of Christ, and then offer only this Mysterious Jargon as the the most solid Answer.

Marcus Eugenius and other Greeks do own that Ἀντίτυπα here signify nothing but meer Types, because the Elements are so before the Prayer of Invocations, which according to them make the Consecration and not the words of Christ going before. First this destroys the Latin's Doctrine, and then if the Prayer of Invocation is only to be understood Spiritually (as I have proved) the Elements remain but meer Types still.

But we shall now see that by the Antitypes in Basil's Prayer nothing else could be meant, than the meer Creatures of Bread and Wine which were proposed or offer'd; and that by the words there following, to Bless, Sanctify and Declare. First if Basil had thought that the Antitypes here had been the real Body and Blood of Christ, that is, Christ the beloved Son of God, Himself, would he have pray'd and beseeched God that his Spirit should come and Bless him? They crave a Blessing upon Creatures indeed, and only upon such Things as want it, according to that, the Less is Blessed of the Greater. Thus we beg a Blessing from God upon our Food, and thus, in the Euchologion, they often pray God to Bless themselves, Persons, Actions, and Things; so to Bless the things Polluted, Wine, Oyle, Honey, any Vessel, so Corn, Meal, or any such thing. So the place for a new Church, and the Cross there fixed. So new Wine, so any Field, Garden, Vineyard. So the Salt and the like.

I must say the same thing for the next word, Sanctify. It is used again and again in the Euchologion, only to Persons and Things that want the addition of farther Holiness, Power, Virtue, Help, Efficacy, and the like, (as in the examples before cited) or of Purity as in things polluted. So Sanctify a Well, a Vessel into which some unclean thing had fallen. Now I would fain know if Basil had thought the Antitypes to be indeed Christ himself, whether he would have dared to have pray'd God by his Spirit to Sanctify Him, as if he, who was without Sin, and was even Sanctity it self wanted it. He owns indeed in his Prayer, that sinful Priests, through God's Mercies only, dare approach his Altar; but dare they thus pray for his Christ? Basil who

Pl. 109. 7.

counted himself *unworthy*, without God's Mercy, to do any thing, could not think if he Pray'd thus that he should be heard, but rather that *such a Prayer should become Sin*. Therefore the *Antitypes* here are things that wanted this Prayer, *this Blessing, this Sanctification*; and therefore they were still no more then the very same Creatures, plain *Bread and Wine*, as much after as they were before the words of Christ.

The next word is ἀναδείξαι, which I have rendred to *Declare*, ἀναδείκνυμι, signifies in its first plain Sense, to *Demonstrate, Shew, or Declare*, and hence it is commonly used in the *Designation or Declaration of a Person to some Office or Honour*; or of a *Thing to some peculiar use*; as when one is *declared Emperor or Consul*; or a Building made a *Temple*, by being so *Declared or Dedicated* to some *Hero or God*; as you may see several examples in *Budæus* and others. So when a *King is proclaimed or Crown'd*; when a *Roman said to his Slave, esto liber, be thou free*; or an *English Monarch says to one that desires Knighthood, Rise up Sir N. N.* The first (ἀναδείκνυται) is *Declared a King*, the next a *Freeman*, the third a *Knight*; and in this Sense also they are commonly said to be made this or that. The meaning of all this is plainly no more but thus, *Kings, Freemen, Knights*, are still the same Men, their *Substance and Essence* are still the very same, only a *King* hath the addition of *Supreme Power, a Slave of Liberty*, the *Knight of Honour* which they had not in themselves before. So a building *declared a Temple*, or as we usually say, *turn'd into a Church*, is still the very same Building, still of the same *Brick and Stone* and the like, but it hath now added to it a new *Denomination*, a far higher *Excellency and Use*, it is set apart only to the *service of God*; and hence it is now called *Holy or Sanctified*; which eminent *Glories and Prerogatives* are all wanting in a common Building. And therefore in this latter Sense, ἀναδείκνυμι signifies to *consecrate or set apart for this or that Holy use*, as in the former it signifies to *make*; but all these Senses are far enough from meaning any alteration in the *Substance* or (according to the modern Greeks) *Transubstantiation*, as I shall now shew out of the same *Euchologion*, where the word is often used in the very Sense which I have given it.

Thus in the Examples above cited for the *Holy Oil* (ἀνάδειξον) declare it a *Garment of Incorruption, a Seal making Perfect, &c.* and in this Sense a little before is (ποίησον) *make it a spiritual Ointment, a preservative of Life, &c.* where *make it* and *declare it* come to the same Sense, *Give it these supernatural and divine Effects*, but not *Transubstantiate* it, for it hath the same *natural Essence and Properties* still: So in the *Water of Baptism*, as you have (ποίησον) *make it a Fountain of Incorruption, a Preservative filled with Angelick Power, &c.* So in the next Prayer is, (ἀνάδειξον) *declare it a Water of Redemption, &c.* by adding to it such *spiritual Powers*: And *Goar* there rightly translates it, *renuntia, renounce or declare it*. So in the greater Office for the *Holy Water*, having prayed (ὡς τὸ γυναικίαν) *that the Water might be for Health of Soul and Body, and that it might be Water springing up to Life Eternal*, they pray (ὡς τὸ ἀνάδειξον) *that it might be declared a Preservative against all Enemies, visible and invisible, that is (in both Places) that it may now have such a supernatural Prerogative or divine Operation*. So for the *Antimensium* (the *Altare Portatile, or Vicarious Altar*) (ἀνάδειξον) *declare this present Altar the Holy of Holy's, that we may offer to Thy Goodness an unbloody Sacrifice*, and so the same for the real Altar. And it is yet most plainly in this Sense in the lesser Office for the *Holy Water*. They pray, *that the Lord our God (ἀνάδειξον) would declare us Sons and Heirs of His Kingdom by partaking and sprinkling of this Water, that is, That by the use of it such a blessed Effect might be wrought in us*. And in the same Sense this word is very familiar to *Basil*, for in this very Liturgy ascribed to Him we read, *Receive us all into thy Kingdom (ἀνάδειξας) having declared us Sons of the Light, and Sons of the Day, that is, having given us this spiritual Adoption, and so made us thy Sons*. And so in that famous

Goar p. 619.

p. 353.

p. 455.

p. 649.
& 836. 839.

p. 445. N.B.

p. 173. N.B.

famous place, *Which of the Saints hath left us in writing the Words of* ^{de Spirit. Sanct.}
Invocation (ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει) *in the Declaration, or Renuntiation, or Consecration,* ^{c. 27.}
of the Bread of the Eucharist, and of the Cup of Blessing. Here
the word (ἀναδείξει) can signify no more then *the Declaration, Designation,*
or meer *Consecration of the Eucharistical Bread, and of the Eucharistical*
Cup. And it is remarkable, that here, and in his Prayer at the Sacrament, *the*
Cup, and not the Wine, is said to be *Blessed, Sanctified, Declared, or Con-*
secrated, or Dedicated; and we are said in the following part of the Prayer,
to partake of one Bread and one Cup still, (after the Words of Christ, and
the foregoing *Consecration*) *not of one Body and one Blood.* Now I can see
no reason in the World, why (ἀναδείξει) the word which we find so often used,
should be taken in a peculiar Sense *here in this Prayer at the Sacrament,* and
not as it is plainly taken in the other Examples before cited; That is, why
Declare, Renounce, or Make, This Bread thy Body, should not be *Spiri-*
tually understood, as well as, *declare this Altar the Holy of Holy's,* and the
rest. *Bellarmino* and his Followers notwithstanding all this will have the
word here to signify as originally, *ostendere, to shew;* still to maintain their
beloved Tenent, that the Bread was made before *by Christ's words, his very*
Body, and here they only pray *to shew it.* But what an odd Piece of Sense
is this, *To bless, sanctify, and shew this Bread thy Body,* or, in his Sense,
as thy Body, or being already thy Body; for it cannot be, *to be already thy*
Body for there is no, εἶναι, *to be,* exprest; and indeed there is no need of that
word in my Interpretation, *to bless, sanctify, and declare* (and so *to make*)
this Bread thy Body – and to unite us who partake of this one Bread, &c.
Besides the Absurdity in the other words, if *the Bread* was already *the Body,*
to bless it, to sanctify it, as is already noted. If the Bread was now really
Transubstantiated, and Christ's very Body could in it visibly appear, it might
here be desired, *to shew it, or to let us see it;* for if it was so, sensibly once
done, all Disputes in that Point would be at an End. *Bellarmino* at last sets
down another Gloss, (ἀναδείξω) *Ostende per effectum salutarem in mentibus*
nostris, istum Panem Sanctificatum non esse panem vulgarem, sed Coelestem;
Shew by a saving effect in our Minds, that That Bread being sanctified is
not vulgar, or common, Bread, (according to *Irenaeus* his very Words) *but*
Heavenly. If instead of, *ostende, shew,* he had put, *declara, declare,* it had
been the very Sense which I contend for, and *the saving Effects* are particu-
larly exprest in the following part of the Prayer, *to unite us, &c.* And thus
Dionysius prays to Christ, *Thou, O most divine and holy Mystery, revealing,*
ἀμυρίσματα αἰνισμάτων, *the dark Vails which we cast about Thee, τηλαργῶς ἡμῖν*
ἀναδείχῃ, *be Thou clearly declared to us now, and fill* τὰς νοεῖς ἡμῶν ὁφείας,
our Intellectual Sights (our Minds) with singular and open Light. Here
the Declaration, or Manifestation of Christ, (for I clearly take it to be meant
of Him by the foregoing words, Ἰησοῦ Φωταγωγῆς ὁφόμεθα, *we shall see by*
Jesus Inlightning us (and in *St. James's* Liturgy you have almost the very
same words to God) I say *the Declaration* is made by this *saving Effect* ex-
prest, to wit, *the Illumination of our Minds.* And it is plain to me, that
Dionysius meant only a figurative Representation of Christ's Passion in the Sa-
crament, and no *substantial Change* in the Elements, but only an *Intellectual*
and Spiritual one in the Receivers. Hence all along in him you have these
words, ἄγαλα, αἰνίσματα, εἰκόνες, σύμβολα, συμβολικῶς, νοητὰ θεάματα, νοητὴ
θεωρία, νοεῖς εἰσοδοί, νοεῖς ὀφθαλμοί, and the like, which I shall not here at large
recite, but to return to our purpose. *Arcudius* sticks to *Bellarmin's* Interpreta-
tion, *to shew,* and expounds it by the Deacon's *shewing* with his *Horarium,*
the Holy Bread, and both the Holy's, as you have it above in what passes be-
tween Him and the Priest in the middle of the Prayer of *Chrysostom's* Liturgy.
But all that paltry Stuff is not to be found in the two MSS. of *Basil's* Liturgy,
as is above said; and therefore I question not but that it hath been there since
foisted in out of that which bears the Name of *Chrysostom;* and I believe that
it

de Euchar.
l. 4. c. 14.
p. 275. H.

ut supra.

p. 9.

de Ecclef. hie-
rarch. c. 3.
p. 286.

Edit. Par.
1560. p. 21.

p. 287, 293.
295. 298.
299. &c.

p. 313. b.
314. a.

Goar. p. 168.
in MSS.

Luk. 10. 1.
Act. 1. 24.

Luk. 1. 8.

Luk. 3. 2.

Joh. 10. 41.
Mat. 14. 5.
& 21. 26.

Not. in Gabr.
Philad. p. 159.

Joh. 6. 58.

it hath been even there too patch'd in altogether as impertinently. But in Basil's Liturgy, the word ἀναδίδας is again used at the Sacrament. In relating what Christ did, just before his own Words we have this, *Taking the Bread into his Holy and Immaculate Hands*, καὶ ἀναδίδας σοὶ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρί, εὐχαριστήσας, εὐλογήσας, ἀγιάσας, κλάσας, and *having declared* (it) or *dedicated* it; *to Thee, the God and the Father, having given Thanks, having blessed, having sanctified, having broken* (it) *He gave* (it) *to his Disciples, &c.* Now whatever the true meaning of ἀναδίδας in this place is, I think it cannot well be, *having shew'd* (it) *to Thee, the God; whose all seeing Eye will hardly admit of that Sense; but having dedicated it, or, cum designaverat, having declared it as set a part to God, (as all Holy Things are,)* I think is very plain and natural Sense; for his very taking the Bread into his hands was a separating of it to this sacred Use, and, καὶ, and, which is in my MS makes the Sense to be plainly thus, as if he had said, *Taking the Bread into his hands, and thereby Declaring or Dedicated of it to God.* And here I cannot but by the by, take Notice that those very Words here used (before Christ's Words) *having Blessed, having Sanctified*, must be confessed by all, to be spoken of, and refer'd to the very Bread, as now but a meer Creature that wanted a Blessing, and a Sanctifying; whey then should not the very same Words spoken of and refer'd to the same Bread, (after the Priest hath repeated the Words of Christ) be in the Prayer of Consecration expounded as if the Bread was still but the same Creature and wanted yet a farther Blessing, and Sanctification? I say why should the very same words, *Bless, Sanctify, Bread*, signify plainly one way here, and be wrested and forced to quite another there? But to return, the word ἀναδείκνυμι is used in the Scriptures, and I think very plainly in my Sense. *The Lord, ἀνέδειξεν, Declared or Created the Seventy Disciples and sent them forth.* And so in the making of *Matthias an Apostle*, ἀνάδειξον ἐκ τῶν δύο ἑνα, *Declare one of these two whom thou hast Chosen, to take part, or share, of this Ministry; that is Declare or Renounce him an Apostle*, which was done by the Effects, *for the Lot fell upon Matthias.* So it is say'd of *John Baptist*, *He was in the Deserts till the day of his, ἀναδείξας, Declaring, or being Declared unto Israel.* The word of God came to him, and so Declared him a Prophet unto Israel. *He did no Miracle, 'tis true, but all things that he spake of Christ were true; and all Israel held and counted John as a Prophet.* He was Declared by the Effects. And so in those Words quoted by R. Simon out of a Treatise supposed to be Proclus's ἀποφαίνειν and ἀναδείκνυεν, explaining one another, are both used in this very Sense; *That the Holy Ghost by his divine Presence, ἀποφάνη καὶ ἀναδείξη might Create and Declare* (as above, Consuls and Emperors are said to be Created and Declared) *the Bread and Wine mingled with Water, the very Body and Blood of Christ.*

Therefore from all this it seems plain to me, that Basil's praying for the Holy Ghost to Declare the Bread Christ's Body, was not to work any Substantial change in the Bread, but only a Spiritual Change in the worthy receivers, that is, *all those saving Effects for which Christ died; Pardon of Sins and spiritual Communion with Him; as ἐνωσας, to Unite us, is at large afterwards explain'd in another Prayer, That we with a pure Testimony of Conscience receiving μερίδα τῶν ἁγιασμάτων σου, a Portion of thy Sanctified things, may be united to the Holy Body and Blood of thy Christ, and having received them Worthily we may have Christ dwelling in our Hearts, and that we may be made the Temple of the Holy Ghost; and therefore a little farther they pray, Grant that to our last Breath we may receive worthily, τὴν μερίδα (in MSS. not ἐλπίδα as in Goar) a Portion of thy Holy Things.* Here is the Effectus Salutaris, saving Effect above mention'd, which they pray for, by the Holy Spirits declaring the Bread Christ's Body; and it is plain from this, what Body of Christ they here pray for, not his Flesh and Blood, but his Mystical and Spiritual Body whereof every worthy Receiver is made a Member, and the Florentine Greeks in the latter Words of their

their Answer, ποιῆσαι ἐν ἡμῖν, to make in us this Bread, &c. seem to mean the very same thing, as *Bessarion* also owns. And *Dionysius* clearly owns the same Effect; speaking of the *Eucharist*, he saith, δοκεῖ γάρ μοι τὸ ὑμνεμένων, &c. *The design of all God's divine Operations, which we have celebrated in the Hymn of his Praise, seem to me to be for us; then instancing in the Preservation of our Life and Being, and in the Reforming of us, and bringing of us to a diviner Condition, and in providing to bring us from the want of Divine Gifts to a pristine State, he adds, καὶ παντελεῖ τὴν ἡμετέρων προσλήψιν, &c. and by a perfect Acceptance of our Things, (our Offerings, and Prayers, and Praises) so graciously give us the most perfect Participation of his own, and hereby to bestow upon us the Communion of God and of Things Divine. And Chrysostom himself in the words before cited, means no more then a spiritual Effect wrought in us, by the words of Christ once spoken by himself: For in the next Homily wherein the very same Things (and often in the very same Words) are treated of, (and therefore both Homilies are Printed by the Side of one another, by Sir Hen. Savil) you have these Words: Καὶ καθάπερ ἐκένη ἡ Φωνὴ ἢ λέγουσα, Αὐξάνετε καὶ πληθύνετε καὶ πληρώσατε τὴν γῆν, ῥῆμα ᾧ καὶ ἐγένετο ἔργον, ἐδωκαμύσα τὸ ἀνθρώπινον φύσιν πρὸς παιδοποιᾶν ἕτοιμα καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ Φωνὴ ἢ λέγουσα, Ἀλλὰ παντὸς αὐξήσῃ τῇ χάριτι τὸς ἀξίως μετέχοντας. And as that Voice which said, be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the Earth, was Word, and was made Deed, empowering human Nature for the Getting of Children, so this same Voice which said (or which was spoken) (viz. This is my Body) always gives Increase of Grace to the worthy Partakers. This is the completing of the Sacrifice in all its parts, in Declaring the Offerings, the Offerers, the Priests, and the worthy Receivers, all acceptable to God, by the Increase of his Grace and Favour; This is the saving Effect of the whole Performance.*

But because the Latins have laid such a mighty stress upon these words of *Chrysostom*, I cannot leave them without a farther Reflection or two upon them. If Christ had said, be thou my Body, be thou my Blood, at every Altar; *Chrysostom's* application might have then been made much more Accurate and Just; and closer urged to the *Latins* purpose. For then these Words, (as once those, Increase and Multiply,) being thus once spoken, might have seem'd as properly said to have Empower'd every Priest, by Virtue of them to effect this wonderful change. But to think, that only those first words in the Narrative, this is my Body, this is my Blood, spoken in the present Tense, either did Then make that very Bread which was handled, the very same Body, which handled it; and the same Body which spoke the Words, and which brake the very same Body, and distributed its pieces to the Disciples, and did it self also (as is generally believed) receive it and eat of it; or that those words Now only repeated by the Priest can do it; I must most seriously confess that it seems to me as amazing an Assertion as that unintelligible passage in one of the *Greeks* Prayers which I have mention'd above, Christ (at the same time even Now,) is at the Altar the same thing that Offers, and the same thing that is Offered, Divided, Distributed, and is every single part of it that is separately Eaten by several Persons. According to this Notion of the present *Greeks*, not only the Bread but the Priest too must be Transubstantiated not only into the Body, but into the very intire Person of Christ; for certainly amongst them now, it is the Priest only who actually Offers, Divides, and Distributes the Holy Things, not Christ himself, unless they make them both one.

But as we find the whole Passage of our Saviour's Institution written in the Gospel, I think the last words there spoken might be apply'd, after *Chrysostom's* way more fitly and properly to the Purpose of those Men, who have that Notion of the Sacrament; That it is only a Devout, Thankful, solemn Commemoration of Christ's Passion; That his blessed Body was broken, and that his Precious Blood was shed for us miserable Sinners, that by true Repentance and Faith in him we might obtain Pardon and everlasting Life. For here

Luk. 22. 19. here for this we have Christ's absolute Command; this do in Remembrance
 1 Cor. 11. 24. of me. These words being once spoken by him do indeed forever Sanctify our
 Joh. 14. 26. Performance of them. He that promised that the Comforter (the Holy Spirit)
 should teach the Disciples all Things, and bring all Things to their Re-
 membrance whatsoever he had said unto them, without all question by the
 same Comforter, and by the Power of this his Command, once spoken, will
 continually forever assist every Penitent receivers Memory, and enliven his
 Devotion at this solemn Performance of his Command.

Gen. 1. 3, 6. But let us now a little consider those Expressions. Let there be Light; let
 9, 11, 14, 16, there be a Firmament; let the Waters be gathered together, and let the dry
 20. Land appear; let the Earth bring forth Grass, Herbs, and Trees *אֲשֶׁר לְכָל הָעֵץ*
אֲשֶׁר לְכָל הָעֵץ, after his Kind; let there be Lights in the Firmament of Heaven,
 Sun, and Moon and Stars; let the Waters bring forth abundantly living
 Creatures, Fowl, Fish, *אֲשֶׁר לְכָל הָאֵרֶץ*, after their Kinds; let the Earth
 bring forth Beasts and all Animals after their Kinds; and at last we read
 the Celebrated, Crescite & multiplicamini, be Fruitful and Multiply; which
 v. 28. 22. 11. was not said only to Man, but to all other Animals besides; nay, the Pow-
 er of this Command seems implicitly and intentionally extended to every Plant
 bearing Seed, or Fruit after its Kind, by which even they also Increase and
 Multiply.

Now what can be the meaning of all these Commands, Injunctions, Laws,
 and Decrees of God at the Creation, but that in making all things, he there-
 by gave to every particular Creature after his Kind, all such certain distinct
 and peculiar Powers, Virtues, Faculties, Affections and Modifications
 which were requisite to make it compleatly of its own peculiar, distinct,
 perfect, true Sort or Kind; he made it *טוֹב מְאֹד* Tobh Meodh, very Good,
 that is answerable in every punctilio or title to the express Idea or Patern or
 Image of it framed in his Allwise Mind, and fitted to the ends for which he
 designed it. Hence the Species or Kinds of all Bodies or Things are irre-
 concileably opposite to one another; A Stone is not Bread, neither is a Fish
 a Serpent; Water is not Earth nor a Plant a Worm. It is indeed absolute-
 ly true that God of Stones can raise up Children unto Abraham; for we who
 believe that God Created all Things out of Nothing, must then needs grant
 that he can make any Thing, out of Something; even a World of one grain of
 Sand; of a Stone a Man; but it is utterly inconsistent with his first Fiat,
 Law and Command, and with his Veracity and Unchangeableness, that any
 Thing should be a true Stone and a true Man at the same time; that a true
 Stone should be invested with all the Affections of true Flesh and Blood and
 yet be a meer Stone still. For at God's first giving Being to every Thing, it
 is plainly said, He commanded and they were Created, He hath Established
 them for ever and ever, He hath made a Decree which shall not pass.
 Therefore Fire and Hail, Snow and Vapour fulfilling his Word, are for ever
 as distinct opposite Beings, as the Dragons and the Deeps; As the Angels
 and the Sun and Moon; as the Mountains and the Trees; as the Cedars
 and the Olives; God can preserve his Servants from the Fury of the Fire
 by his Angel, or by interposing his own Almighty Hand; and he can hinder
 Snow or Water from extinguishing a Flame; but God cannot violate his eter-
 nal Law, and joyn what he hath made, two opposite Natures, or distinct
 specificall Powers and Affections, in the same Subject at the same time.
 And thus Flesh and Bones, whilst they are truly such, cannot at the same
 time have the very Taste, and Smell, and Colour, and all other specificall Af-
 fections and Adjuncts of true Bread, (call them Qualities or Accidents or
 what you please) any more then true Bread cannot the same time have the
 hardness, and all other specificall Affections of a true Stone. The Meal and
 Salt; the Water and Milk; the Barm and Leaven, and all the other Things
 whereof Common Bread or a Wafer is made, may indeed compound the
 artificial Thing; but at the same time they are all still as distinct Beings and
 Opposite

Opposite to one anothers Natures, as Wood, and Stone; and Iron, and Mortar, and the like, in making the House. And a nice Palate and a discerning Eye can distinguish them and Judge if all be mixt in due proportion, and accurately baked. The Meal whilst it is perfect true Meal cannot have all the specifical Affections of true Salt, nor true Water, whilst such, the specifical Powers or Modifications of true Milk in the Bread, no more then true Wood whilst such, those of true Stone or Iron in the House. We read that Christ made Water Joh. 2. 9. 10. *Wine; but it is plain that it was entirely changed as to all its specifical Modifications; For had it been still without all Spirit and Briskness and Savor and Strength, or had it retain'd any thing of its Original specifical Weakness and Deadness (all which are affections necessarily required to that kind of Being, true Water;) the Intertainer would never have vouch'd it, as he did, for not only Good true Wine, but even for better then the rest.*

As for the Substratum or inward invisible Substance or Essence of Things, which support all the Powers and Adjuncts and Affections of Them, and Principally make them what they are; it is kept Secret and known only to God Himself. All that we know of any Body or Material Being, is only gathered from, *φαινόμενα*, the Things that appear to our Senses and Observations, and by our rational deductions from them. I see a black Flint; I find it hard; it is commonly found in Clunch or Chalk or Lime-pits; it's black Colour is deeper and darker at the Center, and by degrees paler from thence towards the edges; the outward Skin is purely White, but when it is first taken out of the Matrix or Bed where it was Bred, it is softish and harden'd by being expos'd to the Air; I guess that the Chalk lying next about it by degrees is digested by its seminal Virtue, and turn'd into that outward pale Skin or part of it, and the whole seems to grow like a Snowball, by adding yearly new thin Skins to it; so that even it *increaseth* by (*juxta positionem partium*) a constant cleaving of new parts to it; every Man may take this Hypothesis or Solution, or make one of his own. I farther find that it will strike Fire when it is dash'd against Steel or its self or the like hard Body; I find when calcined it can be run into Glas; I find when it is red hot and quencht in several Liquors it produces several medicinal Effects; and these and many more such like remarks are all that I can know of it; but what is the Substratum, or the inward Substance or Essence, which supports all these Affections, or from whence all these, *φαινόμενα*, Appearances do flow, is quite hidden from my Apprehension and Conceit. Aristotle and his followers amuse us with substantial Forms, but what the substantial Form of a Flint is, we are left all yet to seek. Our Modern Philosophers perplex us as much with the Figures, Magnitudes, Magnetisms, Positions, imperceptible Motions and specifick Modifications of Atoms, or very minute insensible particles of Matter; and every pregnant Wit hath the liberty of expounding his own Conjectures; but all this is but an Hypothesis or meer Guess still; and only a Probability at last is the very height of all that the wisest Naturalist amongst them can arrive at.

But now if any one of them find all the *φαινόμενα*, outward Appearances above named of a Flint in any Body, I must think him Mad or void of all Sense and Reason, if he doth not think it and call it a true Flint; or if he could not by these Modifications and Affections distinguish it from a Pumice-stone or a piece of rotten Wood. All the knowledge of this Body which he can possibly have, being to be gathered only from the outward Appearances; he must from them say and believe that it is a true Flint indeed; for from them only he must frame the Idea of it.

Now let me briefly apply all this to our present Point. After the Words of Christ, and after the Greeks Invocation, I see, and Taste the Bread and the Wine; I find they have all the specifick outward Appearances, Affections, Effects and circumstances of true Bread and Wine; and these are all the *χρῆματα*, marks and means left me by the great Creator to Judge of these Crea-

tures by, and to know, *thereby only*, what they *truly are*; if I should after all *think* that they were not still *true Bread and Wine*, I should do the greatest Violence and Injury imaginable to my Understanding, and wretchedly question the Veracity of God himself. Neither *Latins* nor *Greeks* can or dare deny that the Elements, at the Sacrament, *outwardly appear* still, after the Consecration, *the very same as they did before*; not only to me but to every one else that shall try them; what greater assurance can I have *that Bread and Wine are Bread and Wine* at any time else, then what I have now? If we are all deceived in this, we must conclude that our Life is but one continued Dream, and that *our clearest Faculties and most distinct Perceptions*, which we thankfully acknowledge as received from *the Great God of Truth*, are constant cheats in this Point, and do always impose upon us in the most Sacred part of a Christian Life.

I shall here now add this Remark, which to me seems highly to concern both *Latins* and *Greeks*. If either *by the Words of Christ* (as the *Latins* say) or *by the following words in the Prayer of Chrysostom and Basil*, as the *Modern Greeks* seem to assert) *Transubstantiation* is made, why then the Miracle is doubled. By the words *this is my Body* or those, *make this Bread thy Body*, the Bread can only be made Christ's dry Body without any Blood; and by those *this is the Cup of my Blood*, or those *make what is in this Cup*, (viz. the Wine) can be made only Christ's pure Blood quite separated from the Body. Now I will ask what joins them again? It is a Miracle thus to separate them, and it is no less a Miracle perfectly and thoroughly to join them again. What makes this last Miracle amongst the *Greeks*? Does the Priest do it *by putting a piece of Christ's Portion and the other little crumbs into the Cup, signing it with the sign of the Cross*? Or do the words following do it, *the Fullness of Faith of the Holy Spirit*? Whatever the meaning of those words is, it cannot relate any thing to this Union. And what must unite, *the hot Water*, (pour'd in afterwards) with both *the Body and the Blood*? The *Greeks*, who are for making the Liturgy only a representation of Christ's Oeconomy, make this only a Figure of *the warm Water and Blood which issued out of Christ's side at his Passion*, as Goar himself explains it out of St. Germanus and others, but at last rejects this practice as a *superstitious invention*, being left out in the old MSS Liturgies, and not the least mention being made of it by the antient Fathers. Next if the *Latins* pretend that this Union of the Body and Blood is afterwards made, it must be done either by that old suffrage above mention'd, *may there be made a Commixtion and Consecration of the Body and Blood of Christ*, or by the new one, *this Commixtion and Consecration of the Body and Blood of Christ, may it be to us, &c.* The old Form plainly means the Mixtion or Union of *the Elements*, which before were separated; for if they say it is meant of the separate real Body and real Blood, I would ask by what Power or Authority they dare pretend to so great a Work as to join the dry Body to the pure Blood. For they durst not say their own words had Power to do it, for it is as great a Miracle as *Transubstantiation* it self. And notwithstanding all that hath been said by them in defence of denying the Cup to the Laity, pretending *that entire Christ* is in the Bread, falls to nothing by this very suffrage; for what means then the word *Commixtion*, or mixing now the Body with the Blood, if the Blood was there before with the Body, and the Body with the Blood? Christ's words, *This is my Body*, if they do any Thing, must make *the Bread only his Body*; (And Lombard positively asserts as much, *there is no Conversion of the Bread, but into the Flesh*;) else what need was there of these words, *this is my Blood*, and if these words made the Body as well as the Blood, this repetition is, actum agere, to make *Christ entirely twice over*. The *Scholastick* whimsey of *Concomitancy* will never clear this *Commixtion*, for if the Bread was *both Body and Blood*, and the Wine *both Blood and Body* (that is, both one and the same intire Christ) it is a pretty wild

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sed quare.

wild *Commixtion* indeed, a *Commixtion* of *entire Christ*, with *Christ entire*, or a mixing of *Christ's entire Body and all his Blood*, with *all his Blood and entire Body*; for I hitherto always thought *mixing* a relative Term, that necessarily required two or more several, distinct, or different sorts of Things, to be mixed, and never till now thought or heard that *one, only, single, entire thing or sort* could be mixt with it self.

And the old *Latins* who first compos'd their Mass, by thus mixing the Elements in this place, plainly meant the mixing of two distinct and different Things (as of Bread and Wine) as in a like *Commixtion* of the Holy Oyl, and the Chrism, with the Water in Baptism, *Commixtio Chrilsmatis Sanctificationis &c.* *Let the Commixtion of the Chrism of Sanctification, and of the Oil of Unction, and of the Water of Baptism in like manner be made, or, let there be made a Commixtion of them.* So in the making of their Holy Water, *Commixtio salis & aquæ pariter fiat, let the Commixtion of the Salt* Ed. Aut. 1632. p. 245. p. infin. cv. *and of the Water be in like manner made.* In the first of these Instances, three; in the second, two, distinct and different Things or sorts are mixt; but in their Eucharist, if *Concomitancy* hold good, *the same Specifical*, nay, *the same numerical Thing* is mixt with it self; which I dare say those good old *Latins* never dreamt of. Give me leave here to make one reflection more upon this wild Conceit of *Concomitancy*. If the Blood cannot be separated from the whole Body of Christ, nor this from that; they must own that this whole Body, whilst it hang'd on the Cross, (lay in the Sepulcher, Ascended into Heaven, sat there at God's right Hand) was all the while in every drop of the Blood which was spilt upon his Cloaths, which was dropt and wasted upon the Cross, which was on the Spear, and in every drop fallen upon the Ground, and is yet upon every thing else which they shew as spotted with Christ's Blood, nay, *Bellarmino*, from the Council of Trent, says, that not only *Christ's Body and Blood, but his Soul and Divinity also*, necessarily are always together by *natural Concomitancy*. And by consequence they were all together at the same time, on the Cross, on the Ground, in Hell, in the Sepulcher; yet *Aquinas* tells us that if the Sacrament or Eucharist had been Celebrated during the three days in which Christ lay in the Grave, there had not been this *Concomitancy*; yet surely he was all this while the very same *θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος*, *God-man*. I remember they have the Confidence to shew several long white thorne Prickles, Stain'd or Coloured red, as with Blood; and I have seen them Worshipped as Relicks or Parts of the Crown which was platted on Christ's Head. Now if they really are Stain'd with His Blood, or if they verily believe that it is so; will they say that Christ's whole Body and Blood and Soul and Divinity, was there and still rest there stuck, or spitted upon these Thorns with the Blood? By this wonderful *Concomitancy* it must needs be so. *Spectatum admissi.* De Euchar. l. 3. c. 5. p. 225. c. Concil. 14. 806. a. 38. q. 76. 1. §. 4.

There are in many places of the *Euchologion* Prayers which plainly shew that the former *Greeks* which compos'd them, and these for the Sacrament here in *Chrysostom* and *Basil's* Liturgy, meant only a *spiritual Sacrifice of Prayers and Praises, and a solemn Remembrance of Christ's Passion*, and by these only a *spiritual Change in us*, and not any *substantial Change* in the Elements themselves. Besides what you have had above, give me leave to instance in a few more. In repairing of the Holy Table, *Fill this Altar* p. 615. *with Glory and Sanctification and Grace, that the unbloody Sacrifices of the Body and Blood of Christ which are Offered upon it, μεταποιῶνται, may be changed to the Salvation of all thy People.* For the Blessing of the *Antimenium*, you have it thus, *Fill this Altar, &c. That the unbloody Sacrifices which are offer'd to Thee upon it, μεταποιῶνται, may be Changed into the Body and Blood of Christ, &c. To the Salvation of all thy People.* Compare these two Prayers a little. If in the first the *Latins* would have Christ's real *Body and Blood* to be offered there, then the Change they pray for must be meant *Spiritually*, for they would not *Untransubstantiate* it, or

Transubstantiate it again, that is really and substantially Change it into another Thing. But if a *Spiritual Change* only must be there meant, how should the Change be other then a *Spiritual or Intellectual Change* in the second, where they pray that the *unbloody Sacrifices* may be changed into *Christ's Body and Blood*? And it is there very remarkable, that by *unbloody Sacrifices* there offer'd upon the *Antimension*, must be meant at least the *Elements of Bread and Wine* alone, (if not together with the offering of *Prayer, Praise and Thanksgiving*) and not the *Body and Blood*, for they pray that these may be changed into these. Therefore the material Offerings of *Bread and Wine*, accompany'd with *Prayer and Thanksgiving* in a solemn Remembrance of *Christ's Passion*, according to his Institution seem to me here and all along to be only meant and fully called *unbloody Sacrifices*, as the whole Performance is often called a *Rational Service*. And these Sacrifices are changed into *Christ's Body and Blood* (which we *Spiritually* and by *Faith* Eat and Drink) by being Blessed with those *Saving Effects* for which Christ suffered, That is, *The Salvation of all People* (who are worthy partakers) and the *Remission of their Sins* &c. So it is there express'd a little before in the Blessing of the same *Antimension*; Declare this present Altar the *Holy of Holy's*, that we who stand at it — may offer unto thy Goodness an *unbloody Sacrifice*, for the *Remission of Sins, Voluntary and Involuntary*, for the *Government of Life* &c. Yet more plainly in the Dedication of a Church, declare the Altar fixt in it the *Holy of Holy's*, that we who stand at it may serve thee without reproof, sending up *Prayers* for us and for all the *People*, and offering an *unbloody Sacrifice* to thy Goodness, for the *Remission of Sins* &c. as in the foregoing; why may not *Prayers* here be interpreted the *unbloody Sacrifice*, by what follow, for *Government of Life*, for *direction of a right Conversation*, for the *fulfilling of all justice*, which are *Petitions* and so relate to *Prayer* more Properly then to any other Sacrifice. I shall now name but two places more of the many others, which call the Celebration of the Sacrament a *Rational or Intellectual Sacrifice*. For the *Antimension*, Vouchsafe that we may as *unblameable and pure* stand at this Altar and — offer to thee upon it a *Rational and unbloody Sacrifice*, for the *Edification of thy Catholick Church*, and for the *Advantage and Proficiency of thy People*. Surely the Church is more *Edified*, and the *People* receive more *Profit and Assistance*, and their *Affections and Devotions* were raised higher by the *Rational and Unbloody Sacrifice of Prayer and Thanksgiving* at the Sacrament, or solemn Remembrance of *Christ's Passion* (as it was of old,) then by all the *Pomp and Pageantry* now used in the *Greek Church*, or by their present pretended *Sacrifice of Christ's Body*, and the *Fancifull Representation of his Oeconomy*; of all which the poor *People* neither hear nor understand one word. Next in the Dedication of a Temple, That thou wouldst send down the *Grace of thy All-holy Spirit*, and Establish this Church now raised, — That we offering unto thee in it *unbloody Sacrifices*, may be partakers of the *Holy Ghost* (it) being renew'd in our *Hearts*, and (it) confirming the leading part of our understanding, and (it) granting to us *Mystically* to offer to Thee, the *Lord God*, *Intellectual Sacrifices* by the *Purifying of the Mind*, to the *Glory of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*. How all this may be accomplished by the *Sacrifice of Prayer and Thanksgiving* is very intelligible, but what the present *Greeks* *Mysterious* and (in a manner,) *Dumb shew* can contribute to it, I cannot easily discern. Even *Chrysostom* himself (in the place above cited out of his first Homily) seems to me to have been of my Mind, for he directly there opposeth the notion of a *Real or Bodily Sacrifice*, by making all to be done at the Sacrament, *in a Figure*. The *Priest* fulfills, or performs, or Acts, the *figurative part*, or the *Representation*, relating the Matter and Manner of what *Christ himself* once did, and repeating his words which *Himself* once spake; then *Christ*, by virtue of those words once spoken by himself on Earth, applies

applies to the faithfull and worthy Receivers all those saving Effects for which he died; This to me is his plain and natural meaning in that place. But to say that the Priest relating matter of Fact and only repeating Christ's words Transubstantiates the Bread and Wine, must be rejected by all Men of common Sense, as well as by *Cabasilas*, as a forced, absurd, and unwarrantable explication; for this cannot be said then to be done, ἐν ᾧ, in a Figure only, For Christ himself must be thus brought down from the right hand of God, and thrust entire into every, the least mite, drop and particle of the Bread and Wine, especially according to the *Latins* Doctrine. That distinction of the Council of Trent, will not do, that Christ's Body is in Heaven, *seff. 3. c. 1.* juxta modum existendi naturalem, according to the natural manner of existing, but here Sacramentaliter, Sacramentally; if they mean Sacramentally, that Christ is here Spiritually or Mystically, we say the same; if as they explain it, his Body is truly, really, and substantially here, it must be here as naturally as it is in Heaven.) And the *Greeks* even so late as *J. Damascen* seem to have been only for this Figurative Sacrifice in the Sacrament, by his words quoted, and shufflingly answered by *Bessarion*, Panis & Vinum non est nisi figura Corporis & Sanguinis Christi, The Bread and the Wine are no other but the figure of Christ's Body and Blood. *p. 789. E.*

Thus I have at large shewn first that the *Greeks* and *Latins*, as to the Point of Consecration, are irreconcilable. Next that if the Elements be Transubstantiated, the Right is on the *Greeks* side, for Christ's words only spoken by a Priest could effect nothing to that purpose. Lastly, that the Prayers both in the *Latin* and *Greek* Church used after Christ's words, were meant by their first Authors or Composers only in a spiritual Sense, and to a spiritual End or Effect: So that both Churches in the gross Opinion of Transubstantiation, by the craft and subtilty of the Devil and Man, have by Degrees departed from their first Love, a plain solemn and spiritual Remembrance of Christ's Passion, to an absurd jumble of Idolatry and Superstition.

These proposed Gifts] The Elements being offer'd on the Prothesis, are sanctified, that is, set a part for divine use, and are therefore all along called, the Holy Bread and the Holy Cup, and singly, τὰ ἁγία, the Holy's. Then after the great Entrance when set on the Holy Table, they are farther sanctified by Prayer, that these Gifts and spiritual Sacrifices might be acceptable to God, by the good Spirit of his Grace resting upon these proposed Gifts, and upon themselves and all the People. And these proposed Gifts in the Prayer, are a little before called these precious Gifts, and in the Rubrick of the Prayer, divine Gifts, having received several Degrees or Measures of Sanctification before. Thus far, I suppose, all Parties will allow that the Gifts are yet true Bread and Wine. Why then should the *Latins* think that here, these Gifts proposed, should now after Christ's words signify more than true Bread and Wine still? They are called just before, Thine of Thine, (as in the *Latin* Mass, Dona and Data, Gifts and what was Given) and then all along, this Bread and this Cup, so that the *Latins* must confess, that the *Greeks* thus far thought these Gifts true Bread and Wine still. Now that the primitive *Greeks*, or Authors of that entire Prayer which follows, did think that after it also, the Gifts (as they are all along called) remain'd still true Bread and Wine, is plain to me, first by that Prayer of the Deacon, Remember all Saints let us again and again beseech the Lord, for the precious Gifts which are offer'd and sanctified, that our God having received them unto his Intellectual Altar, may send down his divine Grace, &c. The *Latins* object this very Prayer to the *Greeks* (for being used by them after their pretended Prayer for making the Bread the Body of Christ, as likewise their using the same Prayer in the Liturgy of the presanctified Things) that they might the better vindicate themselves for using their Prayers (above noted) after Christ's words; and both of them thus Cavilling with one another about this Point make me conclude them both in the wrong. *Arcudius* offers thus *E. p. 23. Goar. p. 155. 190. Goar. p. 684. Coar. de Offic. c. 17. §. 33. 36. p. 124. p. 25. Goar. p. 79. Goar 197. l. 3. c. 33. to p. 288. a.*

c. 34. Bibl.
P. P. p. 190.
in my MS.
p. 94. b.

p. 142. N. B.
Arcud.
p. 229. b.

Euchol. p. 635.
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to excuse both the *Latins* and *Greeks* in these Practices. Non erant pro consecratione, sed potius pro nostra Imbecillitate, &c. They do not pray for the Consecration (of the Gifts) but rather for our weakness, and that we may thence receive Profit; as also that the Service of the Minister, who offers, may please God. But with his leave, it is plain, first, that they pray for the precious Gifts which are offer'd and sanctified, that is, sanctified in several measures already (as is said;) but they pray again and again for a farther Sanctification, or yet a greater Measure of Holiness upon them. That by their acceptance at God's Intellectual Altar, may be sent down his Grace, &c. *Cabasilas* hath fram'd a Distinction much to the same purpose, The Grace of God, saith he, works in the Gifts two ways, one by sanctifying them, another by sanctifying us by them. And so he would make the Gifts only sanctified in the places which are before the Prayer, which, he tells us, makes the Bread the Body; but in this place, and in the Liturgy of the presanctified Things, He would have them pray only for our Sanctification and not at all for theirs; He supposing them now to be Christ's very Body and Blood. But why he should imagine the Elements by their repeated Sanctifications, changed in their very Substance and Essence more then the Water, Oyl, Salt, and the like in the Examples above cited, I cannot see. Every Creature, as God's Creature, is indeed Good; but I cannot conceive how any Creature (especially an Inanimate one) simply considered, or as purely in it self, can be called Sanctified or Holy, unless it is made so by some new Act, or in some new Relation to God, or to our use in his Service. Thus if a Thing be simply sanctified by being only dedicated to God (suppose for Example a Jar of Oyl) it is just the very self same Thing still in it self, but it is not so to us; for it is so far Sanctified or Holy now (that is, appropriated) as we must not put it to any common use. But now if the Greek Church do farther pray over it, That by using it, or applying it, in God's Name, they may receive This or That bodily Effect by it, as Cure of Pains and Distempers, and the like; it is still in it self the very same Oyl, but they must think it farther sanctified, that is declared, or design'd, or set a part to that farther End and Use. Then if they should again and again farther pray over it, That they may receive by its use, This or That spiritual Effect, as the Delivering from Sin, and the Inheritance of Heaven, &c. Surely the Oyl is the very same Oyl still, but they would look upon it now as sanctified, or design'd, or set a part, to yet higher Purposes; so that as the Ends to which the Creature is sanctified, or appointed, by repeated Prayers, are more, or higher, to the Sanctification of it, must be looked upon by Them as proportionably Greater, tho' in Substance it is still the very same Thing. And hence we see such large Offices in the Euchologion, for the Holy Water, the Oyl, and the like above mention'd, where they pray again and again, often for much the same, sometimes for new, Sanctifications, or Blessings, upon the same individual Creature, all the while look't upon as, in Substance, the very same thing; and *Goar* himself owns, that many Antecedent and Consequent Moral (or Spiritual) Mutations may, thus by Degrees, be perfected by Succession of Time, and the Prayers of the Priest, but he cannot prove any substantial Change; and *Simeon Thess.* plainly owns the same, that is, several Degrees of Sanctification given to the Holy Ointment, and to these Gifts upon the Altar; as *Goar* cites him. Next I do not understand how *Arcudius* can distinguish between the Gifts consecrated, and the Gifts sanctified; to me, a Creature consecrated, that is, dedicated, to God and his Service; and a Creature sanctified, that is, made Holy or set a Part to Him and his Service, are all one. But if he means by sanctified, set a Part and made Holy, (as *Cabasilas* would have it signify only, as to us,) and by Consecrated, Transubstantiated, or made quite another Substance, (as in Relation only to the Elements) his Distinction will not pass with me. Next they are all along called the proposed Gifts, the offered Gifts; but the Gifts which the People offer'd, and which the Priest proposed were true

true Bread and Wine; and in the *Prayer of Proposition*, they pray God to ^{ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός} *blest this proposing* (of them) and to receive it up to his Heavenly Altar, ^{ἡμῶν.} *and to remember those who Offered, and those for whom they Offered.* ^{Goar. p. 63. Euchol. p. 36.} What then becomes of these Gifts and Offerings, are they substantially and really taken up to Heaven, and leave only their bare Accidents behind them? If they be annihilated, quite destroy'd, how are they accepted? And how can they say, that *Christ's Body and Blood* (which they now would juggle into their place) are the People's Gifts and Offerings? For they offer'd only *Bread and Wine*, and Prayers: The first, it seems, are Lost and Gone; the others prove Ineffectual and not heard; and if Christ's very *Body and Blood* are now there, they are his own Offerings; and yet that seem now as strange, for He, (as I can find) never offer'd himself but on the Cross once for all. Lastly after all these Prayers for the precious Gifts, the Table is called a *spiritual Table*, and the *Bread*, again and again, only the *Holy Bread* still, as it was at first; and by the *Holy Gifts* is plainly meant the *Bread and Wine*, or *Holy Cup* in what presently follows, and the remainder of them after the Communion is over, which are carried back to the Prothesis are still called, *Gifts*, and *Holy Gifts*, in one of Goar's Copies. ^{p. 98.}

Lord who sentest down] In this *Euchologion* only the beginning or part of ^{G. p. 23.} these three Suffrages are set down, but I have translated them entire, as the Priest and Deacon repeat them to themselves; and they are indeed but the beginning of that Prayer which you have put altogether above.

The Holy Bread] Here by the *Holy Bread* and the *Holy Cup*, and by the ^{L. p. 23.} *Holy Gifts*, are plainly meant the same Things; and the first Composers of this part of their Liturgy counted them still but *true Bread and Wine*; and all the Variations that Goar pretends to have been made by the Greeks in this Place, (be they earlier or later) prove that then at least they thought the same thing.

Make the Bread] I have touch'd above Bellarmine's solution, which ^{L. p. 23.} *Arcudius* and others cannot most solid. That the *Bread is made Christ's Body* ^{p. 51.} *at the pronouncing of Christ's words, and that here they only pray that it may be Spiritually made so to the Receivers.* ^{p. 23. L.} If this was the Sense of the old Greeks, they would not have said, *make this Bread*, but *make this real Body of thine, thy spiritual Body to the Receivers, and thy real Blood now in this Cup, thy spiritual Blood to them.* But calling it still plain *Bread*, they could mean nothing else but this, *make this* (plain, true, natural) *Bread, the Bread of the Eucharist, that is, Blest with these divine Effects which follow.* Again they who first composed this form, *make this Bread*, meant all the Loaves upon the Table, and they little thought that all the Bread to be used at the Sacrament, would afterwards be brought into only a little, *Pugil*, or heap of *Crumbs and Mites*; no Man of common Sense can be so gross and dull as to think that this was the Practice in the Apostles days, or in the Primitive times immediately following; And this I take to be another instance of the following Greeks blundering and inadvertency; after they had fancifully brought in these, *μερίδες*, *Portions* or *Crumbs*, they still keep the old Form, *make this Bread*, not at all considering whether it would well suit with their new Invention; and it is remarkable that the Greeks themselves quarrel about this Matter; *G. Philadelph.* and *Simon Thessal.* say that only *Christ's Portion* offer'd to his Memory, is made His Body, and that the other ^{Arcud. l. 3. c. 11. p. 182. 183.} *Portions* or *Mites*, *μεταβάλλονται*, are not Changed. And *Simon* adds a pretty remark to my purpose, that in this Liturgy the Priest says *make this Bread*, or *Loaf*,) and in the *Præsanctified* (where there are more than one Loaf) *make these Loaves*, not *make these Portions* or *Mites*. And suitably to this I take Notice, that in pronouncing these Words, the Priest does not take either the Bread or Particles into his Hands (as of old the whole Loaf was taken) but standing up (after the Deacon hath shewn them with his *Horarium*) he only makes a Cross over them, (as many common Blessing) which is certainly contrary to the Primitive practice. But now if the *Portions* (the Crumbs and

p. 74. L.
Not. in Gabr.
Philadelph.
p. 113. b.

and Mites) are not *Consecrated* (as these Men assert,) or *Transubstantiated*; the People, who only partake of them (with a few Crumbs of Christ's *Portion* put into the Cup and mixt with them) are in a bad, or at best, in a worse case than the Priests, who partake of Christ's *Portion* by it self; yet they are better in the *Latin Church*, where they have no Wine at all.

Next I observe that not only here *after Christ's words*, but after the *Greeks Prayer* also it is often called plainly *Bread*. To solve this Difficulty I find that the Learned *R. Simon* gave it this turn, mentioning an objection against *Transubstantiation* taken from the *Malabar Christians*, with whom these words are used in the Consecration, *Accipite & comedite ex hoc Pane omnes, take and Eat all of you of this Bread*, and from the *Æthiopians*, where are these words, *Hic Panis est Corpus meum, This Bread is my Body*. His Answer is, *That, Theologi, Divines with one Mouth do confess that the Bread after it is consecrated may well be called Bread still*. If he instances in any of the old Fathers, I should think it plainly makes against the *Dogma*; if in your Modern Authors either *Greek* or *Latin* that hold the *Dogma*, to me it argues their Carelessness and Inadvertency, to embrace that novel Doctrine, and yet retain the old Word which by no means suits with it. And his Reason, which he gives for these Divines still calling it *Bread*, will not do here. *As long, saith he, as the Species of Bread remain with the same kind of Accidents, so long the Name of Bread may be retained*. Then the meaning of *ποιήσον τὸ μὲν ἄρτον*, *make these Species and Accidents of Bread* (for the real Bread is annihilated) *thy precious Body of thy Christ*; or *make this real Body of Christ* (which is only like Bread, but verily no such thing) *the Body of thy Christ*. This I must confess do not satisfy me, and the same Interpretation seems altogether as harsh in all the other Places following, where we meet with the plain word *Bread*.

N. p. 23.
p. 43. 46.

Changing by thy Holy Spirit] To make this plain Sense, you must add *Them*, and that is, *Both the Holy's*, as is clear by the words of the Deacon just before, *bless the Holy Bread, bless the Holy Cup, bless them Both*; Then surely they were thus far thought to want a *Blessing*; and according to the late *Subscribing Greeks*, till this word *μεταβαλὼν* is said, *the Gifts* or *Elements* remain *unchanged*. But this *Change* now pray'd for here by the primitive Greeks, I say, was not intended by them to be made in the *Substance* of the Gifts, but only in their *spiritualized Effects* upon us, as appears plainly by the following Words, *That they may be to all who receive them to Soberness, &c.* for it is manifest that this Phrase, *ὥστε γενέσθαι*, *that they may be, or may be made*, cannot be refer'd to any thing but to the word *Changing* going before; for should you break off at *Changing by thy Holy Spirit*, you leave the Sentence imperfect. *Changing, What? The Bread and Wine. Changing, How? That they may be made to Soberness, &c.* But this is plainly a *Spiritual* or *Intellectual Change*, only as to their *Effects* upon the *Receivers*. And that there may not such a Stress be laid upon the word *Changing* here, it is very remarkable, that as in *Basil's Liturgy* above noted, so in that attributed to *James* and others, there is no, *μεταβαλὼν, Changing*; But the Prayer stands thus continued, *Send down, O Lord, thy very all holy Spirit upon us, and upon these Holy Gifts proposed, that having come upon (us and them) by its holy, and good, and glorious Presence, it may sanctify and make this Bread the Holy Body of thy Christ, and this Cup the precious Blood of thy Christ, (ὥστε γενέσθαι) that it may be to all who partake of them to Remission of Sins, and to Life Eternal, to the Sanctification of Souls and Bodies, &c.* And it is remarkable, that *μεταβαλὼν, changing*, is in no other Greek Liturgy, or in the *Syrian*, or *Egyptian*; which were all framed from the *Greeks*; and therefore we may well suspect that it was not in the Copy of *Chrysostom* which they first made use of. And since it is generally allowed by all, that all the Oriental Liturgies were derived and drawn, or composed from the *Greeks*, or made in Imitation of Them, and since it is confess'd that *Chrysostom's* and *Basil's*

p. 58, 59.
Edit. Moret.
1560. p. 26.

Basil's Liturgies were in the most Antient and Constant Use of the Greek Church; I think we ought most carefully to consider and examine Them; and see how much of the Substantial parts of them are exactly used in the Oriental one. For I never yet observed any of them herein fully to agree with these, or with themselves. So (whether the Orientals were taken from written Copies, or made only or composed from Memory) whether they can in most Passages (of the greatest Concern) be of any sufficient Authority is with me very Questionable. For all Patriarchs and Metropolitans, and other Prime Governours, commonly added and inserted their own Conceits in such Transcripts, either out of some superstitious Customs, or out of some private blind Devotion, or otherwise, as I have elsewhere noted. Therefore, I hope the Reader will in some measure excuse my present Marks and Reflections on these Liturgies as they are in *Goar*; they being merely my own Private Thoughts, and I offer them as only such. T. p. 71.

Note again, the Deacon desires the Priest, *to bless the Holy's*, and the Priest accordingly is said to *Bless them*; How? By desiring God *to change them so as they may be to the Receivers to Soberness of Mind &c.* This Interpretation is most Natural and Familiar; As when we daily say Grace at Meat, *Bless O God, these thy good Creatures to our Use, and us to thy Service, that they may nourish us, and we in the strength of them may serve Thee.* What is the Blessing here desired, but that *gracious Effect* in the Creatures, *that they may nourish &c.*

That to all that receive] As they Pray'd for the *Descent of the Holy Ghost* upon themselves before, so here they Pray for all the Communicants, that the *Holy Gifts* might be so Spiritually Changed, as to work in them *all these good Effects* following. So that all other expositions of this whole Prayer, from the beginning to the end, appears wonderfully forced and unintelligible, whilst this is very obvious and familiar. O. p. 23.
P. p. 23.

To Soberness of Mind] In the *Euchologia* Printed at *Venice*, and in that set out by *Goar* it is, *eis vñ-iv*, *to Soberness or Sobriety of Mind*; But in the Council of *Florence*, it is *eis vi-iv*, *for washing*, that is, *purifying of the Soul*. The vulgar *Greeks* pronounce *η*, and *ε*, alike, and from thence is this Various Reading, though the Sense is much the same.

Rational Service] See Not. B. p. 43. and here the Prayer. Q. p. 23.

For our Forefathers] Here is a Summary naming of all the Holy Persons, and Fathers, and Friends, Living and Dead, whose *Portions* were before assign'd on the Prothesis, *not as a Remedy, or as Prayers for them*, saith *Goar*, *but that God may be Glorified in their name, for the Gifts exhibited to them from Heaven.* But I say it is to express their *Communion* with us, as hath been before hinted, and shall be more largely insisted on in another place. R. p. 23.
p. 143. 140.

The Diptychs] These are two folding Tables, like a pair of playing Tables; (I once saw a very old Pair, three square, perhaps in a Mysterious reference to the Trinity) In one of these Tables are set the Names of the Living, in the other the Names of the Dead; That is, of some most Eminent Persons, as *Chrysostom, Basil, Nazianzen, Athanasius, &c.* amongst the Dead; so the five Patriarchs (The *Pope, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Hierusalem,*) the Emperor and Favourite Princes &c. amongst the Living. Upon Quarrels between the two great Churches, the Popes name was often struck out of the Diptychs, and upon any reunion put in again; It hath been left out ever since *Constantinople* was taken, if not soon after *Joh. Palaeologus* his return from the Council of *Florence*. As for these Tables now, they are quite left off, and not any kept of late date that I ever saw in Churches; so that what names are now remembered, are recited either by heart, or out of the common Catalogues above mention'd; of Quick and Dead. A. p. 24.

Where they behold] Here I suspect a great Blunder; and, to me, no small instance of their jumbling things together indiscreetly or without consideration. B. p. 24.

T. p. 72.
P. 78.

In Goar's Liturgy here, there is a Prayer or Suffrage to be said for every particular Person amongst the Dead, whom the Priest Commemorates by name, and it is thus in the singular number, *for the Rest and Forgiveness of the Soul of thy Servant. N. N. in a lightsome place, from which Grief and Lamentation are absent,* ἡ ἀνάπαυσον αὐτὴν ὑπὲρ ἐπισκοπῆς τοῦ φῶς τῆς προσώπου σου, ἀνάπαυσον αὐτὴν ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, *give it rest O God, and give it (the Soul,) rest where it beholds the Light of thy Countenance.* In this Copy, (and that Printed at

Γ. 11. Δ. 32. Ven. 1672, and several others, as likewise in my two MSS.) the first part of this Suffrage is left out, and this latter part is attackt to the former Prayer as you here have it; where though they have put in, αὐτὴς, *Them*, (referring to *all Saints* before mention'd) instead of αὐτὴν, *it*, (referring to the Soul in the other part, yet they have retain'd, ἐπισκοπῆς, *it Beholds*, and made a false Concord, instead of ἐπισκοπῆσι, *they Behold*. 'Tis true that we find the same in Basil's Liturgy and the MSS. of it, ἀνάπαυσον αὐτὴς ὑπὲρ ἐπισκοπῆς yet still it seems unnatural to me to render it, *where the Light of thy Countenance behold or seeth*; and in my MS. of Chrysostom's Liturgy is in red Letters ἀνάπαυσον αὐτὸν ἔνθα ἐπισκοπῆς and in Basil's Liturgy, in *Latin*, set out by Cochleus, is *refrigera eos ubi visitat lux vultus tui*, and in the Margin for *visitat*, is *visitur*. I confess many amongst their Priests are ignorant enough of the old School Greek, yet I should rather attribute this mistake to their meer carelessness and Inadvertency. I have taken notice above of ἡμῶν and ὑμῶν often promiscuously used; take notice also here of that, which is often used, (especially at the Procession or carrying of the Gospel to the Holy Table) it is in MSS. abbreviated, but in all Printed Copies which I have seen, thus, Σοφία ὀρθοί. *Wisdom, Right*, in the plural Number and masculine Gender. To me (as it seems undoubtedly to have been at first,) σοφία ὀρθή, *Right or true Wisdom*, and so Cabasilas expounds it, out of St. Paul; and so the Copy Printed by Moretius part 2d. yet he allows ὀρθοί Habertus in his Pontifical and Horinus. But since those days, this wrong way of spelling hath prevailed through the vulgar Pronuntiation, (where οἱ, and η, both sound as, ε,) and ὀρθοί have been constantly in their Books. See what stuff Goar brings to explain this reading, though he takes notice of the other; I wonder he did not as wisely justify the old Monkish Mumpsimus instead of Sumptimus; for *Sense or Nonsense*, all must be made Good, as he find it now, whatever it be.

c. 26.
p. 83. 85.
1 Cor. 2. 7. 8.
p. 54.
p. 97.
p. 189. 65.
Vid. 39. 8.
p. 125.
77. p. 128.
88. p. 129. 99.

D. p. 24.

The Arch-Bishop the Metropolitane] See Not. π. p. 33.

G. p. 24.

Intellectual Altar for a smell of Spiritual] From this and many other places, as is said, the whole Service was plainly meant by the first Greeks, as only a *Spiritual Sacrifice of Prayer, Praise and Thanksgiving*. So in the *Prayer of Offering, the Sacrifice of Praise, the Prayer of Sinners, Gifts and Spiritual Sacrifices for Sins*, that there may be brought to his Holy Altar.

Euch. 37. 1. 2.
Goar 63.

So in the *Prayer of Proposition*, as is above noted, *Bless the Proposing, and receive it up to thy Heavenly Altar*. (This is in the very beginning of the whole Service, and the first Prayer of Basil's Liturgy,) these and the like Phrases can never be stretcht to any *Bodily Sacrifice*, neither can it be meant that any such *Bodily Sacrifice* should be literally and *Bodily received, and laid upon the Altar in Heaven*, any more then the *Insense*, but there and here, that the whole *Spiritual Service* should be received as a *Savour or Smell of Spiritual Sweetness*; That is, that all our whole Performance in this solemn Commemoration of Christ's Death and Passion with Prayers, and Praises, and Thanksgivings, and breaking of Holy Bread, might be accepted by God in Heaven, and there Graciously received by Him as a *Spiritual Sacrifice* well pleasing unto Him, this is the *Savour of Spiritual Sweetness*; And therefore in the next Prayer the Table is called, a *Sacred and Spiritual Table*. And though the *Gifts* are not *Sanctified* here, (nor any where else) in Cabasilas and Arcudius's Sense, that is, *Transubstantiated*; yet they are again farther *Blessed*, (as is above said) by being again and again recommended to God's Holy, *Supercelestial, and Intellectual Altar*. And this Cabasilas himself allows upon

p. 15.
p. 16. N.B.

a like

a like occasion. For if they take *this whole Sacrifice*, as I do, in a Spiritual Sense, they may repeat their Prayers for God's acceptance of them *again and again*, and for the continuing of the assistance of the Holy Spirit, by various Petitions throughout the whole Performance; as we *again and again pray for the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ*, though he gave it us as his Legacy before his Death; and the like.

To make Bold] The reason why the *Greeks* in this place use such an humble Preface to the *Lord's Prayer*, I conceive to be this; the *Catechumens* of old, (or such as were not yet Baptized,) were never permitted to use this *Prayer of our Lord*; it seeming a very high Presumption for any to call God *their Father*, before they were adopted by Baptism. And therefore this Prayer was called by *Chrysostom*, and others, *ἐν ᾧ πιστῶν* the *Prayer of Believers*. And according to this Primitive Reverence for it, it is here prayed, *that they may be counted worthy to say it*, and permitted, with humble assurance, to call him *Father without Rebuke*. Yet there is a Phrase in what I have above cited out of *St. Jerom*, which may a little illustrate this expression here. He saith, *Christ taught his Apostles, at the Celebration of the Eucharist, ut Audeant loqui Pater Noster, that they should make bold to say Our Father*. An humble Christian (as *St. Jerom* adds a little after) *pavore tractilitatis humane conscientiam suam formidantis, out of fear of human Frailty, which shrinks at the touch of his Conscience*, might be afraid thus confidently to call God, *Father*; had *Christ* himself thus encouraged him to cry *Abba Father*. And accordingly the Author of this Suffrage perhaps hath made his humble address here only from that account.

For thine is the Kingdom] In the *Greek Church* the *People* always say the *Lord's Prayer*, and only the *Priest* adds, *for thine is the Kingdom &c.* which hath given occasion for many to think, that that *Doxology* was at first no part of the Prayer, but was added some Centuries after out of the *Greek Liturgy*; as it is well known not to be in the vulgar *Latin*, the *Arabick*, *Coptick* Translations, and some very old *Greek Copies*. It is likewise not in many of the first *Latin Fathers*. And *Lucian*, (or the Author of *Philopatri* in him,) seems jestingly to hint that the *Doxology* (which was in his time) was only a *short Ode* or *Verseicle*, which had been added to *Christ's Original Prayer by a latter hand*. If that Dialogue was written (as some think) in *Trajan's* time, then it was used in the second Century; but if it was written, (as seems more probable) in *Constantius* his time, (when such slaughters were made between him, and *Sapores* in the East; and him, and *Magneutius* in the West; when *Sapores* lost 20000 Men at *Nisibis*, and between *Constantius* and *Magneutius* about 50000 on both sides were slain) I say if it was used in his time, the addition must be of later date, in the fourth Century.

Bow'd down their Heads] This expression refers plainly to the words of the Deacon foregoing, where by, *bow your Heads unto the Lord*, is clearly meant to *God the Father*, to whom only this Prayer is made, as appears by what the *Priest* adds to it, *Aloud*; and therefore the next words *have not bow'd to Flesh and Blood*, plainly excludes here *their Worship of*, or *Bowing down to, the Flesh and Blood of Christ* pretended now to lie on the Altar.

Thou who sittest above] This I think a most plain Evidence against *Transubstantiation*, and a further Instance of the latter *Greeks* rashness and inadvertency, who embraced that Doctrine, and yet still retained this Prayer; where the Composers of it manifestly own'd *Christ's Body* to be now in Heaven, and pray'd to Him as *συγκαθήμενος*, sitting there above with the Father, and as here only *Invisibly present*, according to that, *where two or three are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midst of them*; and this invisible Presence is both Pray'd for and expounded only in a Spiritual Sense, *come to Sanctify us, and by thy Powerful Hand make us Partakers of thy Body and Blood*. If they had thought that he was now Bodily on the Altar, they

T. p. 74. would surely have Pray'd to *Him there*, and not as *sitting in his Holy Habitation and on his Glorious Throne* in Heaven.

F. p. 25. *All thy People by us*] For all the *μεγίδες Portions*, which are made for all the People, Present and Absent, Living and Dead, are eaten or received by those then Present; and the rest who are Absent, are hereby thought to communicate with them *vicariously* hereby, of which more fully in another place.

Eucl. p. 75. You have the very same Prayer in *Basil's* Liturgy.

Goar p. 174. *Touching the Holy Bread*] It is here, and all along in what follows, called

G. p. 25. *Bread* still, nay, even where the Deacon and Priest communicate, and what is said to excuse this oversight is meer trifling. And *R. Simons's* distinction, now *ἀπλῶς* *σεδιχηκῶς* not absolutely but relatively will not do. Now, say they, it is *Christ's very Body*, and so it is truly called the *Holy Bread*, not plain *Bread*, but that *Bread* which came down from Heaven. But why should the *Holy Bread* here signify, in a more *Mystical* Sense, quite another thing from what it did, when the Priest at the Prothesis dig'd *Christ's Portion* out of the *Oblation* or Loaf? It is the same individual *Portion* still, and this *Bread* having been *Sanctified*, or *Blessed* by Prayer again and again, is still more properly therefore called *Holy Eucharistical Bread*.

H. p. 25. *The Holy Elevation*) The *Latins* think they have some colour from hence for their *Elevation*; but first their *Elevation* is made of the *Host* and of the

Can. Missa. Cup, just after the words of *Christ* are pronounced, whereas the pretended Greek *Elevation* is made, as here, a very great while after, and but a little before the Deacon and Priest communicate. Next there is no such *Elevation* of the *Bread* made by the Greek Priest over his Head, as is made in the *Latin Church*, but only he takes it up in his Hand before him, as being ready to divide it, as followeth. And it is remarkable that in the Liturgy of

Goar. p. 142. the *Pre-sanctified*, by an express Rubrick, when the Priest is to Elevate
N. B. Eucl. the *Holy Bread*, it is to be covered with the *Aer*, and he only puts in
p. 85. his hand and touches it warily; so that this is far enough from shewing it to the People. I my self have been often an Eye witness of this, being permitted to stand by in the *ἀγιον βῆμα*, *Chancel*, and at their Altars at Holy Fountains, during the whole Service. Next there is no *Elevation* of the Cup at all, amongst the *Greeks*, either any where Mention'd or ever Practised, as it is amongst the *Latins*. Again the Greek Priest takes up only the biggest piece or *Christ's Portion* to break it, as is said, but touch not one of the other *Portions* or Crumbs; yet all these with a bit of *Christ's Portion* are swept together into the Cup for the Lay-mens Communion; now if these Crumbs are *Transubstantiated*, or made *Christ's very Body* as well as they say his *Portion* is, why were they not taken up or Elevated as well as it; if they were not his *Body*, (as several *Greeks*, as abovesaid, hold that they are not Consecrated) how will they know whether the Lay-men partake of the *Body* or no, for they cannot distinguish these many many numerous Mites, from those very few of *Christ's Portion* put into the Cup. Goar himself confesseth that this *Elevation*, or taking

up, is not made so high as that the People may see it; And *Arcudius* says indeed an *Elevation* is made at those words, *Holy things to the Holy*, but the *Eucharist* is not shewn to the People. Therefore if the word *ὑψων*, *Elevation* or lifting up, and this Ceremony and Rubrick were at first here, I fancy it meant no more than to take the *Bread* up to divide it, as is said; but it is more likely that this very word *ὑψων* *Elevation*, and the whole entire passage hath been here craftily imposed upon the *Greeks*, to bring them by degrees nearer and nearer to the *Latins*; for there hath been manifest jumbling in this place, for what you have here in *Goar*, just before the pretended *Elevation*, (And likewise all the People with reverence Adore) and just after it, (the Choir; one Holy, one Lord, *Jesus Christ*, to the Glory of God the Father, Amen.) are not in this *Euchologion* now in use, nor in any Authentick MS. so that all this seem to me to have been foisted in by the unwary Vorarics and heedless Governors of after Ages, and perhaps some of it by some Latinizing

vid. Arcud. p. 181. a.
p. 145. 158.
l. 3. c. 35.
p. 311. a.
p. 81. Ω.

tinizing Greeks; However it was, I cannot but take notice that in *Goar the Adoration* is made before, what is called the Elevation is made; but in the *Latin Church* it is after it. See more afterwards, p. 82. *Goar* acknowledges that no mention is made of this Elevation by the old Expositors of Rites and Ceremonies; and he also confesseth that it doth not appear when the Latins join'd it to their Sacrament; and blames *Durantis* for asserting that it never was separated from it. What he saith of *Germanus* his mentioning something of the Greek Elevation, whereas (as he owns) there is nothing of it in the *Euchologion*, shews plainly that it is a novel Invention of those or later times; and what *Germanus* saith is poor stuff, and nothing to *Goar's* purpose. But he that would see more of this let him consult the Learned *Dallæus*.

T. p. 75.

Ut supra.

*Ερμηνεύς
Morel. p. 177.

De cult. Latin.
l. 3. c. 20. &c.
K. p. 25.

Holy Things] The Gifts are called *Holy*, being *Blessed and Sanctified*, and by Prayer appropriated to this *Holy Use*; therefore they ought to be *Holy* who receive them; according to Christ's command, *give not that which is Holy unto the Dogs*; wicked Men *Eat and Drink their own Condemnation*; *St. Irenæus*, *They are not Sacrifices which Sanctify the Man*, or makes him *Holy*, but it is a pure Conscience which Sanctifies the Sacrifice, that is, makes it acceptable unto God.

Mat. 7. 6.

1 Cor. 11. 29.
l. 4. c. 34.
p. 362.

Crosswise] For this sparkish Ceremony see a very poor account in *Goar*; he hints at, dictum Evangelicum, some saying in the Gospel for it, but I must confess my Ignorance, for I do not remember that I ever read any thing like it there. Yet one thing here I cannot pass by; in the two Figures which he there gives of the Deacon, he hath represented him with the Crown of his Head Shorne after the *Latin* fashion, which I never saw in any place amongst the *Greeks* in my Life in any of their Ecclesiasticks; And lately when the *Metropolitane of Philippopolis* was here with me at Cambridge, with his Priests and Deacons, they all shew'd their bare Heads before us, without the least part Shaved. Anno. 1700. When the Deacon is ordain'd the *Arch-bishop* only makes the sign of the Cross thrice upon his Head, without cutting a Hair; when the *Ἀναγνώστης*, *Lector* or *Reader* indeed is ordain'd, (which is the initiation of his first Ecclesiastical Function,) the *Arch-bishop* clips a very little Hair in the Crown of his Head crosswise, saying, *in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*, giving a little snip at each of the three Persons names; then the Hair is presently clipt quite down by some other into the Form of a very little Cross, but the Hair is never cut there any more but suffer'd to grow; and amongst all the Deacons and Priests that ever I conversed with, I never met with one whose Crown was Shaved, except two who had been brought up at the *Greek College* or *School* in *Rome*, and they had only a little place not bigger than a Groat on the very top of their Crown bare, which they kept so as a badge of Pride, or as a Mark that they had been Travellers, rather than any thing else; and they were not very ready to shew it to every Body; but I never saw any to have such a note in any publick Ministration. For all the *Greek Ecclesiasticks* count it a great Glory to have store of Hair on their Crown, and all about their Ears, as well as on their Beards; and many old Monks, Hermits, and Anchorets, have I seen at *Athos* and elsewhere with their Hair both very thick and very long; yet every one of them entering into their *Novitiate* had a little snipt cross made at first, as is abovesaid, but they ever after suffer'd it to grow.

K. p. 25.

p. 147. 162.

p. 147. and
p. 210.

Into four parts] One of these parts is afterwards put into the Cup, the other three are for the Deacon and Priest, and if any one be left, it is crumbled with the rest and put into the Cup. But if more Priests or Deacons be there, the three pieces are divided amongst them all, as *Arcudius* tells us out of *Sim. Thessalon*. It is remarkable how *Goar* would most shamefully turn the Antient way of breaking Bread at the Sacrament, (of which I have discoursed above) to justify this ridiculous and empty Ceremony of dividing this little Pittance or Portion of Christ. He owns great differences in the Practice of the East and West

M. p. 25.

l. 3. c. 11.
p. 183. a.
p. 147. 163.

- T. p. 76. West concerning this Matter. *The Latins divide their Host into three parts;*
 p. 103. *the Greeks into four, and sometimes only into three, as in one of Goar's Copies.*
Dalla de cult. The Muzarabes into nine. And without doubt the reasons of these last for
 Lat. l. 3. p. 423 their Practice, ought to be admitted as Mysterious and as good, as either the
Latins or the *Greeks* can pretend to for theirs. In *James* his Liturgy they
 seem to have used several *whole Loaves and several Cups*, and thus far they
 came nearer to the Primitive way. And the Priest, (a great while after the
 words of Christ,) *took up a Loaf, and brake it in two, holding one half in*
 p. 34. &c. *the right hand, the other in the left; and dipt that in the right hand in*
 Edit. Morel. *one of the Cups, then with it signed, or crost, that in his left; and then*
with that in his left hand, which was sign'd already, he sign'd the other half;
then he began to divide, and before all other things to put into each Cup a
single part. Then he begins to divide the rest of the Bread and lay the parts
 in several Dishes, as I conclude from what follows, *of the several Deacons*
taking up the Dishes and Cups to give the Communion to the People. This
 giving to the People parts of the Bread out of the Dishes favours also of
 Antiquity; and letting them partake of the Cups, shews their Communion
 then to have been in both kinds. Now I doubt not but the Composers of
 this odd *Signing* part of this Liturgy, found out something to say for their
 Ceremony likewise, *of breaking their Bread, and dipping one half in the*
Cup, and the rest; as indeed Men of superstitious Fancies or quick Inventions,
 if they are once addicted to never so vain and absurd Customs, or Ceremonies,
 or Traditions, may easily continue some deep and wonderfull Mystery in them,
 and exposition of them, as I could bring instances enough and enough out of
 the *Rationalia* of both the *Greek* and *Latin* Services, and out of the interpre-
 ters of the *Alcoran* it self. He that desires to see more of this dividing of the
 T. p. 77. *Greeks* Bread, may read the Learned and Industrious *Dallaus*.
Ut supra. *The Lamb of God*] It is manifest here likewise (as is above said) that there
 Nor. M. p. 75. hath been odd chopping and changing and shuffling several Passages in and out,
 N. p. 25. as *Goar* himself owns; and in a very good MS. of my own, about 500 or
 p. 93. aa. bb. 600 years old, the whole Dialogue between the Priest and Deacon (from the end
 Γ. p. 13. of that Prayer a little before, which conclude with these words, *and all thy*
People by us) stands exactly thus;

Εἶπα θυμία τὴν ἁγίαν τεράπεζαν λέγων,

ὑψώθητι ἐπὶ τὰς ὀρανοὺς ὁ θεός.

Καὶ ὑψοῖ τὸν ἄρτον

λέγει ὁ διάκονος,

Πρόσχωμεν

Ὁ ἱερεὺς,

Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις.

Εἶπα μελίζει τὸν ἄρτον εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη, καὶ ποιῇ σταυρὸν τὸ πον ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ

λέγει ὁ διάκονος,

Πλήρωσον δεσπότα:

Ὁ ἱερεὺς,

Πλήρωμα πνεύματος ἁγίου

Καὶ πίθησι μερίδα εἰς τὸ ἅγιον ποτήριον.

Rubrick. *Then* (the Priest) *Incenses the Holy Table, saying,*

Be thou Exalted, or Elevated, O God, above the Heavens.

And he Elevates, or lifts up, the Bread;

The Deacon saith,

Let us attend.

The Priest,

Holy Things to the Holy.

Then he divides the Bread into four parts, and he makes the sign of
the Cross upon the Dish.

The

The Deacon saith,

Fill, Sir;

The Priest,

The fulness of the Holy Ghost;

And he puts a Portion into the Holy Cup.

T. p. 77.

Here first the *Bread* is called only plain *Bread*; next in both my MSS. *πίστεως*, of *Faith*, is left out in the last versicle of the Priest, and truly to me it seems to disturb the sense (if there be any in it) if it be put in, *the fullness of Faith, of the Holy Ghost*. Lastly here this whole obscure Sentence, *the Lamb of God &c.* is quite left out, as it is also in that in *Goar*, pretended to be a part of *Chrysostom's* own Works. And therefore I think I may justly suspect that it is a spurious Fragment, at some time or other rashly and unadvisedly patcht in. And even in that, there hath been new piecing too, for in *Goar's* Copy is read after *the Lamb of God*, ὁ υἱὸς πατρὸς, *the Son of the Father*, and after, *always eaten but never consumed*, ἀλλὰ τὸς μετῴχοντας ἀγιάζει, *but Sanctifies the Receivers*; which words are not in the Copy which the *Greeks* now use, nor in another MS. of mine (above 400 Years old) where the rest of this Sentence indeed is found. If therefore they who first grafted in this Sentence, meant any thing, it must be taken in a spiritual Sense, for all the World must see that literally it cannot be true. *The Bread* represents *Christ's Mystical Body*, whereof we all are members, separated indeed from one another Bodily, but not separated in Spirit either from one another or from *Christ our Head*; and thus divided and not divided. And true Christians shall thus for ever partake of *Christ's Mystical Body*, which is never consumed but is ever the same and entire, For we being many are one Bread and one Body, for we are all partakers of that one Bread; The Paschal Lamb was indeed divided and consumed, but the *Mystical Body of Christ* (who was the only true *Lamb of God* which taketh away the Sins of the World) is not so.

Many such *Mysterious Raptures* may be met with all in old Authors; *Synesius* is full of them; of God, he saith, *thou art Father, thou art Mother, thou art Male and thou art Female; thou art Voice, and thou art Silence, thou art Father of thy self, without Father, Son of thine own Self. Thou art that which begetteth, and that which is begotten.* The Holy Ghost is *Mother, and Sister, and Daughter*, and the like. Such another dark saying you have here in this Liturgy, *the Lamb of God is divided, but not into separate parts, which in a Spiritual or Mystical Sense, as I have expounded it, may pass, as that in Synesius, Νοεῖν δὲ τοῦ ἀχρῆτον ἐπὶ τὸ μεμεῖσθαι ἔχει.* An Intellectual Section, or notional cutting, keeps still that undivided, which is divided into parts. And thus that saying of an old Father, with some Men goes down very glib. Credendum est quia est incredibile; we must believe it, because it is incredible. The modern *Greeks* surely have either quite forgotten or never understood their old Master *Aristotle*. He tells them that they can never reconcile these, or any such Propositions, ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸ, ὡς τὸ αὐτὸ, ὁσάυτως, ὡς τὸ αὐτὸ χροῖον. According to the very same meaning, or Sense, or Nature; as refer'd to one and the very same Thing, with the very same Respect; After the very same Manner and Circumstances; at the very same Time. Can the very same Individual Thing, be divided and not divided, at the same Time, and in the very same Sense? Can the same Thing entire be eaten by many, and yet in the same Sense not be eaten, separated, or consumed? So in like manner, can the same Thing divide, distribute to many, and receive it self? And be the Divider, Distributer, and the Receiver, according to all these Conditions of the Philosopher? I own indeed that in several Senses and Respects Notionally or Spiritually taken, not only all these Propositions but all those Paradoxes in *Synesius*, and a thousand more such, may be tolerably well accommodated. So those sayings, *Corruption is my Father,*

p. 107.

p. 81.

Δ. p. 36. b.

T. p. 78.

1 Cor. 10. 17.

Hym. 2. v. 93.

h. 3. 146.

v. 191.

h. 4. v. 101.

p. 26. & 27.

h. 4. v. 120.

Περὶ σφιστικῆς ἐλέγχ. 1. 2. c. 5. §. 2.

p. supr. 19. 76.

Job 17. 14. c. 25. 6.

T. p. 78. *ther, and a Worm is my Mother and Sister; Man is a Worm, and the Son*
 Pl. 12. 6. *of Man is a Worm; I am a Worm and not a Man;* are all Right in a figurative, but not in a plain literal Sense.

O. p. 25. *A Portion which lies uppermost*] Here only one of the four little Bits into which *Christ's Portion* is just before divided, is put into the Cup; but in another Copy in *Goar*, λαμβάνει ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος μείδας, the Priest takes *Portions from the Holy Body*, so that they have, by this, sometimes put in more bits then one. However this Practice by no means agrees with what was before cited out of *James* his Liturgy; the Priest there broke a whole Loaf, not a little Pittance. This is the *Union*, or *Commixtion* of the Elements made in the Greek Church, but there is nothing said of it here, as there is in the Latin Mass, of which more above. I have a MS Liturgy of the *presanctified* Things, which is very different from *Goar's*, and all the printed Copies. It begins thus.

ut supra.
 T. p. 31.

Εὐχὴ τῆς προθέσεως ὅταν μέλλῃ ἐκβάλλειν τὸ ἄρτον
 Ἐκ καυθελίῳ.
 Τῷ κυρίῳ διηδεῶμεν.
 Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν· καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις τέτοις ἐνθα σπικεῖται τὰ ἅγια τῶν
 ἁγίων σου μυστηρίων· ὅτι ἡυλόγηται καὶ δεδῶσται.
 Εὐχὴ τῆς ἐνώσεως·
 Τῷ κυρίῳ διηδεῶμεν.
 Ἐνωσις ἡ ἀχράντη σώματος καὶ τοῦ πρὸς αἵματος εἰς φυλακίον τοῖς μεταλαμβάνουσιν
 πίστις ἐξ αὐτοῦ, πάντοτε νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ, καὶ εἰς τὰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Rubrick. *The Prayer of Proposition when (the Priest) is about taking the Bread out of the Cupboard, or Box where it was kept.*

Let us beseech the Lord.

We thank Thee, O Lord, our God, even for this Holy (*thing or place*) where the Holy's of thy Holy Mysteries are set up; for it hath been Blest, and it hath been Glorified.

The Prayer of Union.

Let us beseech the Lord.

The Union of the spotless Body and of the precious Blood, for a Preservative to Those, who with Faith partake of it; always, now, and for ever, and to Ages of Ages. *Amen.*

I have not found this Form any where but in this MS, and in this very place. *Goar* mentions indeed a *Prayer of Proposition*, which is found in some Copies, but it is there expressly forbidden to be used. But this *Prayer of Union* I have not yet met withall elsewhere then here; and I cannot imagine what *Union* it refers to. The *presanctified Breads* are made in Lent every Sunday, (when *Basil's* Liturgy is said) for the five Days following, by dipping the Spoon in the consecrated Wine in the Cup, and then with it touching each Bread crosswise on the Crumbside, where the Cross was before made with the Lance. After this is done, these thus *presanctified Breads* are kept in the ἀρτοφόριον, *Cupboard* or *Box*, till used in the five Days following. Now if this be the *Union* here mention'd, it was made before the *Breads* were laid up; why then is this *Prayer*, or rather Declaration, made now when each Bread is taken out for use? No *Union* can be made afterwards, when a bit of this *presanctified Bread* is put into the Cup of Wine and Water then used; for that Cup is of meer Wine and Water being not consecrated; for when he then pours in Wine and Water into it, he is obliged by the Rubrick to say nothing at all upon it. This is an *Union* of the Bread, with Wine and Water, not with *Christ's Blood*: And how that Wine and Water should by this bit of Bread being cast into it, be afterwards made the Blood of Christ, I cannot see, unless it be by a new invented *Transubstantiation*, which neither *Latins* or *Greeks* have as yet thought of.

p. 191. x.

T. p. 79.

Goar. p. 191.
 N. B.

Pour

Pour (hot Water) crosswise] The *Latins*, at the Council of *Florence*, wondred at the *Greeks* for putting warm Water into the Wine in the Cup, after their Consecration; and well they might. For as *Goar* saith, *there is nothing of it to be found in either the Antient MSS, or in the Antient Authors*; and therefore he concludes it to be *a meer novel Invention*. You may see there, several Authors Explications of this Ceremony, but all of them tend to the Declaration of *Christ's History*, as in the preceding part of the Liturgy; so here, this is to express, *the Water and Blood* which flow'd out of his side warm, as *Germanus* explains it. And *Balsamon* counts it *Herefy* not to put in warm Water into the Wine here, upon that Account. But surely then he could not believe that the cold Water and Wine, in the Cup before, were *Christ's Blood*; if they were *Transubstantiated* before, this hot Water that is put in after Consecration must needs be meer Water still.

T. p. 79.
A. p. 26.
Tom. 13.
p. 524. D.
p. 149. a.
§. 167.

Theor. Moret.
p. 1148.
Jur. Orient.
l. 3. Interrog.
18. p. 287.

T. p. 79. a.

Some of the *Latins* have endeavoured to palliate and excuse this Practice of the *Greeks*, yet most of them in good earnest utterly explode it, for it can never be reconciled to the Doctrine of their great Oracle *Aquinas*, who saith expressly: *Nulla modo debet aqua vino jam consecrato misceri, quia sequeretur Corruptio Sacramenti pro aliqua parte. Water by no means ought to be mixt with the Wine when it is Consecrated, because the Sacrament would in some part be corrupted thereby.* But you may see how that Angelick Spark of a Schoolman was sorely puzzled about this Matter; for in another place before this, he handles the same point *Pro* and *Con*; and gives us as compleat an Instance of the trifling Subtilties of the Schools, as you can find any where else. At last his Conclusion is this: *If another Liquor*, saith he, (suppose first, *fresh Wine*) *be mixt with the consecrated Wine in such a quantity as it may be diffused through the whole Wine*, (as suppose equal parts of that, are put to equal parts of this) *in this Case this mixture is neither the one nor the other, but some third Thing is compounded of both, and therefore the first (consecrated) Wine doth not remain; but if Water was thus mixt, the Species (or Kind) of Wine would be dissolv'd, and the whole Liquor would be another Kind.* Now in this Case I must ask, *what then becomes of the consecrated Wine, or the supposed Blood of Christ?* Would that be dissolved too? He goes on, *But if the Liquor added be of the same Kind, as Wine to Wine, it would indeed remain the same Species, or Kind, (that is, Wine still,) but it would not be the same Numerical, or Individual, Wine; which would appear by the diversity of Accidents, as if Red Wine and White were mixt; it would have another (more diluted) Colour.* Here I demand again, *If the Accidents here plainly distinguish the whole, not to be the same Numerical Wine that it was before, why shall not the Accidents of the Bread remaining in that Element, after Consecration, as manifestly distinguish it from being the true Body, that is, the Flesh and Bones of Christ?* He proceeds, *But if the Liquor added be so little, as it cannot be (perfundi) diffused thorough the whole, the whole Wine will not be permixt, but only some part of it.* I here repeat my first question, *What then becomes of that part that is thus mixt, doth it remain still the same kind of Wine, or Blood, as it was before?* It is plain, according to him, by what there immediately follows, that it is *not the same Numerical Thing*, let the mixture be made *with new Wine or with Water*; and if so it is plain that it cannot be the *Blood of Christ*; for he saith plainly, *That only the Species (or Elements) which remain (eodem numero) numerically the same, are his Body and Blood.* At last he concludes, *That if the Liquor added be so much in quantity, as to be diffused and permixt with the whole Consecrated Wine, it would be Numerically another Thing, and the Blood of Christ would not remain there.* Here I still would know, *what then becomes of the Blood of Christ, which the Consecrated Wine before this mixture (according to him) really was?* Upon my word this is a notable Miracle indeed; the Priest by Consecrating the Wine first *Transubstantiates* it into the Blood of Christ, and

tert. q. 83. 6.
quart.

tert. q. 77. 8. o.

T. p. 79. by pouring in as much or more Water into it then there was Wine, he *Untransubstantiates* it again immediately. He must needs own that so much Water may (by a careless Priest, or otherways) be added as to work this *Untransubstantiation in the whole*; but he takes notice only of it as it may be done *only in part*, by pouring in a little Water, (Cold or Hot after the Greeks way) and, he saith, *That part only is no longer the Blood of Christ which is thus mixt, but all the rest still remain his Blood.* How the poor Greeks will now come off with this Angelical Doctor, and the rest of the *Latins*, or how either the one Party or the other in these Points, will satisfy any unbiassed or unprejudiced *upright Thinker*, I cannot see nor say. He that hath the School-Itch of Wrangling and Disputing, and loves to spend his time only in tying and loosing *Knots in a Bulrush*, may from that one Chapter in *Aristotle* (from whence *Thomas* brings his Instance of mixing *one Drop of Wine with a thousand Buts of Water*) raise more *Phantoms* and *Apish Devils*, in an hour, then all the Wisdom of their Schools would ever be able quietly to lay again; Pardon the Extravagancy of the Figure, I mean so many Physical and Metaphysical intricate Notions and Questions, as would set all such busy Heads together by the Ears for ever: As such as these, *What is true Natural Mixture? what that of the Elements, or other Bodies; whether there can be any Artificial Mixture true; What is Generation and Corruption? How Mixture differs from them; whether there are any Substantial Forms, or purely Immaterial Substances which distinguish the several Species, or Kinds of Bodies; what they are; or whether only insensible Particles of one common Matter can produce these so different Kinds, by only their different Magnitudes, Figures, Positions, outward Applications, and Conjunctions to one another; whether all Matter is the same in it self, and whether every Body is specifically distinguished by only different, juxta positiones, several placings of the insensible Particles of it by one another; whether the smallest parts of Bread, Flesh, and Stone; of Wine and Water, and Blood; of Gold and Lead, and Tin; be all the very same kind of Matter; what is the Substratum, the ground or support of all these Specificall Modifications: These and a thousand more of the like Points must be settled first, or else the School Divine, as well as the Alchymist, ἀεολατῆς, are only building Castles in the Air. These are indeed fine Airy Notions and proper to exercise youthful Brains; but after the School Divines brought them into Religious Matters, To make any thing of any thing, they banish'd all Inquiry after true Devotion and practical Religion out of the World. When such Sophistical Doctors as these, had studiously perplext what was plain Matter of Faith and Practice, to make it *Mysterious and Intricate*; and had dared to dive into, and rashly determine Matters, *supra nos, which were known only to God himself*, Chaucer had some good Reason to say,*

MEN SHOULD NOT KNOW OF GOD'S PRIVICE;

YE BLESSED IS THE LEWD MAN,

THAT NOUGHT BUT HIS BYLEFE CAN;

Deut. 29. 29. For the secret Things belong unto the Lord our God, but those Things which are revealed belong unto us and to our Children for ever, That we may do all the Words of his Law.

B. p. 26.

T. p. 79. c.

Then the Priest say] In what now follows, there is such strange Variety of Readings in all Goar's Copies, and my Printed *Euchologion*, and in both my MSS, as one would think that the *Greeks* have been either abominably careless, or perfect Strangers, and as it were *Schismatics* to one another, in the manner of distributing the Sacrament to the Communicants. I know not any two Copies, which, in it, perfectly agree, as any one may see this truth by comparing them. In some the Priest first takes his *Portion* to Communicate, in others the Deacon; the Form of Words said to the Communicants is almost always different. It would be too tedious a matter to transcribe them all in this

this one part; I shall here only give you a Specimen or two out of my MSS, T. p. 79. which you may at your Leisure compare with the Rest. In my latest MS, Δ. p. 37. just after the hot Water is pour'd in, *They* (the Priest and Deacon) *both worship together thrice; then pray*, "Of thy Mystical Supper, *three times*; Then the Deacon crosseth his Horarion, (which here is done long before,) The Priest making a, μετανοίαν, low Reverence to the Deacon, and asking Pardon, takes a Portion of the Bread and dividing it in two, he keeps one piece in the palm of his right Hand, and holding the other with three Fingers of the same Hand, he softly calls the Deacon, who makes a Reverence and asks Pardon. When he gives him his part he saith, "The precious "and all-holy Body — μετὰ δίδωται is imparted to Deacon N. N. for Remission, &c. The Deacon kissing his Hand goes behind the Table, and bowing his Head, prays, "O Lord, I believe — ὁ κατελθὼν, who comest down from "the Heavens, and hast been incarnated by the Holy Ghost to save Sinners, "whereof I am the Chief; Lord, let not the partaking of the Holy Mysteries, "and the rest of that as here. These two Prayers following in Goar, Κύριε, p. 82, 83. ἔκ ἐμὶ ἄξιός, "O Lord, I am not worthy, &c. are not here. The Priest holding his piece, bows his Head before the Table, and saith the same words, as the Deacon did. The rest is much the same as it is here, only, ἴδε προσέρχου. "See I come to the Immortal King, is not there. Lastly, The Deacon wipes also his Lips, and the brim of the Cup with the Covering and salutes the Priest. Then the Priest say, "Christ in the middle of us, The Deacon, "Both is and shall be. In my other MS, all is much shorter and stands thus; Γ. p. 13. Just after the hot Water is pour'd in, Then, the Priest, takes in the right T. p. 80. Hand a Portion, saying "Thy Holy Body, μετὰ δίδωμι N. N. ἱερεῖ, to N. N. "Priest, having been made partaker, to Remission of Sins, and to Life Eternal. Keep, φυλάξον αὐτό, it (or him) as (κόστω) the Pupil (or Apple) of the Eye. And bowing the Head, he saith, "Of thy Mystical Supper, and the other. "Δέσποτα Φιλάνθρωπε μὴ μοι τὰ ἅγια, "O Master, Thou Lover of Men, let "not these Holy's become for Judgment, or for Condemnation, but for, "κάθαρσιν, καὶ ἁγιασμόν, Purification and Sanctification of Soul and Body; and "for, ἀρράβωνα, an earnest of the Life and Kingdom to come. And standing up he makes a Cross upon his Face with his right Hand, saying, "I believe "and confess, that Thou art Christ the Son of the living God: without Κύριε, "Lord, or the rest in Goar. Then follows immediately, Receive the Body p. 82, 83. of Christ, Taste of the Immortal Fountain. And again he saith, "The "Servant of God, N. N. Priest, or Holy Monk, ἱερομόναχος, receives the "precious, and holy, and spotless Body of our Lord, and God, and Saviour "Jesus Christ. This, I suppose, is the same which he saith, when he gives the Bread to the Deacon, or any other Priest, or Monk. And afterwards he partakes of the Cup, saying, "Θεορρότω, αἵματι κενωθέντι, δέσποτα Χεῖρ, ἔχου "ἀχεῖντες πλευρᾷ καὶ ζωοποιῶ, θυσία μὲν πέπαιλα εἰδελικῇ πᾶσα δὲ γῇ σε δ' αἰνέσειας. "Τὴν θυσίαν ἀναφέρωμεν. "O Master, Christ, by the Heavenly flowing Blood "empty'd out of thy spotless and quickening Side, the Idol Sacrifice, or of "Idols, is ceased. All the World or Earth. Of thy Praise, we bring the Sacrifice. All these last are short hints of other Versicles. Then thus he, ἐνοὶ αὐτὰ, joins or unites them with Attention and Wariness; and he turns to the People holding the Holy Cup. The Deacon saith, "Draw ye near, or come hither; The People. "Blessed is he that cometh. The Priest, "O Lord save thy People, and bless. Then comes the Prayer, Εὐχαριστοῦμεν Goar. p. 84. σοι δέσποτα, "We thank Thee, O Lord, or Master. There are many other here p. 28. little various Readings of Words and Phrases which I omit; yet one thing I must here remark, that in Goar, when the Deacon partakes of the Cup, there p. 83. are expressed, τὸ πῖμεν καὶ ἅγιον σῶμα καὶ αἷμα ἃ Χεῖρ, both the Body and Blood of Christ, though he partook the Body before; so thus he partakes it double: p. 84. vid. hic p. 83. But if the little bit of the Bread thrown into the Cup, made that which was in it both the Body and Blood of Christ to the Deacon, why should it not do

T. p. 80. do so to the Priest? Yet there is no mention of the Body when the Cup is
 p. 93. given to the Deacon, even in some Copies in *Goar*, and in both my MSS, and
 p. 150. 175. some other Copies which I have seen, and *Goar* confesseth the antient way to
 have been otherwise.

C. p. 26. *Makes his low Reverence*] The Greek word is μετάνοια, properly *Repentance*. But because for many Faults amongst the *Greeks* (especially in Monasteries) it is enjoin'd by their Confessors as a piece of *Penance* (upon their seeming *Repentance*) not only to bow, but prostrate themselves flat upon the Ground, before a Picture or otherwise; the word is often taken for *Penance* in general, and frequently for that sort of *Penance* in particular. In some MSS. which I have of monastical Canons, I find two sorts of it, one of bowing with the Hand down to the very Ground, another ἐδαφιαίας μετάνοίας of *prostrating or lying flat upon it*. For some Faults these are enjoin'd to be done Ten, Twenty, nay, a Hundred times together; and truly if the Penitent performs *this Penance* justly, it will be no small Mortification to him. The *Turks* in their Prayers, sometimes Kneel, then bending their Fists with their Thumbs out, and leaning them upon the Ground, they so do kiss it, and then touch it with their Fore-head: And I have seen the same done in the *Armenian Church* at *Brussia*, by the Votaries when they first come in; and I am apt to believe that the Antient *Jews* had some such Practice in the Temple, from that, *O come let us worship and fall down, and kneel before the Lord our Maker*, and I suspect that some such kind of Veneration was meant by the Heathens, touching the Earth upon some frightful Accounts, as in *Plautus Mostellaria*. Now from *this religious Practice*, or *Penance* amongst the *Greeks*, the word is used in common Behaviour, for *bowing*, or *making a low Reverence* with the right Hand on the Breast, as their custom is; and our common Complement, at our Entrance to any great Ecclesiastick, as Patriarch, Metropolitane, Bishop, or the like, is μετάνοια δεσποτά, *Reverence Sir*, as much as to say, *I bow my Body to kiss your Hand, or your Vest*; and I fancy that our Practice of *bowing* to one another, (with our Hands to the very Ground) here in the West, was long ago borrow'd from the East; where of old, as now, they wore long Garments, and the *Clients*, or *Suitors*, there bow'd to kiss the Hem of the Vest or Garment of their Patrons, or other Great Men. But the word in this Place, μετάνοια, signifies no more then *civil Reverence*, or *bowing*, in a familiar way.

D. p. 26. *Asks Pardon*] *Goar* takes notice that every one that Communicates in the
 T. p. 81. Greek Church, says to the rest, that are there, συγχωρεῖτε Χριστιανοὶ Pardon, O
 p. 149. 169. *Christians*, and that they answer again, ὁ Θεὸς συγχωρεῖν σε, *God pardon you*; and so what the Deacon here doth to the Priest (and the Priest to him, as in my MS) is, according to him, in Performance of this Custom. I have always observed indeed the Deacon, when he received, to make a reverent Bow to the Priest, and the Priest to give a grave Nod to him again; and many of the other Lay-Communicants will make a little Bow to the rest, sometimes with more, sometimes with less Respect; and these will return sometimes a little Nod to them. And so when the Deacon receives, kiss the Hand of the Priest, and Priest's kissing (not his Hand but his Cheek, and all Priests (or in Priest's Orders, and above them) kissing both the Patriarch's Hand and Cheek when he celebrates) as their Fashion is, it is all to the same Signification, of *Christian Charity or Spiritual Union*. But I do not remember, that I ever heard any thing of this said aloud amongst them, though that it hath been practised sometimes by them is clear by one of *Goar's* Copies; and I believe that mutual Forgiveness, or *Christian Love*, may be the meaning of this mutual Respect, and they may have the Sense of these words in their Minds too, or softly speak them; as many amongst us, after these Words, *The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for Thee*, &c. will say, (some in their Minds, some softly out) *Amen*. But if any of the *Greeks* say any thing, it must not be in *Goar's* words, but in *Vulgar Greek*; as it is a usual thing amongst them, when
 a Man

a Man in Company says, or does any odd or extravagant Thing, for him to say, *ὦ μοὶ συγχωρήσεις* (if to one) or, *ὦ συγχωρήσῃτε* if to many, which they pronounce, *Na me Sinchorefete*) *Pardon me*; and the answer is, *ὦ σοὶ* (or for more respect) *ὦ σὰς, συγχωρήσον ὁ Θεός* (*na se, or na sas, Synchorefese o Theos*) may God pardon you; as we say amongst us on the like Occasion, *Pardon me, Sir, and God forgive you*. But now at a *πᾶνυγος*, general Assembly at a Holy Fountain, or some Holy Place in the Fields, where Hundreds of People meet; I never saw any thing of this; and many times only one Priest performs the whole Solemnity, and when the People receive the *Ἀντιδωρον*, the Vicarious Communion, they bow to the Priest, and kiss his Hand and put it to their Forehead, without saying one word.

T. p. 81.

Takes the Holy Bread] First it is called Bread still. Next the Deacons and Priests, and all higher Ecclesiastical Orders take the Bread from the Hands of him that celebrates, The Holy Bread at the Eucharist was of old taken in the hand by the Communicant, and not put into his Mouth by the Priest, as the *Latins* Custom now is, as *Habertus* shews at large; yet I believe this peculiar way of the *Greeks*, as well as that of the *Latins*, are of novel Invention, there was no such Custom then of giving it in a Spoon; and no *Margaritæ* into the hollow of their right Hand, with the left Hand lying crosswise under it; and then shutting the right Hand they go behind the Holy Table; and with these Suffrages following "O Lord I Believe and Confess &c. said privately there to themselves, they there eat it; and he that celebrates, bowing at the Table says the same Suffrage, and then Eat his part there.

F. p. 26.

p. 86. c.
Archieratic.
p. 218. 264.
Ut conc. in
Trullo. r. 6.
p. 1186. a.
p. 82.
Vid. p. 86. c.

Ad finem.

O Lord I Believe] These are the beginnings only of the Suffrages; you have the first two entire in *Goar*, the third is not there.

G. p. 26.

Three times] Saying (as I have often observed being present) the Precious and All-holy Blood, leaving out *Body*, which is used in the Form to the Deacon, as I have above noted) of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ is imparted to me, N.N. Priest, for the Remission of my Sins and for Eternal Life; In the name of the Father (here he takes one little Sup (and of the Son (here he takes another) and of the Holy Ghost, here he takes a third. And the Deacon and all the higher Orders, who receive the Wine out of the Cup, Sups thrice also at the same words; which here to the Deacon are left out, but the three sups are always used.

H. p. 26.

Wiping his own Lips] Here, and in what follows, is such an Evidence that the first Composers of this Liturgy, (or at least of this part of it) thought nothing of Transubstantiation, as no reasonable Man can desire a greater. If they had thought this Liquor had been the very, true, real Blood of Christ, would they have let the clout or Covering have sucked up any of it? If the least drop of Christ's Blood, as some tell us, was alone a sufficient Ransom for a Thousand Worlds, would they have been so Prodigal of it as to let so contemptible a Creature, as a poor piece of Cloath, partake so freely of it, as it must needs do, by wiping the Priests, the Deacons, all the Communicants Lips (for all they wipe too) and the brim of the Cup, where the Ecclesiastics all Drink. Both *Greeks* and *Latins* preserve a musty Rag, or bit of filthy Cloath, or any other vile Thing, in Memory of this or that Saint, or this or that use which they made of it; then surely the Covering, Sopt and Stain'd with the very fresh Blood of Christ, should never be sent to washing, but be kept, and valued by every one that can catch one, as the truest and most valuable Relicks in the World, *Goar* tells us that *Cyril of Hierusalem* advised his Communicants to touch their Eyes with the Holy Bread, and to wet their Eyes and Forehead, and all the Organs of their Senses, with the Wine or Liquor which stuck to their Lips. If in his time they took the Bread and Wine for Christ's very Body and Blood, methinks they made very bold with it.

I. p. 26.

T. p. 81.

p. 150. 173.

Vid. infra
Not. r.

See I come] This is not in my MSS. as is above noted.

K. p. 26.

The Precious Blood] Here is only the Blood mention'd, not the Body with it.

L. p. 26.

Over

T. p. 82.
M. p. 26.

Over the Holy Cup] All the *μερίδες*, *Portions*, are crumbled into Dust or very small Mites upon the Dish, and then by the Deacon, or by the Priest (if he Celebrates alone) they are swept into the Cup with the Sponge; These little Mites thus put into the Cup, are now called, *μαργαρίται*, *Jewels*, and only one or two of these being taken out with a Spoon for every one of the Laymen, is all that he partakes of *the Bread* in the Sacrament, according to them. So that in this point, there is this difference between the *Greeks* and the *Latins* suitable to the *Genius* of their Country; These make for their Laymen a sober feast, a *little Wafer and no Drink*, those a merry Treat, *something to Drink but nothing to Eat*.

N. p. 26.
T. p. 151. 177.

L. 3. c. 60.

Vid. supra.
Not.

Theophan. in
Heract. an. 20.
Baron. 869.
§. 39. conc.
Tom. 8. p. 332.
c. Belwz. in
Agobard. p.
129.

A. p. 27.

With the Holy Sponge] Goar calls this Custom *Profane*, and vehemently inveighs against it, as well he might upon his Principles. For if every the least Particle be, as according to him, *an entire Christ*, the vile Sponge must needs partake of more of them than any five Laymen do. *Arcudius* is also very severe in condemning this Practice, and Instances in several other *Indecencies*. The Priests after they have eaten *the bit of Bread*, which they held before in their hand, often rub that hand upon their Head, and *there is no doubt*, saith he, *that oftentimes several, micæ, little Particles will stick and rest there*. Next after they have drank they are not afraid (N.B.) to wipe their Mouths with their Hand or with a Clout, as if they had drank only common Wine; and their Mystaces and Beards, be sure, have a good share of this Holy Liquor; and sometimes the tears of it drissel down upon their Cloaths or fall to the ground. What must Goar and others think of some of their Popes and others who have Profanely used the Consecrated Wine instead of common Ink; and what did they themselves think then of it? Surely all this sufficiently argues that the first Inventors of this Usage could never think that *Christ's very Body and Blood*, that is, *entire Christ*, was in every drop and particle, but that they received only *true Bread and Wine*.

B. p. 27.

T. p. 83.

p. 93. p. p.

C. p. 27.

Mary Mother of God] The Greek Church pays much greater respect and Devotion to the Virgin *Mary* then they do to *Christ*, as shall be shewn more fully in another place.

Then they open the Door] The Door into the *ἄγιον βῆμα*, *Chancel* is all this while shut. It is commonly a Hatch-door with a Curtain over it, and all is so high as the People in the Choir and the Church, can neither hear one word (unless when some scrap is spoken very loud) nor see what the Priest and Deacon do at the Table; and therefore they are nothing edified by all that long Scene at the Consecration. And I am fully perswaded, that besides what is already said of the *ὑψωσις*, *pretended Elevation*, this passage alone in this Rubrick must needs convince any sincere Man, that the (*ὑψωσις*) *lifting up of the Bread*, (be it what it will) could not be meant or intended to that end, ostendere populo, *to shew it to the People*, as the *Latins* do. And what follows, *that the Deacon comes to the Chancel door and shews the Cup to the People*, makes nothing to this notion of *Elevation*, for it is only to invite the People to the Communion, (who are only to receive out of the Cup) as is clear by the words which he speaks, immediately following; and upon that invitation, *if any one offers himself to communicate, the Priest takes the Cup out of the Deacons hands, and administers their Sacrament to him*; as you will see by an old Rubrick in *Goar*.

Draw near] After this Invitation here, when the People come to communicate, the Priest stands at the Door of the Chancel holding the Cup in his left hand, and with it one corner of the square Cloath that before covered it; the Person, who Communicates, takes the opposite corner of it and puts it under his chin; then the Priest with a Spoon takes up one or more of the (*μαργαρίται*) *Crumbs* of the Bread which are mixt in the Cup, and a little Wine with them, and puts this little Spoonful into the Communicants Mouth at thrice, saying, *μεταλαμβάνει ὁ δούλος (or ἡδούλε) τῷ Θεῷ N.N. τὸ πῶμα καὶ ἅγιον σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ σωτῇ ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χριστῷ εἰς ἄφραστον ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτοῦ (or αὐτῆς) καὶ εἰς*

eis ζών ἀιώνιον, εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τῆ πατρὸς (1) καὶ τῆ υἱοῦ (2) καὶ τῆ ἁγίου πνεύματος. T. p. 83.
The servant of God (He or She) N.N. partakes of the Precious and Holy Body and Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the Remission of His (or Her) Sins, and to Eternal Life, In the name of the Father (once) and of the Son (twice) and of the Holy Ghost (thrice.) Unless it be in great or rich Churches, I seldom saw such a Spoon as *Goar* hath Pictured; in poor Country Villages they many times use plain Spoons, or wooden Spoons made at mount *Athos*, or the like. Here in this Form to the Layety they always put, such a one *partakes of the Body and Blood*, and hence I fancy they blunder in the Form to the Deacon, (as above) where *Goar* puts in *both Body and Blood*, that Copy which I here Translate, and many others, put in only *Blood*. But if the Laymen by receiving out of the Cup partake of Both, then the Priests and Deacons must do so too; for though the (μαργαρίται) *Pearls* or Mites are swept into the Cup, after the Priest and Deacons have received, yet a piece of *Christ's Portion* (which according to the novel Doctrine is his *very Body*) is put in long before they partake of the Cup, and that according to them must make what is in the Cup *both Body and Blood*. And truly if the *School-mens Chimera* of *Concomitancy* will pass, both the *Greeks* and *Latins* should say for both the Bread and the Wine, *the Body and Blood of Christ*, for by their *Concomitancy* they are both *under the Bread*, and both together in the Cup. And here I cannot but again profess my self astonished, when I consider how the plain Institution of Christ, and the old, serious, Apostolical way of *breaking whole Loaves of Bread, and Drinking of Wine diluted with Water together, in a solemn Remembrance of Christ's Passion* (of which I have above given a short, and, as I think, a fair account,) have been thus wretchedly depraved by the wild and extravagant Fancies of Superstitious Men, and by degrees turn'd into a meer trifling and unintelligible Mystery, and at last made such a Miserable empty piece of Monkish Pageantry, as it does hardly come up to so much as a Shadow of the *true, Christian, Primitive Communion*. Instead of taking a Fragment or Morfel of Bread in your own Hands, and putting it into your own Mouths, and drinking with your Christian Brethren out of the same Cup, as all the first Christians did, at this Sacred Feast, both *Latins* and *Greeks* now feed you like *meer Babes*, and as such would make you believe what no *perfect Man* can ever conceive, our Forefathers ever dream'd of.

Save thy People] This is only the beginning of a Prayer which you have intire in the (Ὁρθρῶν) *Matins*. They are accusom'd to get several Prayers and Versicles and Responses by heart, so that the beginning alone suffices to direct them when they are to be said; the *Pater Noster*, is put for the *Lord's Prayer*. D. p. 27. Euchol. p. 25. Goar. 53.

Be thou Exalted] As they have all along, in the other parts of the Liturgy, endeavour'd to *Typify* or represent Christ's *Oeconomy*, or the story of several of his Actions; so here to signify his Ascension into Heaven, the *Patine* or Dish, and the *Chalice*, are carried in to the *Prothesis*; and the Priest to express it saith this verse. As *Goar* rightly explains it out of *Sim. Thessalon.* and *Germanus*. E. p. 27. p. 153. 182.

Rightly (or right up)] *Goar* expounds it out of St. *Germanus*, with a *right and elevated Mind*, that is, *uprightly*, which is very good, if it had been ὀρθῶς *rightly*; But I chuse to add, *right up*, (ὀρθοὶ μεταλαβόντες, *erecti percipientes, receiving erect or right up*;) because all the *Greeks* *Communi- cate standing*. But I leave it to the choice of the Reader to take what Sense he pleaseth to put upon it. F. p. 27. 154. 186.

The Pulpit] In former times the Pulpit, perhaps as moveable, was placed, or stood fixt in the *Area* of the *Nave* of the Church towards the lower end, as it is set in the King's Chappel with us at *Whitehall*. But now it is a rare thing to see any Pulpit in their Churches fixt, and then it is (as that in the Patriarchs Church now is) placed aloft on the North side of the Nave near P. Tab. 1. p. 14. they

T. p. 84. they ascend now into it by stairs contrived in that wall, or wrought between the Pillars there. This Prayer of old was said in the Body of the Church below the Pulpit, but now thereabouts in the middle of the People; yet it is oftner omitted especially in ordinary Churches.

H. p. 27. *Host fulfilled*] It signifies his ending his whole Oeconomy on Earth, and by his entrance into the Prothesis, *his Ascension* into Heaven.

I. p. 27. *Lays up the Holy Things*] There is a peculiar Rubrick in *Goar* that the

p. 86.

r. p. 14. b.

Deacon, or in his absence the Priest, being now at the *Prothesis*, should receive what is left in the Cup. In one of my MSS. there is a remarkable Rubrick and Prayer here in this place, which, because I shall refer to it afterwards, I shall here give you. Καὶ διπλάσας τὸν ἄερα λέγει, τῷ ἀχράντῳ σώματι καὶ τῷ τιμίῳ αἵματι μυστικῶς ἀξιώθης γενέσθαι συμμετόχου, εὐχαριστῶ, ἐνλογῶ, προσκυνῶ, δοξάζω, καὶ μεγαλύνω τὰς σωτηρίας σου νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τὰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. *And folding the Aer, or Covering, he saith, "That thou hast Mystically condescended*

" to be a Joint-partaker of the spotless Body and the Precious Blood, I thank,

" I set forth in Hymns, I Bless, I Adore, I Glorify, and I Magnify thy Salvations,

" now and ever and to Ages of Ages, Amen. I think this Suffrage or Ejaculation

is undeniably made to Jesus Christ himself, and as so, though I confess I never

met with ἀξιῶμαι in the passive Form, taken in an active Sense, yet I have ren-

dred ἀξιώθης γενέσθαι hast condescended or mayst condescend, that is, hast vouch-

safed or mayst Vouchsafe; for positively interpreted it would be blasphemy, as

well as Nonsense, hast been or mayst be counted worthy, to be partakers

with us, I thank &c. thy Salvations.

A. p. 28.

The Priest going out] He stands usually at the door of the Prothesis, or by the fair door. But at *Fanar* I have seen the *Antidorum* carried upon a large Dish to the Patriarchs, when present, who, standing on the steps going up to his Throne, distributed it to the People. But whether the Patriarch, Metropolit, Bishop, or Priest distributes the *Antidorum* the People always kiss his Hand and put it to their Forehead, as is said, and so receiving the Bread into the hollow of their Hands they go away and eat it, or preserve it by them, as a *Phylactery*, or upon occasion as a *Viaticum*.

B. p. 28.

p. 14, 15, 16.

T. p. 85.

The Antidorum] You will find in the preparation of the Elements at the Prothesis five *Oblations* or *Seals*, that is, Loaves, mention'd to be made use of there, and in a full Congregation, or at a great Festival there are at least so many offered or used. 1st. for *Christ's Portion*. 2^d. for the Portion of the Virgin Mary, and the Saints. 3^d. of the Orthodox Bishops and for the Living. 4th. for the Founder of the Monastery or Church, the Arch-Bishop, and the Dead. 5th. by the Deacon, for his Friends Living and Dead. When all these *Portions* are taken out of these Loaves the remainder of them is cut into pieces, some bigger, some lesser, for the *Antidorum*, which the vulgar *Greeks* pronounce *Anditheron*. But sometimes all these Portions (as is said) are taken out of one and the same Loaf. *Sim. Thessalon.* (as quoted by *Arcudius*) tells us, that the residue of the Loaf out of which *Christ's Portion* is taken, is called the first *Antidorum*, and the remainder of that, out of which the *V. Mary's Portion* is taken, is called the second, and that none of the residue of the other Loaves are called the *Antidorum*. But the Custom is now altered, for I am sure that upon occasion those remainders also are cut in pieces, and all laid promiscuously together upon the same Platter; for I have seen many many hundred pieces heap'd up all together at great Assemblies for all the People to receive, and it is impossible that the remainder of only two of their Loaves (one for Christ the other for the Virgin Mary) should make a quarter of them. Therefore the *Antidorum* may be made of the residue of all these Loaves, nay, and all the rest of the Loaves (or as many as are sufficient) which are offered, may be so divided too; as the, ἐνλογία, panis benedictus, *Holy Bread* after the Communion was made and distributed, de oblationibus quæ afferuntur a populo & Consecrationi superfluant, out of all the Offerings which were brought by the People, and were more then were spent

Goar p. 154.

150.

at

at the Communion. These εὐλογίαι, *Blessed Breads*, were without doubt first design'd and used for those who were not then prepared or disposed to receive the Sacrament, and were lookt upon as a *Vicarious* or *Supplemental* Communion; from thence came the name in *Greek Antidorum*, ἀντὶ τοῦ δώρου *instead of the Gift, or Sacrament*. Goar gives us many opinions how this Antidorum should be made or counted *Holy or Blessed*, as, by the common Prayers in general said at the Prothesis and afterwards; Because Christ and the Virgin Mary's Portions were taken out of it; Because it had touched the Holy Things; Because it was present at the whole Liturgy; But the most pleasant is this Mystical one, because that Antidorum which is made of the residue of that Loaf, whence Christ's Portion is taken, represents the Holy Body of the V. Mary, out of which Christ's Body was taken; and then again, Christ's Portion being afterwards particularly Consecrated, without doubt reverberates a high Blessing to the remaining Mass whence it was taken. But now when the Portion of the V. Mary her self, and the others of all the Saints, are taken (as it often happens) out of one and the same Loaf, this, as it must needs spoil this last conceit, so it strangely improves the other notion above of a first and second Antidorum; for the remainder of this one Loaf, whence all these Portions are taken, must needs be, Sanctum Sanctorum, Holy of Holy's. The only plain reason, to me, why this remaining Bread may be called Holy, is this, Because all the Loaves which were offered, were dedicated or set apart and so Sanctified to this use, and to that very purpose were all Sealed alike with the same impression, and therefore Holy as all other things Dedicated to God's Service are; and accordingly they are all along called, ἅγια, ἅγια δῶρα, θεῖα δῶρα, *Holy Things, Holy Gifts, Divine Gifts*, before they are any ways farther Consecrated by a more solemn Form, as is above said. The present Greeks oftentimes keep the Antidorum for several superstitious uses, counting it a Remedy for many Diseases, and a wonderfull Amulet or Preservative against all Mischiefs, either Spiritual or Bodily. The εὐλογίαι Blessed or Holy Breads, (which were used to the same end as these parts,) cut off from the offered Loaves, after the Portions are taken out, (now are in the Antidorum) were of old Blessed by a set Form of Prayer, which you have in *Hincmarus Capitula*; in which Prayer amongst others are these Words, Ut fit, omnibus cum fide & reverentiâ ac gratiarum actione sumentibus, Salus mentis & corporis, atque contra omnes morbos & universas inimicorum insidias tutamentum, that it (or they) may be to all who with Faith and Reverence and Thanksgiving receive (them or it) a Preservative against all Diseases and all Treacherous designs of Enemies. This was enough to warrant them for Phylacteries or Preservatives. There is no such Prayer used now by the Greeks for the Antidorum, yet it is still lookt upon and used by most, especially of the Layety, as such a Defence. And they have the same superstitious Reverence and Value for the five Loaves in the (λυχνικῶν, or ἐσπερινῶν) Vespers; and this Custom is recommended by publick approbation; for in the end of that Office you have this express Rubrick. Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ὁ εὐλογηθεὶς ἄρτος, ἐστὶν ἀληξιτήριον παντοίων κακῶν, εἰ μετὰ πίστεως λαμβάνοιτο. *You must know that this Blessed Bread, if taken with Faith, is a remedy for all manner of Evils*; and in some Copies mention'd by Goar there is this addition, πάντοις πυρετοῖς, πινόμενῳ μετὰ ὕδατος φρίκην διώκει, καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν ἰάται· πρὸς δὲ τοῖς καὶ σήτας ἀπὸ τῶν γεννημάτων ἀπελαύνει. *It abates Feavers, and drank with Water it drives away the shaking fit, and cures any distemper. And moreover it drives away all little creeping Vermin, (Pismires, Moths, Bugs or the like,) from the Buds or young Sprouts of Vines or other Plants. And thus they will anoint their sore Eyes and sore Limbs with the Oyl of their Lamps, which are set before the Pictures of some peculiar Saints. There have been many such Superstitious and Prophane uses every where made of the Eucharistical Bread it self, as numerous Stories testify upon record; and that is made one Argument by the Latins, for their putting the Wafer into the Mouth*

T. p. 86. of the Communicants. And to avoid such wicked Practices, which remain'd a while (as the dregs of Popery) at the first beginning of the Reformation, the Bread was likewise order'd, in *Edward* the sixth Common Prayer Book, to be put by the Priest into the receivers Mouth; But since by the Grace of God and the Light of the Gospel now more clearly shining amongst us, all old Wives and Monkish or Knavish Charms, and Amulets and such vile tricks of that nature, are vanished; that Rubrick of *Edward* the sixth is taken away, and the Eucharistical Bread is delivered by the Priest into the hand of the Communicant, and is all openly and entirely there eaten. When the *Ευλογία*, panes benedicti, the *Blessed Breads*, and this *Antidoron* were first brought into practice (as is above mention'd,) I will not take upon me to determine; some setting this matter very high, others as low. But I think none will dare to assert, that, as the *Greeks* now manage it, it is either Apostolical or truly Primitive. The Eucharistical Bread (which is often in antient Authors it self called *Ευλογία* the *Blessing*) was indeed in those days broken or divided, and distributed (or every one took a part) in the Congregation, as now the *Antidoron* is; and this only I take to have been the very way of the Primitive Communion. How all the other stuff come to be added by the *Greeks*, I shall by and by freely give you my thoughts.

T. p. 87.
C. p. 28.
p. 41.
p. 5. & p. 7.
p. 46. not. l. m.

Lord have Mercy 12 times] It is very amazing to think how often this ejaculation is repeated together in the *Greek* offices. In *Goar's* Edition it is at the *Vesper* to be said by the Chorus forty times together, or sung so often; and he vouches old Copies for the same, and say they repeat this again there no less than thirty times together. But as to this matter they do not all observe in all places the same number; for in the same office I have heard some Priests repeat it, 20, others 30, some 40, nay 50 times together. They ran the words over as fast as ever they could; and counting their numbers by bending down and then lifting up the Fingers of one of their Hands, they stopt a little at the end of every tenth repetition, and rested a little upon the last Syllable, *ἐλέησον* all the rest being hurried over in an equal measure. This Ejaculation or short Prayer was used by the Heathens in their Auguries or Divinations, as we find in *Arrian's Epictetus*; and it is likely the Christian converts continued the use of it to the true God, as they retain'd many other Laudable and Good things, not casting off all their former Customs without any distinctions. And the very Greek words were made Latin amongst the Western Christians, as you may find them in old *Missals* thus, *Kyrie Eleyson*, in the new, *Eleison*; and in the present order of the Mass they are repeated thrice, *Kyrie Eleison*, K. E. K. E. then *Christe Eleison*. C. E. C. E. then again *Kyrie Eleison*. K. E. K. E. Perhaps *Gregory*, who first brought them into the *Latin* Service, thought these *Greek* words more Efficacious; for surely they could not be so intelligible to the People as plain, *Domine Miserere*, (*Lord have Mercy*;) and it may be from hence that we find them in Charms and Amulets, as is above noted of the *Trisagion*. The *Turks* have such like repetitions in their Prayers, of *Sabanallah* and *Alhemdillilah* which are said 30, or 40 times together, which they number with their Beads; and they might borrow, or continue, that, as an antient Custom of some Eastern *Heathen* Nation; as it is likely amongst the *Heathen Greeks* this *κύριε ἐλέησον*, *Lord have Mercy*, might have been on several occasions, repeated also many many times together; and it is likely that Christ alludes in the Gospel to these, or some other such like, *βασιλογία*, vain Repetition of the same words, *κύριε ἐλέησον* *Lord have Mercy*, without all dispute, put up to the Great and only *True God*, with an understanding, Devout and penitent Heart, is a most admirable and most acceptable Address; and therefore our pious Reformers retain'd it; and surely he that shall not cursorily or sleightly (as the *Greeks* and *Latins*) but leisurely and solemnly and affectionately join with the Congregation in the twice repeating these most humble words, as they are appointed in our Liturgy, *Lord have Mercy upon Us*, must needs find that warmth and comfort in his Mind, as not to count them, a vain or babling

l. 2. c. 7.

Edit. ut supr.
p. 252.

Platina in Sixto
I°.

p. 19.

Mat. 6. 7.

babbling Repetition (as some rashly or maliciously have done) more than *T* p. 87: that *Have mercy upon us, O Lord, have mercy upon us; or For his mercy* Pf. 123. 3. *endureth for ever.* And we find that Christ *had compassion* on the two blind *Pf. 136.* Men in the Gospel, who persisted in the earnest Repetition of these very words (*have Mercy on us, O Lord,*) and would not give over though a *Mat. 20. 30.* whole Multitude rebuked them. *&c.*

C H A P. IV.

My conjecture how these μερίδες, Portions, were brought in by the Greeks, at the celebration of their Eucharist.

IT doth appear by what hath been said, that the primitive Communion was performed by solemn breaking of Bread, and distributing of it to all the People, (as the *Greeks* now divide and distribute what they call the *Antidorum*) and by their drinking out of the same Cup. How that plain familiar way of its first Administration came to be turn'd into the present *Greeks* practice of Consecrating and Partaking of only a few *little bits and mites of Bread*, and of giving to the Laity only *a little spoonful of Wine*, hath made me often very much wonder, and consider with my self how this strange Custom should come to pass, and the result of my own thoughts (for I humbly offer it only as such, is thus.

First, I find the Eucharistical Sacrifices of both *Jews* and *Gentiles* were lookt upon by them both, as Communions with God and with one another as many as did partake of them. It is plain in the (שְׁלָמִים *Shelamim*) *Peace offering* of the *Jews*, that part was Gods, part for the Priests, part for the People who offer'd, and the rest who were invited or therein concern'd; and this to express a Communion between God, the Priest, and the People. It is easy to give numerous instances of the like Communion in the Heathen Sacrifices, where each of these also had his *Portion*; but I shall here only mention, that made by the *Israelites* in imitation of the *Aegyptian* Sacrifice to *Apis*. *Exod. 32.* The People rejoyced before the Golden Calf, and *after their offerings were* 4. 5. 6. *made to it, they sat down to Eat and Drink*; and so partake of those Idol Sacrifices, as *St. Paul* himself explains it. And he shews more particularly the *1 Cor. 10. 7.* Communion of Christians, as well as of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, to be made by the like participation of the offerings. Thus for the *Jews*, *Behold Israel after the Flesh*; *v. 18.* *are not they which eat of the Sacrifices partakers of the Altar*; The Altar is called *the Table of God*, so that he which partakes of what is offer'd upon it, Eats and Communicates with God whose Table it is. *Mat. 1. 7. 12.* Then for the *Gentiles*, he saith that *they Sacrificed to Devils and not to God*, *1 Cor. 10.* and they that did partake of their Sacrifices, were *κοινωνοί, Communicants with* 20. 21. *them*, and partakers of *the same Table*. Then for the Christian Communion he saith, *the Cup of Blessing which we Bless*, (alluding to the *Cup of Blessing* used by the *Jews* at their Paschal supper, of which is treated before,) *v. 16, 17.* *is it not the Communion of the Blood of Christ? The Bread which we break* p. 5. 6. 7. *is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ? For we being many are one Bread, for we are all partakers of that one Bread.* Thus then Christians by solemn breaking and eating of *Bread*, and drinking of *Wine*, in Remembrance of Christ's *Body and Blood*, according to his own Institution, are made Partakers of *this Eucharistical Table*, and thereby united to Christ's *Mystical Body*, and made members of the Christian Church and Communion; as the *Jews* were made partakers of *the Table of the true God*, and the *Gentiles* of *the Table of Devils*, by eating and drinking after their respective ways prescribed or used in their Sacrifices.

Next I find this very word, *μερίδες, Portions*, used both by Sacred and Prophane Authors; for these *Portions* which every one did eat at their Sacrifices. So the Septuagint, after God's part of the meat Offering is burnt upon the Altar, *Levit. 6. 17.*

T. p. 89. call the remainder, *μερίδα*, the *Portion* of Aaron and his Sons. And I suppose
 Levit. 6. 17. every one of them had out of the peculiar *Portion* likewise appointed to them;
 1 Sam. 1. 4, 5. as I find *Elkanah* distributed to his Sons and Daughters and Wives accord-
 2 Sam. 6. 17. ing to his good Pleasure, *μερίδας*, *Portions* out of the remainder of his Sacrifice
 18. 19. in *Shiloh*: And thus did *David* at the setting of the Ark; after he had Sa-
 1 Chron. 16. 2. crificed, *διεμέρισε*, he gave *Portions* to every one of the People. So *Agessi-*
 In *Agessilaus*. *laus* in *Plutarch* pretending that *Pisander* had gotten a Victory, made a mock
 p. 605. c. Sacrifice and sent, *μερίδας*, *Portions* of what was Sacrificed to his Friends.
 That is, that they might (as it were Communicate, or) partake of his *Eucha-*
 rist or publick Thanksgiving. And the same word, *μερίδες*, *Portions*, is used
 Gen. 43. 34. for every ones Part at Feasts or Entertainments. So *Joseph* entertaining his
 brethren, order'd *μερίδας*, *Portions*, or as we render it, *Messes* for every one
 of them, and *Benjamin* his *μερίς*, *Mess* or *Portion* was five times bigger then
 Esth. 9. 19, 22. the rest. So at the Feast of *Purim*, every one sent, *μερίδας*, *Messes* or *Por-*
 Eccles. 11. 2. tions to his neighbour. And in the same Sense the Preacher commends Chari-
 ty, give, *μερίδα*, a *Portion* (thy Dole as we say) to Seven and also to Eight.
 1. 4. p. 130. d. So at *Caranus* his Supper in *Athenaus*, the guest, *πλεστον αντι μερίδων ευχαριστη-*
 πς, were treated with *Wealth*, or rich Gifts and presents, instead of *Portions*
 or *Messes* of Meat. And we have in him, *μείρας κρέων & ἀρτίουκας*, piece of
 p. 138, 139. *Flesh* and little Loaves of Bread, and other things distributed to every par-
 ticular guest in the *Lacedæmonian* suppers (*Copis* and *Æclon*,) which exprest
 what these *μερίδες*, *Portions* sometimes were; and we meet with the same old
 Custom mention'd by him elsewhere. In *Plutarch* the word is apply'd both
 1. 14. p. 640. c. to Sacrifices and Feasts; upon an Argument whether it was better that every
 Sympos. 1. 2. one at an Entertainment should have his peculiar *Portion*, or for all to eat in
 probl. 10. 644. common; he saith, *Sacrifices and publick Suppers were made, προς μερίδα,*
 b. c. *by distinct Portions*, every one having a certain *Portion* appropriated to him-
 self. And I find the *Latin* word *Partes*, *Parts* used in the very same Sense; *Alex.*
Lamprid. in *Severus* at his Entertainment gave to his Servants *Partes*, *Parts of the Bread*
vita. *and other Food* which was set before him to be distributed amongst the Guests.
 Arcud. 1. 3. c. 9. p. 179. b. Next the Communion of Saints includes all Saints both Living and Dead; or
 1 Cor. 12. 12. the whole Christian Church both Militant and Triumphant are all one *Mystical*
 Phil. 3. 20. *Body* whereof Christ is the Head; all these belong to the same Community or
 Society, the Dead Saints are at Home, but the Living ones at present are but
 On the Creed Pilgrims; or as the Learned *Pearson* phraseth it, *they are all but one City of*
 p. 357. *God*. And according to this Doctrine, the Primitive Church at the Celebra-
 tion of the Eucharist made a Commemoration of all Saints or Holy Men both
 Quick and Dead; as at our Communion in the Prayer for the Church Mili-
 tant, we first Pray for the universal Church; for all Christian Kings,
 Princes, and Governors; for all Bishops and Curats; for all God's People;
 and lastly we bless God's Holy Name in the remembrance of all his Servants
 departed this Life in his Faith and Fear, beseeching him to give us Grace,
 that with Them we may be Partakers of his Heavenly Kingdom. Thus in
 1. 8. c. 12. that Liturgy in the pretended Apostolical Constitutions, (which though it is
 p. 482. manifestly spurious and not St. James's, yet I think it is generally own'd and
 passes for the oldest of all,) there is at the Sacrament a general Commemoration
 or Recommendation of the Catholick Church, of the King or Emperor and all
 Governors under him, and of all Saints and of all the People, and lastly of all
 good Men that were absent. And more fully, and only, to this very Purpose
 is, *ἀπογραφὴ*, the *Recital* or Commemoration of the Saints in *Dionysius*, which
 I shall have occasion to set down more particularly by and by. One thing there,
 I must here take good notice of as very remarkable, as you have the same com-
 manded (by a peculiar Rubrick) to be done in *James* his Liturgy, before the
 words of Christ's Institution, they made a Thankful remembrance of his *Incar-*
 nation, Life, Crucifixion, Burial, Resurrection, and Ascension; concluding
 thus, *we being mindful of things which he endured for our sake, ευχαριστῶ-*
μεν σοι, thank thee O God Omnipotent, not as much as we ought, but as much
 as

as we are able, and fulfill his Institution; For in the night in which he was betrayed, taking Bread into his holy Hands &c. From such a Primitive Thanksgiving as this, the whole performance was called the Eucharist. T. p. 90.

Now from all this, I must confess that I am apt to think, that the latter Greeks, who (perhaps from this Custom of recounting Christ's History before the words of his Institution) brought into their Liturgies a meer *Allegory*, or figurative Shew of Christ's whole Oeconomy, and pretended by all their odd Rites and Ceremonies, only to represent his History from his Birth to his Passion and Ascension; did also Invent and bring in these *μερίδες*, *Portions*, only to represent a Visible and General Communion of the whole mystical Body of Christ, with Christ himself the Head, for why should it seem absurd to the Greeks to represent Christ as a Fellow Communicant with them, in the Eucharist now, when Aquinas asserts it, and Bellarmine owns it as a common Opinion, *That himself did eat it* (that is, according to him (N.B.) eat himself Transubstantiated) *with his Apostles at its first Institution*. And therefore (as the Custom was at Sacrifices and Feasts) they assigned these peculiar *Portions* to every One; To Christ, to the Virgin Mary, to the Prophets, Apostles, Fathers, Doctors, Priests, Martyrs, and Saints departed this Life; and to all Orthodox Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, and to all other good Christians and Friends, Living or Dead: That by these *Portions*, the Dead Saints and Absent Christians, might all be represented as Vicariously (or by Proxies) communicating with the Receivers then Present. For we find in the (pretended) *Antient Liturgy of St. James*, that the Bread and Wine were offer'd to God with Thanksgiving, for the whole Church Militant and Triumphant. Particularly ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐαγετησάντων σοὶ ἁγίων, for all Saints who from everlasting had well pleased God; Patriarchs, Prophets, &c. for all whose Names God knew, (that is, whose Names were in the, Ἀπολογισμὸς, Catalogue,) and for all the People. By this they plainly acknowledged all good Christians both Quick and Dead to be of the same Communion; and the *μερίδες*, *Portions*, might afterwards be easily brought in to express this visibly.

First, I think it most manifestly evident that the present Greeks Practice is by no means Antient, Goar himself owns that the setting of the Nine *Portions*, or Particles in Rank and File, was a meer novel Invention, whereof nothing is found either in the antient Fathers, or in the antient Manuscript Liturgies. Yet to prove that there were some such, *μερίδες*, *Portions*, or little Bits severally made of old, he there quotes Dionysius and Epiphanius. Dionysius only saith, that after the venerable Symbols, by which Christ is signified (not made N.B.) are set on the Holy Altar, immediately is present, Ἀπολογισμὸς, a Description (or rather a Recital or publick mention) of the Saints, declaring their inseparable Conjunction with the Union to Christ, which (Union) is Holy and above the World. Here is not the least Syllable of any such *Portions* as he pretends; only the Symbols are mention'd, which signifies only Christ himself; and how out of this, Ἀπολογισμὸς, Commemoration of the Saints, he can make his Bits and Crumbs I cannot see; This mention of the Saints was plainly no more then their Commemoration, or an owning of them to be true Members of Christ's Mystical Body, as is above noted. I will allow it possible indeed that the latter Greeks might bring in their *Diptychs* afterwards, from this Antient Ἀπολογισμὸς, Commemoration of the Saints, but before I will allow even that to be Apostolical or truly Primitive, he must prove his *Dionysius* to be so and not Spurious. However in the days when James his Liturgy, in the Apostolical Constitutions was written, there were no such Crumbs as he contends for; for the Bishop gave to every one, both Clergy and Layman, προσφοράν, an Oblation, (a whole Piece at least, not a Mite) saying only, The Body of Christ, and he that received said, Amen; and then the Deacon gave the Cup (without these Crumbs, and not only a little Spoonful) saying only, The Blood of Christ, the Cup of Life, and he that

3a. q. 81. 1.
o. q. 84. 7.
4m.

Tom. 3. l. 4.
c. 16. p. 279.c.

Apostol. Const.
l. 8. c. 12.
p. 482.

p. 119. §. 41.
43.

Ecc. Hierarch.
c. 3. §. 9.
p. 295.
Vid. Budanm.
p. 581.

p. 485. e.

T. p. 91.

- T. p. 91. *that drank said, Amen.* We will allow all this Antient, but far enough from the present Practice. Next what he would draw from *Epiphanius* is altogether as trifling. *We Remember* (saith *Epiphanius*, as he cites him) *the Just and the Sinners, for Sinners imploring God's Mercy; for Righteous Men, Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, Bishops, Anachorets, and every Order, that we might separate the Lord Christ, from the Order of Men by the Honour given to Him.* Can any Man but *Goar* be so quick sighted, as to see any of the pretended *Bits and Crumbs* in these Words? They pray'd for *God's mercy upon Sinners*, but only remembered *Christ's Saints*, to put that Distinction between *his Holy Orders*, and the *Order of meer Men*. No, saith *Goar*, He meant, *Hostiam ejus nomine præcificam, to separate the Host* (he had better have said plainly *the Wafer*) *cut off in Christ's Name, from the Particles of the Saints*, very acutely indeed. But that the *Portions of Bread*, which every one received at the Sacrament, were called, *μεῖδαι*, *Portions*, and also that they were not *little Scrapings or Bits* pickt out of one, or several Loafs, but Pieces of the very same Bread which represented *Christ's Body* only, (of which many were often left after the Communion was over, sometimes in great quantities) even in *Justinian's* time, (that is about the middle of the sixth Century) is most plain from that noted place in *Evagrius*; when any quantity, saith he, τὰν ἁγίων μερίδων ἢ ἀχράντου σώματος χειρῶν, of the *Holy Portions of Christ's immaculate Body* remained not used, παῖδας ἀφθόγγους, *little young School-boys* were sent for to eat them. I think nothing can be fuller Evidence then this, to prove the present *Greeks* Practice invented and taken up since that time. And the Ingenuous *R. Simon*, who justly owns that the parts of the Bread, which were received by the Communicants, were called by the Fathers of old, *μεῖδαι*, *Portions*, and quotes this very Passage in *Evagrius* for it, yet very honestly confesseth that the latter *Greeks* have brought in, alias particulas, another sort of *Particles*, or *Portions*, which *Chrysostom* and *Basil* never dream'd of; and plainly demonstrates that these *new Portions* were not received or known in *Germanus* his time, who lived (as is above noted) in the beginning of the eighth Century; and he moreover fully declares there, how the *Theoria*, which goes under his name, hath been abused, being in some places patch'd and stufft with new matters, and in others, gut and mangled; and he particularly mentions the old, ἐγχείρησιν, *manner of receiving the Bread*, to wit all the Communicants holding their left hand under their right crosswise, took it into the hallow of the right hand, as only the Priests and Deacons, in the *Greek Church*, do now, as is before mention'd; But all this about the, ἐγχείρησις, *old way of taking the Bread in the Hand*, is now left out in the common *Theoria* of *Germanus*; I suppose because it manifestly destroys the present *Greeks* Lay-communion, where the poor Layman takes nothing into his hand, but one poor little Spoonful is all his, *μερίς*, *Portion*. This, ἐγχείρησις, *taking of the Bread into the Hand of the Receiver*, is expressly commanded by the sixth Council in *Trullo*, and he that takes it or gives it in any Instrument or thing made of Gold or any other matter is to be Excommunicated. And the word cited by *Arcudius* out of *St. Basil*, shew that in his time the Communicant received, τὴν μερίδα τῇ ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ, *his Portion into his own hand and put it to his Mouth himself*. Thus the *Portion* which every Communicant took, after the old use is called twice in *Basil's* Liturgy μερίς τῶν ἁγιασμάτων, *a Portion of the hallow'd Things*, (according to the Bishop of *Oxford's* Copy and my own MS.) in the Prayer ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ Θεὸς τῆ σωζέου, though in the second place, instead of, μερίδα, *a Portion*, is read in *Goar* and other printed Copies, ἐλπίδα, *Hope*, which makes it perfect nonsense. So in the supposed Liturgy of *James*, the μερίς, *Portion* of every Receiver was plainly *a Piece*, or good Fragment of the Bread taken out of the *Dish* or *Patin*, not deliver'd with a *Spoon*. So that all this and much much more which may be said, plainly prove that the *Portions*

tions (these Bits and Scrapings) now used by the Greeks are a very Novel or late Invention. T. p. 92.

Yet from this antient use of the word of old (as in all the foregoing Examples) for a *Portion* in the Sacrament, the latter Greeks have used it in this new contrived *Vicarious Communion*; for the *Portions* of every one, whom they count true Members of the whole Church, both Militant and Triumphant, Living or Dead, Present or Absent. And I am perswaded that the first Inventers of this Custom did then design by it nothing but such a *Vicarious Communion of the Dead and Absent*, as join'd with those then present. And the whole Church Militant and Triumphant being lookt upon, according to St. Paul, as *all one Bread and one Body*, all Members of the same one Mystical Body, where-¹ of Christ is the Head, as all are partakers of the same Bread; These new Modellers assign'd to the Head and to every Member his particular *Portion*. First to Christ the Head; which Portion in James his Liturgy is expressly called *μερίς ἁγία χεῖρ*, the *Holy Portion of Christ*, and was then that piece of the whole Bread which was put into the several Cups; the rest was divided and laid in *Dishes* for the Communicants, so that the whole *Vicarious Communion* seems not then fully Contrived or compleated, for in that Liturgy there is not one *Bit* assign'd peculiarly to the *Virgin Mary*, or any other of the Saints, (who now make up the nine Orders, rank and file,) or any *Scrapings* or *Crumbs* for the Absent. And that they did look upon Christ, as Head, to be, *συνμέτοχος*, a copartner or joint Communicant *Mystically* with all the other Members of that his Body, I think is most evident by that Prayer which I have set down above out of a very fair MS. of my own. The *Portion of Christ*, saith Goar, was called (I suppose sometime after James his Liturgy was coin'd) *σῶμα χεῖρ* Christ's Body, as the *Portion of the Virgin Mary*, was, as he saith, (not unlikely as Christ's Portion was) by some mistaken for her Body; But he vindicates it to be only *θεοτόκος μερίδα*, the *Portion of the Mother of God*. And by this *Portion* she is also (even according to him,) made *Vicariously* a Communicant; for by the force of plain truth he tells us, *dum cujusque nomen &c. whilst the Priest and Deacon recite every ones name, at the same time for their Salvation he takes out and offers a Portion, and by this means he makes them partakers of the Sacrifice*. So that according to him, every one that hath a *Portion* assign'd him now at the Sacrament, is a Communicant, as all who were of old Commemorated there, were accounted as such. And Simeon Theff. owns it as an old Tradition, that the *Portions* did much good, for they are For (or instead of) the Persons for whom they are offered, and a Sacrifice is offer'd to God for them. Yet I shall not agree with him about the *Sacrifice*; he making it the *real Sacrifice of Christ's very Body*; I the *Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving* only, in Remembrance of that real Body once Sacrificed for us; and methinks He and the Greeks, to whom the *Virgin Mary* is *πανάγια*, and *ἄχραντος*, *All-holy and Spotless* (that is, without Sin) do debase Her by making Her a *Partaker* or concern'd in this *Sacrifice*, if it be at the Sacrament a *real Sacrifice for Sin*, as Arcudius upon another account owns; whereas in our *Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving* (according to this new mode) Christ himself, and She, and all Saints Dead and Living might be (by this Commemoration) supposed to join. Again Goar in his Explication of the word, *μνημονεύειν*, Remember, saith, *Nominare in Sacrificio & Precibus & ad Communicationem admittere &c. To name one in the Sacrifice and Prayers, and to admit one to a Communication signify the same thing with both Latins and Greeks*. So that by this he owns all Saints both Quick and Dead by being named at the Sacrament, to be made Communicants, much more than by having a *Portion* assign'd them; And it is plain by what he cites there out of Cyprian, none were of old to be named at the Communion, who where by their ill behaviour to be excluded from it, Then all that were named there, (though absent) were lookt upon as Communicants, and the same

1 Cor. 10. 17.

Colos. 1. 18.

Edit. Morel.
p. 35.

p. 84. Not. *

p. 186. 4.

p. 119. 42.

T. p. 93.
p. 120. 46.De Templo.
p. 231.l. 3. c. 12.
p. 184. a.Apocal. 14. 3.
& 15. 3.p. 144. 145.
Arcud. l. 1.
c. 5. p. 11. b.Epist. 16. p. 36.
& Ep. 1. p. 3.
Edit. Oxon.

T. p. 93. same was meant by the, ἀπομνησθῆναι, Commemoration before mention'd in Dionysius. But Goar hath yet dropt another remarkable Passage, cum particularibus æque ac majorem Hostiam &c. when the Priest offers to God the Particles, or Portions, as well as the greater Host, or Christ's Portion, and Prays that they may be Consecrated, then every one thinks himself to be Commemorated, and that a Sacrifice is offered for him, when by naming his name he orders a Particle, or Portion, to be taken out and presented for him, whence with the Greeks it is the same thing, To Remember another in the Mass, or Liturgy, To take out a Particle, or Portion, for Him; and To offer a Sacrifice for Him. From this he draws this Conclusion, Thence it follows that the Particles, or Portions of all the rest, so offered, are Consecrated as well as the greater Host, or Christ's Portion; and out of all of them together, one Sacrifice and one Sacrament ariseth. Whereas the first contrivers of these Portions made this Conclusion; Christ by having his Portion taken out, εἰς ἀνάμνησιν, to his Remembrance by Name, and in the very same manner the Virgin Mary and all the other Saints having their Portions taken out, εἰς τιμὴν καὶ μνήμην, to their Honour and Memory by their Names, are all alike Communicants together, Christ as the Head and the rest as the Members of the one same Mystical Body. For if, according to Goar, all these Portions of Christ and the Saints together are made one real Sacrifice for Sin, how came the Saints only to have part in it, by being named and having every one at the Prothesis a Portion assign'd them, and not Christ, who was likewise there named and had his Portion allotted him? What means, and what becomes of Christ's Portion there in like manner assign'd him by Name? It would be blasphemy to say that he either received or wanted any part of that Expiatory Sacrifice; according to him Christ is entirely and really that very Sacrifice Himself. Yet whatever the Sacrifice is, He being named and having his peculiar Portion assign'd Him, just as all the rest had, must certainly be concern'd in it as well as they. Therefore the first contrivers of these Particles seem to me to mean no more but a Representation of a general Communion of Christ as Head, and of the Saints, as Members of his Mystical Body. And it is every whit as absurd for Gabr. Philadelph. and Sim. Thess. and others (whom he their opposers) to make only Christ's Portion Transubstantiated, and not the other; they are all called μερίδες Portions alike, and they must be all parts alike of the same whole, whatever it be. How comes Christ's piece of Bread to be thus wonderfully distinguish'd from the rest? Some thinking to mend this matter afterwards called this not Christ's Portion, but σῶμα χριστοῦ, Christ's Body, and they might as well have called the Virgin's Portion her Body too, as is said above. What I conceive to have been the first Contrivers meaning, I think is plain; but both the other Interpretations of these Portions, especially of that of Christ, to me are unintelligible. And a Passage in the judicious R. Simon suggests yet another notion to me, which I think makes this Vicarious Communion seem more clear. We find these Portions assign'd, εἰς ἀνάμνησιν, for the Remembrance of Christ; εἰς μνήμην καὶ τιμὴν for the Remembrance and Honour of the Virgin Mary and all Saints, Dead and Living who are their named: The Remembrance is the same. And that, λογικὴ λατρεία, Rational Service, whatever it is, is offer'd for them all alike; and in that Suffrage, which there follows, μνησθῆναι πάντων, Remember all them that have slept in hope of a Resurrection of Eternal Life, all are alike concern'd; Now faith that discerning Critick, We must not think that these Commemorations, or Remembrances, are meant, eodem modo, all alike, as if the Priest should Recommend the Virgin Mary; the Apostles, Prophets, Patriarchs to God; quo nihil insulsius, then which nothing is more foolish and more repugnant to the Antient design of the Prelates, or chief Professors, of the Christian Religion. What then, say I, was their design? It must be something in which all seem to be equally concern'd, and to me it seems only this; To declare the Faithful both Quick and Dead, whose names are thus mention'd.

In Gabr. Phil.
p. 254.

Hic. p. 24.
Euch. p. 51.
Goar p. 78.

to be Communicants alike, or Members of that one Mystical Body, whereof Christ is the Head; the one universal Church Triumphant and Militant. And the Conclusion of all, or the last Suffrage, confirms me in this thought, where the Priest say with a loud voice, *καὶ δὸς ἡμῶν*, And grant unto us with Mouth and one Heart to Glorify, and with Hymns to Celebrate thy All honourable and Magnificent Name, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, and to Ages of Ages. What is this, but the Expression of the joint Duty and Business of the Catholick Communion of All Saints, both in Heaven and upon Earth. But to say no more, a vicarious Communion of the Absent, as performed by the Present, seem some as plainly express'd in this very Liturgy it self; for there is first a Recapitulation made of all the Saints Triumphant and Militant, for whom Portions were set apart in the beginning of the Liturgy, by, as it were, one continued Prayer made by the Priest, (if you take out the interruptions of the Deacon) which concludes thus, *make us partakers of thy Spotless Body and Precious Blood*, *καὶ δι' ἡμῶν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ*, and all thy People by us. The meaning of this seems to me to be, that all good Christians, Departed and Living and Absent, whose names were recited, and to whom Portions (though only Scrapings and Mites) were before assigned, might by our (that is, the present Communicants) receiving and eating them, be lookt upon as fellow Communicants with us. For, by *make us partakers*, cannot well be meant only the Priest and the Deacon; or, by *us*, only their Ministration; and by, *all thy People*, is only the Communicants there present were meant, surely the words would have been limited, *thy People*, or, *all thy People here present*, or by some such like words. I confess the following Rubrick, enjoining the Priest and Deacon immediately to Worship, may seem to make the Prayer, *make us Partakers*, and by *us*, meant only of them; but still, *all thy People*, must include all, both the Absent and Present faithful Christian Communicants. But however this Rubrick is quite left out in my old MS. and immediately after the Prayer follows this Rubrick; *Then he incenses the Holy Table, saying, "Be thou Exalted, O God, above the Heavens, And he lifts up the Bread. The Deacon saith, " Lets ascend. The Priest, " Holy things to those that are Holy.*

Such a Vicarious Communion was well known both to Jew and Gentiles. One might be made a Communicant and Participate, though his Portion was consumed and disposed of otherwise then to himself. Thus amongst the Jews God's part was consumed by Fire, and the *Halocaust* was entirely His. But it was by the Gentiles sometimes otherwise disposed of. Wine and Mead were pour'd into Ditches to the Manes, or Infernal Ghosts. And I have some where read of the Sacrifice not burnt, but buried by the *Ægyptians*. Wine and Blood and the Entrails were cast into the Sea to Neptune. The Priests of Atergatis offer'd daily to Her boiled and roasted Fish, all which afterwards themselves did eat. The Modern Jews burn the Cake now made of the first of their Dough, which of old was to be offer'd to God, and, as L. Modena tells us, was given to the Priest. And the *Brachmans* or *Banyans* (as my worthy Friend Mr. Job. Marshall, who lived long amongst them, informs me) at this very day make only Eucharistical offerings to God, of Milk, Honey, Rice, and all other sorts of such unbloody eatables, (for they eat nothing which hath animal Life in it) and after these things have thus stood some good time before God, they and their Friends eat all up. Now as offerings thus made to the true God and the Heathen Dæmons were lookt upon as their Portions, and as received by them, though they were variously thus disposed of; so the Saints, (even those in Purgatory as well as those in Heaven, according to Arcudius, and out of him Binius) and good Christians, which were absent, were thought by the first Modellers of this Custom, to receive and Communicate by the Portions offer'd, or set apart in their Names, though they were eaten by the Priests and others. Bellarmine saith, their Mass is made not for the Fault, Remission, Grace, Glory, Salvation of the Saints, but for their Honour;

T. p. 93.

p. 24. C. 10.

p. 26. K.

Supra Fram.

p. 24. C. 10.

p. 26. K.

p. 28. K.

MS. R. p. 13.

T. p. 94.

p. 28. K.

p. 28. K.

p. 28. K.

Levit. 1. 9. 13.

Lucian. Char.

p. 585.

p. 585.

Alex. ab Alex.

l. 5. c. 25.

p. 585.

Athen. l. 8.

p. 346. E.

p. 2. c. 9.

Num. 15. 20.

l. 3. c. 9.

p. 179. b.

Not. in Epist.

Felic. 1. T. con.

l. p. 903. d.

De missa. l. 2.

c. 8. p. 349.

b. c.

T. p. 94. Now this Practice of the *Greeks* plainly make it, for their *Catholic Communion*; and he partly agrees with them when he saith, *that it is made, pro tota Ecclesia, for the whole Church, both that on Earth and that in Heaven.*
 e. 9. p. 352. c. Such a vicarious Representation we find in the Council of *Ephesus* and others.
 Mat. 18. 20. Though *Christ* is lookt upon as Present every where, yet those *Fathers* set the *Gospel* in τῷ μετακράτῳ θρόνῳ, in a *Throne*, or elevated Seat, in the middle of them, to represent Him as his *Proxy* præsiding over them. But I shall instance in no more but that which is more positively to my purpose; to wit, the known Custom amongst the *Greeks* to this day of eating the *Panagia*. You may see the substance of it described at large by *Goar*, out of *Allatius*, in his notes upon *Codinus*, and on the *Eucholog*. But what I my self have seen is after this manner. "In well regulated Monasteries, especially at Mount
 De Offic. c. 7. " *Athos*, when I was there, the *Monks* at their Meals look upon the *Virgin*
 Not. 11. " *Mary* as present with them, and as it were a guest at their Table; (as indeed
 p. 867. " they count all those Monasteries under her peculiar care;) To express this,
 " before they set down to Eat, one of them cuts out a quarter of a little Loaf,
 " in this Fashion, (Π) or, (as I have seen it sometimes,) takes an ordinary
 " piece of Bread, and laying it in a little Dish or Box sets it by, before the
 " *Virgin Mary's* Picture; which is commonly either in the Wall, or Corner,
 " or Window (or sometimes on a little Stand or Table) not far from the
 " *Prior's* Table, or Elbow; there it stands till the Meal is over. Then all rise,
 " and this Piece of Bread, which they call *Panagia*, is brought to the, ἡγούμε-
 " νῳ, *Abbot* or *Prior*. He takes it up and says, μέγα τὸ ὄνομα, Great is the
 " Name, the rest answer, τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος, of the *Holy Trinity*, then he
 " again, πανάγια θεοτόκε βοήθει ἡμῖν, All-holy Mother of God help us, they answer,
 " τῆς αὐτῆς προσβέαις ὁ θεὸς ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, By her intercessions, O God, have
 " Mercy and save us. Then the *Abbot* takes a little of the Crumb, and all the
 " rest some part of it, and so all of it is eaten by them. Then in the name of
 " the Blessed *Virgin* they all drink a Sup out of one common Cup. When any
 " of the Fraternity in Monasteries, (especially at *Athos*) is to take a Voyage by
 " Sea, this Ceremony is performed more at large in his Name, to recommend him
 " to the *Virgin Mary's* Protection, for which there is a particular Office prescribed
 " in the *Euchologion*. I do not much Question but that this vicarious Entertain-
 " ment of the *Virgin Mary*, and these Portions of the absent Saints, were all taken
 " up in imitation of the *Heathens* treating their Gods, according to that of *Ovid*.

Mos erat & Mensæ credere adesse Deos.

They thought the Gods did at their Table sit.

T. p. 93. And as *Porphyrius* tells us, it was a Custom whenever they did eat, first to
 Goar p. 865. give a little tast, or small essay, of whatever their food was, to their Gods.
 & 868. 2. Goar gives you a Wonderfull and Myttical interpretation of all this out of *Sim.*
 See also the *Thessalonicus*; as also this precious Legend, which you have also in *Gretzer's*
 'Ωραρίον p. 196. observations upon *Codinus*; I will here give it you, that you may by it guess,
 Fast. l. 6. v. 36. that the notion of a Vicarious Communion might seem as credible to the present
 De abss. l. 2. *Greeks*, as a Vicarious Entertainment did to these, or to them of old. After
 §. 20. the dreadful Resurrection of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, and the descent of the
 p. 867. Holy Ghost, and until the Holy Apostles were parted for Preaching; all
 l. 3. c. 2. the Apostles were all together unanimously; and after Prayer being set
 p. 224. down to diner, leaving an empty place, they laid a Pillow, or Bolster, in
 it, and upon the Pillow a canting of the Bread, which they eat, ἐς ποῖον
 χριστοῦ, for *Christ's* Portions, rising up after Diner and giving Thanks, they
 took the cutlet of Bread, which was assign'd for *Christ's* Portion, and lift-
 ing it up, they said, Glory to Thee, O our God, Glory to Thee, Glory to
 the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; and instead of this,
 Great is the Name, they said, *Christ* is risen, until he Ascended; after
 that they used, Great is the Name of the Holy Trinity; Lord *Jesus Christ*
 help me. And every one of them did this, wherever he was, till the
 sleeping of the Mother of God; but when through the Clouds they had a

General

General Meeting from all parts of the World, upon the departure of the Lady, the Mother of God, having paid Her due Obsequies after her Burial, that is, the third Day; having comforted themselves, and rising after their meal, they lifted up, as usual, the cutlet of Bread which was lay'd by for Christ; and when they had pronounced this, Great is the Name, O surprising Miracle! She that was Dead, appeared in the Air as Alive, surrounded with a Cloud and with bright shining Angels round about Her, saying, Hail, for I am with you all your days, giving them this joyfull news from her Son. But the Disciples astonished with the Miracle, instead of this, Lord Jesus Christ, cried out, All-holy Mother of God help us. Then coming to the Sepulcher and not finding her All-holy Body, they were verily perswaded, that rising from the Dead, as her Son did, after three days alive with her Body, and removing, she passed into Heaven, to reign with Christ to Ages of Ages. Amen. Take this stuff as it is, for a meer Monkish Legend, yet it sufficiently shews the Greeks opinion of a vicarious Entertainment, and by Consequence of a vicarious Communion, let the first Practice of it arise whence it will, from Heathen Customs, or otherwise. We have the very same Ceremony mention'd in *Codinus* as formerly used by the Greek Emperor; He after dinner did eat a little bit of Bread, which was also called *Panagia*, and was set by (in, *παραγία*, a little box on purpose to keep it, and from thence called *Panagiarium*) whilst he was at his Meal; and then drank a little Wine, and Water; all this being as the Virgin Mary's *Portion*; who was lookt upon as present with him at the Table. I have seen in an Old MS. Account of *Barnwell Priory*, formerly belonging to Sir. Rich. St. George, Norrey King at Arms (p. 49.) this passage. "The Townsmen had had a Difference with the Friars about a piece of Ground lying near the River. One of the Pertest and Sauciest of the Rabble upbraided the Friars, as being a parcel of lazy Drones who minded nothing but themselves, and did no Honour to their Founder Sir *Pain Peverel*, who had so plentifully Provided for them. It was answer'd, that their Statutes order'd a daily Remembrance and vicarious Treatment of him in their common Eating place; and there we meet with these words which fully express it. *Pagano Peverel quotidie apponebatur Portio de Cellario & de Coquina coram Præsidente in Refectorio, & apponetur in perpetuum.* "There was a Portion from the Cellary and the Kitchen daily set for *Pain Peverel* before the Præsident in their place of Eating, and shall be set for ever. Thus we see, a vicarious Refection was used in the West as well as in the East. And for ought I know from this Eastern Custom, might our Western Custom of the *Grace Cup* (after Dinner) take its Original; and perhaps our drinking, in piam Memoriam, To the pious Memory of this or that Benefactor, might come amongst us at first from the same; yet both as by mimicking the Antient Heathen. Now this *Panagia*, or little piece of Bread, or Loaf, whether it was lookt upon (as at first) as *Christ's Portion*; or (as afterwards) as the Virgin Mary's, represented Him and Her as Guests at the respective Tables; and therefore I hope no Man will rashly upbraid me for this my Opinion, though perhaps he may not like it,) that these, *μερίδες*, Portions were at first brought in to represent such a vicarious Communion of the Saints and absent good Christians; for if the meer Naming or Commemorating of them of old did entitle them to such a Communion, the Greeks might very easily think, that by offering these Portions with their Names, and by these Portions being afterwards eaten by those then present, the respective Persons might hereby more fully and truly be thought and said to Communicate with the rest. But to say no more in Illustration of this vicarious Communion, why should it seem more incredible then the vicarious Performance of that other Sacrament of Baptism: *Grotius* shews us plainly out of *Tertullian* and *Ambrose*, that in the primitive times if a Catechumen died before he was Baptized, another in his stead and name was Baptized for him. Though this Practice was afterwards exploded as Heretical,

T. p. 95.

De Offic. c. 7.
§. 32. 33.

T. p. 96.

p. 96.

Kubnius in
Æl. v. Hist.
l. 1. c. 2.In 1 Cor.
15. 29.

T. p. 96.

cal, yet it sufficiently shews that a vicarious Celebration of a Sacrament was no new thing; and that it may be taken up and used as well in one as in the other; whether they are alike justifiable, let the *Greeks* look to that.

p. 85. 86.

Next I am perswaded that these Portions of the Saints departed this Life, or Absent, were at the first beginning of this Invention, eaten at the high Altar by the Priests or Ecclesiasticks only; but afterwards the Antient *breaking of Bread*, and distributing of it to the Communicants (which was one Principal part of the Primitive Communion) was quite laid aside; and these *Mites* and *Particles* were made the only Bread in this new Communion; which made it appear much more Mysterious, especially to the common People. For all that are present may now without distinction take and receive the *Antidorum*, but only those who are confess'd, or are lookt upon as Worthy, are admitted to partake of these Portions; so that the Bread divided at the *Prothesis* into pieces, and now reserved for the *Antidorum*, (which, as is said, was really the old Symbol and Communication of Christ's Body) is now not lookt upon as any part of the Sacrament at all, but only as a *Holy Amulet*, or precious *Preservative*, as is above noted; or as the *Panis benedictus*, *Holy Water*, *Holy Caudles*, *Agnus Dei*, and the like trumpery in the Church of Rome; whereas these Portions of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the Saints, are counted of inestimable value; Nay, some of the latter *Greeks*, to carry the Mystery still higher, are for mimicking the Latins, *μορμὸν τῆ θράους*, most bold delusion of Transubstantiation; and many will tell us, that every one of them is very Christ himself, and therefore each little-little Mite is stiled by them *μαργαρίτης*, a Jewel; the poor People are strangely amused and overset with this new Mysterious, and unintelligable Doctrine; and therefore are filled with wonderful Joy and Veneration, if they may be so blest, as to receive but one little poor Spoonfull of the Holy Wine and Water, enrich'd with one or two of these most precious Jewels; for that is all the Communion which now is left them. It is a true oblation, that Men once well season'd with Superstition, are infinitely more fond of those sacred Things and Rites, which are cunningly removed and set at some distance from them, and usually most admire and esteem what they least understand.

Camerar.
cent. 1. c. 60.
p. 268.

T. p. 97.
Supra p. 38.

And now to heighten the amusement and blind Devotion of the gazing multitude, the, *μεγάλη εἰσοδος*, great Pomp or solemn Procession, in carrying up these Portions of the Saints to the high Altar, was brought in, as I conceive, in Imitation of the Gentiles, in their like State and Grandeur at their Solemnities. For first it is most notoriously known that they used Lights and Tapers, especially in their greater Festivals, celebrated either in Honour of their Gods or Men. Thus you have the whole Procession made in Honour of *Isis* described at large in *Apuleius*, where, amongst the rest, were a great number of both Men and Women with Lamps and Tapers, and other sorts of Lights, thereby resembling, and therefore pleasing, or as he phraseth it appeasing the Stars themselves, which were lookt upon by Heathens as animated. And from the *Egyptians*, other Nations by degrees take up the same Custom of such Illuminations before the Altar and Statues of their Gods; or to express their publick Joy at their religious Festivals, and sometimes to compliment or Honour Governors or great Men in Authority. These Illuminations were not used by Christians in the Primitive Ages, for *Tertullian*, *Arnobius*, and *Lactantius* laugh at all these Heathen Vanities.

Aur. af. l. 11.
p. 677.

Ovid. Metam.

l. 1. 72.

Clem. Alex.

Strom. 1.

p. 306. c.

Baruch. 6. 19.

Aristoph. Plut.

Act. 5. Sc. 2.

p. 114. c.

Perf. Sat. 5.

v. 189.

l. 1. p. 49.

d.

Part 2.

Part 2. T. 13.

De profan. ri-

tibus, c. 15.

Next, that very odd and ridiculous posture of the Deacon's carrying the Dish upon his Head or Shoulders, is altogether as plain a transcript from the Heathens in their Sacrifices and Worship. For *Pausanias* tells us, that it was the Custom at Athens for the, *ἁγνιφόροι*, two Virgins, who attended at *Minerva's Festival*, to carry their sacred Baskets on their Heads; And in like manner the Holy Vessels and Baskets were carried upon the Head in the Sacrifice of *Priapus* and *Bacchus*, as you may see their Figures described in *Bassi-rilievi* by *Boissard*, and *Leon. Aggolini*, and *Casalius*, and the old Woman

Woman in *Aristophanes* with her pot of pulse. And it as likely the Virgins carried their Baskets *ϑ*, in their offerings to *Diana*; as likewise all the rest of the, *καρφοροί*, *Basket-bearers* at all Sacrifices wherever they attended; And you have in *Tomasin*, one in the Sacrifice to *Silvanus* bearing a great Pitcher or belly'd Pot crosswise on his neck; and the *Aegyptian* Priests carried the Images of their Gods so, (that being more convenient then to carry them on their Heads,) as the *Greek* Priests often carry their Dish in Country Churches, and at their Anniversary Festivals in the Fields, as hath been above noted, and you may well think that the Heathen Priests did the same by the Figures in *Titus* Jewish triumph at *Rome*. And the same *Tomasin* (out of *Novarinus*) mentions *King Agrippa* counting it an Honour to carry the Baskets of first Fruits upon his Shoulders to the Sanctuary. Therefore I must needs suspect this Custom of the *Greeks* at their Sacrament to have been taken up from the *Gentiles*; as these did it in Honour to their Gods, so those do it in Honour to their Saints, and both of them designed it as an expression of profound Humility and Devotion.

Next I shall take Notice of the Sick and Infirm Persons, which they lay before the Chancel door, that the Deacon and Priest and all their retinue, may, with these *Portions* of their Saints, pass over them in this great Procession. It is very well known to have been a Custom amongst the Heathen for Sickly and Infirm Persons to go and lie in *Aesculapius* his Temple, that they might either be restored to their Health, directly and immediately by him, and his Daughters *Jaso* and *Panacea*, or warned by them in a Dream what course to take in order to their Cure. So *Leonidas* askt it as a peculiar Blessing to Sleep in *Hercules's* Temple at *Thebes*, and was inform'd by *Juno* of what was to follow by a Vision. In like manner it is a very common thing amongst the present *Greeks*, (as I my Self have very often observed it in Country Towns) for those who have any lingering Distemper, or ill Habit of Body hanging upon them; especially the ordinary People, to carry their Beds or Quilts, and for some days lie in their Churches, (and sometimes are there anointed with (ἐὐχέλαιον) the blessed Oyl; of which more here) recommending themselves chiefly to the Virgin Mary; sometimes to the Saints to whom the Church is Dedicated; sometimes to some other Saint or Saints as their Fancy and Devotion lead them; expecting to receive relief and comfort from them. And truly in very hot weather I have known many, who had Feverish Distempers and indispositions upon them, much relieved; I suppose by the coolness of the place, as we have in our Travels sometimes been so refreshed our selves. From that Custom, I doubt not but that this other also of exposing their Sick in the Procession had its rise. If they expected help from some of the Saints by lying in a Church, they might do it much more by lying under the Feet of the Deacon and Priest, whilst the *Portions* of all the Saints were carried over them. In discoursing about these Matters with some of the best Sense amongst them, I have met with this as their excuse; for the first, If the Heathen had such Faith in their false Gods and Hero's and their Temples, certainly we may have much greater Affiance in the true God and his ever blessed Saints and Churches. For the second, If the first Christian Converts had such Faith, as to bring forth their Sick into the Streets, and lay them on Beds and Couches, that at the least the shadow of *Peter* Passing by might overshadow some of them; why may not we do the same in God's Church, expecting relief from the same *Peter* and the rest of the Glorious Saints, whose names these *Portions* bear. I must confess with all good Christians, that Faith and Devotion can never be too great if they are directed to their true Object, and exprest in a way warranted by God's word; but if either the Object, or the way, or both, are only and purely human Fancies and Inventions, I must count such Faith and such Devotion right down Superstition. The People saw the many Signs and Wonders wrought by the Hands of the Apostles, and this begat in them a sound Faith and true Devotion, but I think the Case of the present *Greeks*, as to this Practice, is quite another thing.

I shall

T. p. 97.
Plut. Aet. 5.
Sc. 3. v. 2.
Schol. in Theoc.
Idyl. 2.

De Don. c. 24.
p. 157.

Apul. ut supra
p. 692.
Tab. 3, 5, 6.
Ut supra c. 4.
p. 34.

T. p. 98.
Aristoph. Plut.
Aet. 3. Sc. 2.

p. 73.
Plut. Cure.
Aet. 1. Sc. 1.
v. 60, 61.

Aet. 2. Sc. 1.
v. 12. Cc.
Strab. l. 8.

p. 258. 26. &c.
l. 16. p. 523.
Aet. 47. var.

hist. l. 12. c. 1.
Not. Ed. Kuhna

p. 553.
Plut. de Herod.

p. 865. F.
Plut. m. in

Herodoto. p. m.
865. F.

Goar p. 432.
§. 3.

Aet. 5. 15.

v. 12.

T. p. 98. I shall now consider the great Reverence that is paid by all the People to these *Portions* as they are carried by in this *Procession*, which I have already mention'd; as I have also noted the modern signification of the word, *μετάνοια*, p. 35. *metanoia*. As a civil respect is only *bowing* the Head and Shoulders with the p. 80. right Hand upon the Breast; and in this *Procession* every one doth that at least; but most incline their Bodies very low, some fall prostrate on the ground and kifs it, and then touch it with their Forehead; and we are told that all the *Rus-* Arcud. l. 3. ses and *Muscovites* do so. First they are wonderfully at a loss about the Ori- c. 19. p. 220. a. ginal of this great Reverence, and much divided in their Opinions about it, as well as about the reasonableness of using it; *Arcudius* counting it *Idolatry*, and *Goar* highly blaming it as *præcipitata veneratio, a rash veneration at best*. Ca- ut supra. basilas saith that it is a great mistake in the People, who because they used to T. p. 99. worship the Elements in the *Præ-sanctified* Liturgy as they passed by, (which Elements, according to Him, being before consecrated, are then *very Christ him- self*) they ignorantly continued the same Custom in *Chrysostom's* and in *Basil's* Liturgies and worshipt them. (though not consecrated,) there likewise. Here you must first understand that in Lent *Chrysostom's* Liturgy is said only on Sa- turdays, and *Basil's* on all Sundays, except Palm-Sunday; and then on Sunday, besides *Christ's Portion* taken out for the use of that Day, five more such *Por- tions* are taken out and Consecrated to be used on the Munday, Tuesday, Wed- nesday, Thursday, and Friday following; and one of these *Portions* is carried up on each of these Days from the Prothesis to the High Altar with the like *Procession* as on other Days; and the Office which is said on these five Days is distinct from the other Liturgies, and is called the *Liturgy of the Præ-sanctified*. In like manner such *Portions of Christ* thus Consecrated be- forehand, or *Præsanctified*, are reserved to communicate the Sick withall upon occasion; I have seen them often kept in a little Leathern bag in Country Towns, where they had neither a *Ciborium*, nor an *Artophorium*, nor any Cup-board or Box to keep them in.

Now it is not a little strange to me, first that they should worship these Ele- ments at the *Procession* even in the *Præsanctificate* Liturgy, when they never Worship them nor Expose them to view after they are then set upon the Altar, as is above noted. Next in the common daily Liturgies the Elements are Wor- shipped as they pass by *Unconsecrated*, but are never Worshipped by them after they are Consecrated. This *R. Simon* himself is forc'd to confess. Again p. 75. Not. In Gabr. Phil. p. 74. a. b. if (as *Cabasilas* will have it) the *Greeks* do well in Worshipping the Elements passing by in the *Præsanctificate*, because they are there already Consecrated, why do they (especially the Laicks) not Worship the Consecrated Elements when they receive them, or at least receive them kneeling, if they count them then very *Christ himself*? But the Laymen always stand upright at the Commu- nion without any sign of Adoration at all. And this is some Argument to me that at first they counted the Elements in the *Procession* the *Saints Portions*, but after Consecration, only meer Bread and Wine. Lastly the *Præsanctificate* Liturgy is said only five times in a week, but only in Lent, whereas the com- mon Liturgy of *Chrysostom* is said every day almost, throughout the other part of the whole year; and it seems to me very odd that this Custom of Wor- shipping in the *Procession* practised almost every day in the ordinary Liturgy should arise, as *Cabasilas* saith, from that which is used so very seldom in the *Præsanctificate*; I should rather think that the Worshipping in the *Præsan- ctificate*, (because they were all other days throughout the whole Year, ac- customed to it in the common Liturgy,) arose from that common practice in that.

Arcudius hath another conceit, and would have this worshipping taken up l. 3. c. 19. by mistake from, ὕμνος χερουβικὸς, the *Cherubical Hymn*, which is Sung some- p. 221. b. time before the *Procession* begins; Thus, we *Mystically representing the Cherubims, and Singing the thrice-Holy Hymn to the Quickening Trinity, let us lay aside all care of this Life as, ὑποδεξάμενοι, having received or, ὑποδεξόμενοι*

ἰνὸς ἐξουσίᾳ, being about to receive, the King of all things, guarded invisible with Orders of Angels. From these words saith he, when the Priest goes out, from the Prothesis, the People falsely believe, that the King of Heaven himself comes out. But first this will spoil the Antiquity of this practice, which many Greeks (to my knowledge) contend for; The Cherubical Hymn it self being first Sung but in the ninth year of Justin, that's almost 600. Years after Christ. Next it is altogether unlikely that the People should of themselves take up such a wild Opinion, and thereupon fall into so gross a practice, only from these bare words, which as they are Sung by the Singers are utterly unintelligible to the standers by; and the long Prayer, which the Priest at the same time makes, is mumbled over only to himself, so that the People cannot be any thing informed, or any thing edified thereby. There is wonderfull variety in what follows in Chrysostom's Liturgy after this Prayer, both in the Printed and in the MSS. Copies. In Goar, after the Prayer of the Priest is ended, both (the Priest and Deacon) together pray the Cherubical Hymn again, and the fiftieth Psalm, *μνησθῆναι*, secretly to themselves; and adoring thrice they go to the Prothesis. There they farther make a very considerable stay before they begin the Procession, Incensing the Holy Things, and preparing their Lights and other things in order to it; so that I never observed, neither can it be, what Arcudius saith, that the Singers all this time dwell upon the first words of this Hymn, and dare not sing those words, the King of all Things, before the Priest comes out, to begin the Procession; so that the first part of the Hymn must be singing all the while the Priest mumbles over the Prayer, and all the while he and the Deacon afterwards mumble over the whole Hymn and the whole fiftieth Psalm; and all the while they are ordering their matters in the Prothesis. In my oldest MS. there is not one word of the Priest and Deacons worshipping, but a great deal of other matter; and only the Deacon can repeat the Hymn and the fiftieth Psalm at the Prothesis; so that the Singers must (after their way) Juggle Juggle over the first part of the Hymn a very long while before they come at these words at which (according to Arcudius) the Procession begins. In this MS. the Deacon, when at the end of the Procession he comes to the Chancel Door, recites indeed the two last verses of the 24th. Psalm according to the LXX. *Lift up the Gates &c.* if this had been done before they came out from the Prothesis it might have favoured Arcudius his conceit, which to me seems far from the first Original of this Worshipping.

Now then I hope I may have leave humbly to offer my own Opinion concerning this matter. I conceive when these Particles or Portions of the Saints were first brought in, that the *Antidoron* or Bread out of which they were all taken (if I may so say, like the first cuts at the Table for the worthiest Persons) was reserved (as I have often said) for the Communion of the People; and I suppose all were Consecrated together at first at the high Altar, and then these Portions of Christ, and the Saints were carried into the Prothesis, and from thence brought again to the high Altar in this great Pomp and State, and in Process of time only these Portions were made, (as now they are,) the only Bread at the Sacrament. Now the People looking upon them as the Portions of the Saints, by which they were made fellow Communicants, could do no less then pay them perhaps at first only a civil Respect or outward Reverence as they pass by. And this can be no wonder in the Greeks who shew such Reverences for many many other things which they count either Sacred or highly Good. Thus the Priest and Deacon in the Liturgy often bow to the Prothesis; To the Holy Table, or high Altar; To the Holy things upon it; To one another; To the Gospel, and all the People do the like as it pass by in the Procession, and the Bishop or Priest kiss it. And I have often seen Greeks, of good Sense and Quality, take up common Bread that is fallen down and kiss it and put it to their Forehead; They will do the like to the Bible when they take it up; All bow to a Cross, to Pictures; and

T. p. 99

Cedren. p. 390.
d. & R. Simon
in Gabr. Philad.
76. b. 77. a. b.
T. p. 100.

My MSS. A.
p. 22. b. and
iavtē.
Not in my
Printed Copie
or MS. Γ.
l. 3. c. 19.
p. 221. b.

T. p. 8. a.

Goar 60. &c.
p. 64. &c.
here p. 21.
Euch. 48.
here 79.
Goar 69.
125. 74.
67.

T. p. 101. and there is scarce a *Greek* of any note who hath not a Picture of Christ, or rather of the Virgin Mary, or some peculiar Saint, in some corner or place of a Room, before which he sets a little Lamp or Candle, and saith his Prayers there; And some Ecclesiasticks and others, who have come to visit me, have gravely bow'd themselves down before an Escutcheon, which I have had of Sir *Dan. Harvey's* Arms, hanging in my Chamber, mistaking it for some such Holy Thing.

Now it seems to me to have been a very easy and as it were a natural thing for this People, thus strangely disposed to Superstition, to pay an outward Reverence, at least, to the *Portions* of Christ, and of the Virgin Mary, and of all the rest of the Saints now represented thus together, for whose Memory they had so great Veneration. And *Arcudius* confesseth that some thought this Erroneous Worship had its beginning meerly from the *Pomp* and Grandeur of the *Procession*; much more, I say, when they thought the Saints were then going to Communicate with them; and he allows, aliquam venerationem, that some Veneration may be given to the Gifts once designed for the Sacrament, and blest by the Priest; And *Gabr. Philadelph.* saith the Elements once offer'd to God are no more simple Bread and Wine, but have received more Worth and Honour as being a divine Gift, and therefore all Orthodox *Greeks* adore them. Why then might they not give it to what they were taught, were the *Holy Portions* of the Glorious Saints? And *Cabasilas* allows that the Elements should be carried and set upon the Altar with bending the Knee, and all manner of Reverence, and with the greatest Pomp and Honour that can be; why then might not the Inventers of these Particles, and all the People, as well Reverence all these *Portions* and their respective Saints by them, in this their new contrived *Procession*? *Gabriel Philadelph.* argues warmly, that they might as well Worship the Elements, as the Picture of Christ; and I must say the same of the *Saints Portions*, they might as well, (and surely they did as easily,) Worship them, as they Worship'd their Picture. Therefore I conceive that this Worshipping was at first only a Respect or outward Reverence to the *Saints Portions* as they passed by, as it was to the Gospel; but at last it past into right down Idolatry, as *Arcudius*, and *Cabasilas*, and *Goar*, and others justly call it and prove it; they running, as in many other Points, from one Superstition to another, forgot the Original, and now, like the old *Samaritans*, they Worship they know not what. And thus since it is highly probable, as the learned *R. Simon* hath noted, that all other Eastern Liturgies were derived from the *Greeks*, the *Aethiopians*, abassano la testa, bow down their Heads in their *Procession*, borrowing that Custom from them though they were altogether Ignorant of its Original.

The *Greeks* and Eastern *Christians* are most violently tenacious of their Rites and Ceremonies, yet some who would appear as Men of some knowledge amongst them, and pretend to something above a vulgar Capacity, have a strange itch and fancy for new Mystical Doctrines brought to them by their Students in *Italy*, or by Emissaries sent from thence amongst them. Therefore the *Latins* every where permit or connive at the Eastern Customs in Worship, and therefore make it their chief design to Poison the East with the Tenets of their School Divinity. But finding many many things in the Eastern Liturgies and Practices, which strangely thwart and confound the *Latins* Doctrines, it would make a Man amazed to see, how the *Latins* and Latinized *Greeks* Sweat and turn their Brains to vindicate every absurdity; either by pretending Tradition, and making almost every thing Apostolical or Primitive; or by giving some profound Mystical meaning of it; or by some specious turn or other to make all out; and the common unthinking Idols swallow all with a forward and blind obedience to these their Guides; as it is no hard thing for a Crafty and Ingenious Artist to gild over a rotten Nutmeg so as to make it pass for a sound one with fond and unwary Customers. The common People in the

the East, Priests or Laymen, are wonderfully ignorant and illiterate; and you will find amongst the very Metropolitans and Bishops themselves, very few who will pretend to any deep or speculative Notions in Divinity; but if they venture upon any Controversy with us, you shall have only some indigested Scholastical scraps from them, which they have received from the dictates of Romish Itinerants. There were in my time, and I doubt not but there are there still, infinite numbers of these Latin Agents, practising up and down every where; *Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, Zuccolanti* and others; There were several whole Convents of them in *Galata*. Now you must not think that these good Men are dispers'd thus up and down to Convert the *Mahometans*; they dare as well Murder a *Turk*, as in the least meddle with his Religion; and no Christians in the World, as to their outward Practice and Worship, are more odious and abominable to him than these. Their only business therefore is to Pervert and Poison the Greek and Eastern Churches, by any Arts and Methods to corrupt and seduce both Priests and People to their own novel Inventions, *deceiving and being deceived*. Since that *βδέλυγμα*, that Abomination of the Latins Transubstantiation, hath been set up, you may sufficiently see by the foregoing Discourses, what extraordinary pains have been taken by them, and what Sophistry and Artifice have been used to make the *Greeks* admit it amongst them, and to reconcile their Liturgies, (as well as their own Masses) to that most absurd and monstrous Doctrine; yet after all they can by no means make it pass to their own minds; there remain still insuperable difficulties; neither can the *Greeks* and *Latins* agree with one another, as to that Point; nor *Greeks* or *Latins* amongst themselves; Quisque pro suo ingenio venatus Mysteria, every one hunts for Mysteries according to his own Talent, as the judicious *Simon* said in another case. And besides all those Controverted Points before treated of, they are sufficiently puzzled and perplexed to make these, *μερίδες Portions* (last mention'd) All but one Sacrifice, that is according to them, all together one Christ's Body. Some will have only his *Portion* consecrated, others will have all the other *Portions* consecrated as well as it. The truth is, they have had so many various Rites and Ceremonies, so many odd Fragments and Patches brought into the Greek Worship and Liturgies by degrees, no Man knows how, or when, or by whom; that now to save their Credit, and put the best Gloss they can upon the matter, mystical, forced, absurd, nonsensical Interpretations have been invented by the *Greeks* themselves; and to reconcile, if possible, all this confused stuff to that Master-piece of the School-men, *Transubstantiation*, the *Latins* have employ'd all their Wits and Inventions to their assistance. The vicarious Lectures in every Office in the Euchologion, manifestly shews either the Inconstancy or Carelessness, or Vanity, or Pride of the *Greeks*, every Governor of a Church patching or altering, putting in or leaving out what they pleased; or framing the Office to his own way; they had no regular, fixt, uniform way of Liturgies, or Offices, or Prayers, or any thing, every where observed after one and the same manner. The *Latins* nicely surveying all this, readily admit and highly applaud whatever chimes in with their own Superstitions, or suits with their Doctrines or Designs; but whatever is of a different nature, they either (as counting themselves the only true Catholick Church) Magisteriously condemn as Heretical or Schismatical at least; or if it be of moment and hath any face of Authority to back it, they with their utmost cunning refine upon it, and wrest it and turn it to their own Sense. It is remarkable how in this, they often differ amongst themselves, mistaking and refusing one another's Interpretations, and every one sticking to his own; which to me is a plain demonstration that all this their Labour is a meer exercise of Wit, Fancy, and Invention, for Interest or Glory, and no honest and sincere search after plain Truth. But let these great Churches thus go on in trying to wash their *Ethiopian white*. For my part I must think, to reform them and bring them back to the Primitive Simplicity and Original Purity of the Apostolick Church

T. p. 102.

In Gabr. Phil.
p. 76. b. 77.Arcud. l. 3.
c. 10, 11. &c.
Gonr 119. 41.
43.

T. p. 103.

T. p. 103. Church of Christ, in the first Age, is now as hard a matter as it was to cure
 Cent. 1. Advert. 77. *the Age, or the Body Politick* in *Boccalini*; when the wise Men had stript it and view'd it stark naked, they found it so miserably lean, wasted, and weak; and overrun with so many Ulcers and Scabs and Sores, as it could not undergo or endure any rough dealing, as either Bleeding, or Purging, or Cupping, or Scarifying, or any such necessary Physick; so they even put on its Cloaths again, and to save their Reputations they spruced the old Carcase up with all possible art, and set it forth with Jewels and Gold and Silver, and all manner of Glorious Ornaments to amuse the People, and so let it linger on still at the old rate. I shall leave the Ingenuous Reader to apply this himself.

CHAP. V.

Some Observations concerning the first rise of that new Doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the endeavours used to propagate it over the whole Christian World.

1622. p. A. ij. POPE Gregory at the Erection of the Congregation (de propaganda Fide) for Propagating the Faith, laments in his Bull, *That such Multitudes are Mahometans in those Eastern Nations, which were once Famous for Heavenly Gifts.* But which of his Emissaries dare venture to tamper with a Mahometan about perverting him from his Religion? *Mich. Nau* the Jesuit, in the beginning of his Treatise against the *Alcoran*, truly declares how this matter stands; where, saying, how *vain and fruitless a labour it would be to attempt any such thing*, he thus expresses the danger of it; *To go about to shew the Mahometans the Truth* (he means, I suppose, chiefly the Roman Doctrine) *would be all one as to put a Fire-brand into a barrel of Gunpowder, which would not only destroy him that doth it, but all others that are about him.* Yet this hinders them not from going to *China*, and other parts of the *E. Indies*; where Money is to be got in the East or West, you will find Emissaries, especially Jesuits, there; so that they have other ends in those Mercats of which more conveniently else where. The very design therefore of *this Congregation*, and of sending their Emissaries abroad in that part of the World, (for which *Pope Urban* permitted all regular Societies and Fraternities to go, as well as the Jesuits, to whom only this Charge was at first committed,) was not to convert the *Mussel-men* or *Unbelievers*, but to Poison the poor ignorant Christians, (which were dispersed up and down under the *Turkish* Tyranny, or other Eastern or Infidel Governments,) with their *Latin* Inventions and Impositions; and to make them as meer Slaves to the Pope, in matters of Religion, as they are to the Lords and Masters of those several Countries, in respect of all Civil concerns. Therefore we find that they have Schools at *Rome*, for Educating *Georgians, Persians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Melchites, Coptæ, Abassins, Bragmans, Ethiopians, Armenians, Grecians*, in their Schools, who are Christians already but not of their way. These Schollars, when they are well season'd with Romish Principles and School Divinity, are sent home to their native Countries, to carry on the work with the *Latin* Emissaries which are already there. What their business is there, we may very well guess by what the learned *R. Simon* hath ingeniously said, or, if you please, what fairly dropt from his Pen, concerning the Practice of the Coll. of Cardinals and the Censors, who manage this great work of *Propagating the Faith*. He tells us out of *Thomas a Jesu* (whom he quotes to bear himself out, if he seems to speak too bold a truth) *that the Censors have very accurately purged the MSS Missals* (of the East,) *from their Errors, and that care hath been taken by the Apostolick Sanction, that only those things should be used in the Maronites Church, which were sent from the Pope, or subscribed by the Patriarch's own hand.* Nay, *the Mass Books of the Maronites ought to be Reformed to those of Rome; not only in these things which were matters of Faith, but also every thing else was to be phred off, from whence any Error might arise.* And I think, saith he, *that every one knows this to be the Custom of the Congregation*

T. p. 104.
 Not. in Gabr.
 Sever. p. 155. a

gation for Propagating the Faith. Of this practice of the Coll. or Congregation of Cardinals and their Censors he gives us several instances; take for a taste, their foisting in the word *Consecratum* into the *Armenian Missal*, Printed at Rome 1642. for in the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, upon the Elements, after the words of Christ, instead of *Fac panem hunc Corpus Christi, & Calicem istum Sanguinem, make this Bread the Body of Christ, and this Cup the Blood*, they have made it, *Fac Consecratum panem hunc Corpus Christi, & Consecratum Calicem ipsum sanguinem, make this Consecrated Bread the Body, and this Consecrated Cup the Blood*, as if they had been already Consecrated by the words of Christ. So in the *Æthiopick Mass Book*, printed at Rome 1649. in the like Invocation of the Holy Spirit after Christ's words, instead of, *we pray Thee that thou wouldst send down the Holy Spirit and its Power upon this Bread, & ut faciat Corpus Christi, and that it may make it the Body of Christ*, they have disguised it thus, *send the Holy Spirit upon this Bread, videlicet Corpus Christi, to wit it being the Body of Christ*, as if the Bread had been before made the Body by Christ's words. I shall omit other such instances which he there gives of the like Juggling, for any one with half an Eye may see all this to be a plain trick, to hook in the grand Mystery of Transubstantiation, as wrought by the words of Christ. But if the Congregation, and the Censors at Rome, dare thus openly at home discover their Impostures and designs of coofening the Poor ignorant Eastern Christians; I think we may easily and justly judge, that all their Missionaries Abroad have their Credentials and Instructions to the very same Purpose; we may truly say of them, what was once waggishly said of our Embassadors, *they are sent to lie abroad for their Master's business*.

For these bold strokes, *R. Simon*, like a welbred Gentleman, warily makes this civil Complement, *Cæterum quod de Romanâ Missalis Maronitici castigatione diximus, what we have said of the Roman correction of the Maronites Mass Book, must not be so taken, as if we would have any thing detracted from the Faith, or Honesty, of the Censors, but whilst we, ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀγγέλων, critically and nicely inquire after the Antient Form of the Eastern Liturgies, it was necessary to weigh, or compare, the Printed Copies of them with their MSS. Books*. And he often, as his excuse, freely professes his Ingenuity and Candor, and Freedom from Prejudice or Calumny and his desire of nothing but Peace and Truth. And truly for his Freedom I heartily thank him, especially in giving us many of the Oriental Missals, by which he hath sufficiently proved the Invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the Elements, after the words of Christ, to be universally used all over the East, how he can reconcile this with the modern *Transubstantiation* made by Christ's words alone, I confess (as I have said before,) I cannot understand. And yet he would have us believe, that it was the Antient universal Doctrine, not only of the *Latin Church*, but also of all the East, especially the *Greeks*, from whose Liturgy, as he tells us, all others were borrowed or framed. He must pardon me, if here I say the same that *Chemnicus* said of *Andradius* in the like Case; *Satis pol Gloriosa & audax est asseveratio, indeed it is an Asseveration Glorious and bold enough*; for I think that a very fair account may be given, that this is but a meer novel Opinion, and the first rise and beginning of it, both in the East and West are very well known.

And first we will consider his own Church. The Hyperbolical expressions of some of the Fathers, (especially *Joh. Damascen* and *Theophylact* and later ones) by which they desired to express the Majesty and Excellency of the Eucharist, gave occasion to some Men to think that there was something more in the substance of the Elements, when Consecrated, than plain Bread and Wine; and many of the Fathers, as *Irenæus* and others, having mention'd a Change that was made at the Consecration, several Superstitious, Monkish dreaming Men in the ninth Century, and the beginning of that *Leaden, Abominable, Iron, Lamentable one* (as their own Authors call it) the Tenth, which followed, began to start and vent various conceits and whimsies about the man-

T. p. 104.

p. 152. b.

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Hosp. id. p.
251. b.
Trithem.
in vita.

Tom. conc. Lab.
ix. p. 1053. c.
Hosp. p. 270.
1059. 12.
Labbe. T. ix.
1053. c.

Ep. ad Ascel.
ib. p. 1056. e.

1059. 12.
Labbe. T. ix.
1058. d.
Ep. ad Ber.
Hosp. hist. Sac.
l. 4. p. 277.
Cent. Mag. T.
ix. c. 6. p.
135. c.
T. p. 106.
1059. 21. 22.

3. q. 76. 8.

1059. 12.

Baron. 1001.
1. Ricciol. Chr.
cod. anno.
1171. q.
1 Thef. 2. 3.

Baron. 1004.
3. 4. p.

ner of this change. In so much as *Carolus Calvus* about the Year 850. commanded *Bertram* (a noted Man for his great Piety and Learning) to write that admirable Book, of the Body and Blood of Christ, which is preserved to our very days. *Joannes Erigena*, or as some call him, *Scotus*, is said to have wrote likewise about that time a Book, to the same purpose, to the same command. Whether there were two such distinct Books written then, or that there was but one which went under the name sometimes of *Scotus*, sometimes of *Bertram* or *Ratram*, as *Cassartius* would have it, I shall not now dispute, though *Trithemius* and several other grave Authors make them two several Writers; and *Baronius* saith that *Scotus* was counted a Martyr. However the Book which we have (be it *Scotus* his or *Rertram's*) is own'd to have been written by that Royal command, and level'd against *Paschasius*, who, as *Berengarius* tells us, against all the Reasons of Nature, against the Doctrine, or Opinion, of the Gospel and Apostles, solus sibi confingit sacramento Domini ci corporis decedere panis omnino substantiam, was the only one who to himself feigned, or devised, (amongst the many wild Fancies which then were dispersed) that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Body the Substance of the Bread did altogether depart, or vanish. There is the first Thought or Seed or Egg of that monster *Transubstantiation*. It is plain that this was *Paschasius's* maggot Opinion, and *Baronius* applauds him for it, and *Ascelinus* confesseth the same thing; and none can doubt of it, if that notorious Fable which is in the Colon Edition of *Paschasius*, be his own; of *Pleegilis*, who, in Celebrating the Sacrament, saw Jesus Christ in the form of an Infant upon the Altar, and he took him in his Arms; and at last Christ was turn'd into the Wafer again, out of which at first he had been *Transubstantiated*. They wanted indeed such Miracles at that time to support this new Porrentous Doctrine, and *Baronius* furnishes you with two more such out of *Petr. Damian*. First the Hostia appear'd (to confute *Berengarius*) half Bread half Flesh. Another appear'd perfect Flesh, and Bloodied the Priest's fingers when he took it. And afterwards *Tho. Aquin.* allow'd them as real Truths, and bent his wits to maintain this new Doctrine by them. I could furnish them with 70 more out of a MSS. which I have, written about that age, formerly belonging to Bury Abbey in Suffolk. *Scotus*, or *Bertram's* Book, *Baronius* saith, was not for a while very Publick, so that, although by the dint of plain naked Truth, it thwarted and baffled all other wild conceits, then variously taken up about the Change in the Eucharist, but more especially that of *Transubstantiation*, yet there was no great noise about it till the beginning of the eleventh Century, of which this is a weighty Remark. There had been a strong Opinion patch'd up first at Paris, and thence scatter'd up and down every where in France, and at last spread all over the World, that so soon as the Tenth Century was ended Anti-Christ or that Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition, should be revealed. Now when I seriously reflect upon what follow'd in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries, I cannot but think that the dismal event of things then acted, in the domineering Church, did fully answer this Prediction. For both the Civil and Ecclesiastical Powers combin'd, with all the Violence and fiery Zeal imaginable, to oppose and beat down the plain and Primitive way of Celebrating the Eucharist, and to turn the Ancient and pure Devotion, used by the first Christians in that solemn Commemoration of our blessed Lord's Passion, into a meer piece of outward Pageantry; and instead of the clear and obvious Truth of the Gospel, to impose upon the World an intolerable load of most wicked and most absurd Inventions of Men; and as that Prediction was first Published in France, so the Anti-Christian Tyranny was first Exercised there, as I shall now briefly shew out of their own Books. Many embraced *Bertram's* Doctrine, amongst the rest *Leuthericus*, Arch-Bishop of Sens, had vented something more freely than ordinary, so as he was taken notice of; but, timore Regis, for fear of King Robert, and of being deprived by the Pope, obmutuit,

tuit, he was bush'd and durst say no more. Berengarius (a Man of eminent Piety and Learning, as what little is left of his Writings sufficiently shew) took up the Cause; but neither durst he vigorously persue it whilst K. Robert lived, any thing being not suffered by him, *aliter nec audiri, to be own'd or heard*. But when Robert was Dead, he boldly Publish'd and maintain'd his Doctrine, and Bruno his Arch-Bishop (of Angiers) was a brisk Defender of the same, but K. Henry who succeeded, *paterno exæstians zelo*, fired with his Father's zeal, caus'd them by his Royal Command to be rebuked and restrain'd, *coercitos Regia jussione fuisse*, as we may justly conclude (*par est credere*, says my Author) because neither Berengarius nor any of his followers, (for we may well think that he had many) were heard to mutter any thing of their Doctrine all his time. Durandus Bishop of Liege, and Adelman Bishop of Brescia, or rather at la Bresse, were the first that struck at him. The first from very poor parents became a Favorite at Court, and so acted, as we say, *like a Beggar on Horse back*; He had the Ascendent over K. Henry, as we may well conclude by that his haughty and virulent Letter to him, wherein he took the Confidence to direct him, *not to hear Bruno or Berengarius*, or their Followers, *in any Council, but to think, de eorum supplicio, how to punish them, or cut them off, without any farther delay*. A sad instance This! How the Passion of Princes, who only hear by other Mens Ears, and see by other Mens Eyes, may be inflamed and misguided by such busy and assuming Courtiers, who only to themselves have once Ingrossed the Privilege of their Ear. Lanfranc Bishop of Caen, afterwards Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, Chief Councillor to K. William the Conqueror, was justly suspected to be of Berengarius his Opinion, for by Berengarius his Letters directed to him, many thought that he Favoured and Promoted the same Cause. And truly I must think so too, for Berengarius, (who himself was a great and learned Man, and far from a light and giddyheaded Scribler) surely would not have ventur'd to write such Matters, at such a time, to such a Man, unless he had been his intimate acquaintance, and had known that his Letters would be acceptable to him. And his Letter still extant to Lanfranc intimates as much; he knew him and his temper too (as he thought) for he tells him, *that for condemning Scotus, and embracing Paschasius, he did a thing, indignum Ingenio, unworthy of that Wit, or Genius, which God had given him, being not despicable or despicable*. But Lanfranc who was a Courtier, to save himself (such charms hath the fear of loosing Preferments, and the hopes of getting more) and to clear his Reputation, in this Point, by the command of the Pope was forced to write against Berengarius. And this confirms me more in my abovesaid Opinion; It was the height of Policy in the Pope, to take off, if possible, such a noted Man, who had been Berengarius his Intimado; and he did it by those Motives, which I have hinted, (for this was a fair step or plain road to his following Greatness) though the Command of the Pope was contrived to colour the matter. Lanfranc's writing against Berengarius still augment my Suspicion; for it is done weakly enough, yet it did his business, for the meer name of his Publick appearing as an Adversary against Berengarius, vouch'd him sufficiently Orthodox to the Pope and his Party. I wish we had all that Berengarius wrote compleat, for Lanfranc would not undertake to answer all, but only pickt out here and there some Passages, which he thought he could formally oppose, and this was applauded as his Answer. The Dialectical or Argumentative part of Berengarius his writings, he professedly meddled not with all; and he saith plainly, *I had rather be a Rustick, or Clown, with the Vulgar, and a Catholick Ideot, then a Court-like and Facetious Heretick with you*; for my part I should rather here apply St. Paul's words, *I had rather speak five words with my understanding, like Berengar. then ten Thousand, with the Catholick Scholastick Ideots, understanding neither what they say nor whereof they affirm*. Where Berengarius said, *Those words of Scriptures, Christ is the chief corner stone, make*

Christ

T. p. 106.

ibid. 1053. 1.

Id. §. 5.
§. 6.

T. p. 107.

§. 2, 3, 4.

In vita. c. 3.
p. 21. not. m.
Baron. 1050. 2.Labbe. T. ix.
1054.

Baron. ut supra

c. 1. p. 232. a.
c. 20. 247. b.c. 7. p. 236. b.
c. 4. 235.1 Cor. 14. 19.
1 Tim. 1. 7.

c. 6. 236.

- T. p. 107. *Christ to be Christ still, so the Bread is Christ's Body, but Bread still; He saith that Bread is called Christ's Body, sacrata ac mysticâ locutione, by a sacred and mystical way of speaking; either because it is made of Bread, and still retains some of its qualities; or because it feeds and satiates the*
- T. p. 108. *Soul, as bread doth the Body; or because it is the Bread of Angels, aut aliquo alio modo, qui a doctoribus comprehendi potest a nobis non potest. Or some other way, which the more Learned might comprehend, but he could not. A goodly Answer indeed; School-Divinity was then but in Embryo. However since he confesseth that, this proposition, Christ's Body is Bread, is to be understood Mystically; I wonder why this proposition, the Bread is Christ's Body, must needs be taken literally. Upon that saying of Augustin quoted by Berengar. When Christ is eaten Life is eaten; neither when we*
- c. 11. 239. *do eat him, do we make parts of him. He saith, far be it, that we should so understand Christ to be eaten, as the Jews thought; that he should be cut into bits. But how could this consist with what they forced poor Bereng.*
- Baron. 1059. 13. *to confess; verum Corpus Christi sensualiter, & in veritate, frangi, & fidelium dentibus atteri, that the very true Body of Christ was Sensibly and in Truth broken, and ground, or rub'd, or torn, by the Teeth of the Faithful. What difference is there between, being really and sensibly broken and grinded, or torn, by the Teeth of the Faithful, and, in frustra conscindi, being cut into bits? The piece of Bread in my Mouth, according to them, is one entire Christ; when I chew it and grind it with my Teeth, into many many crumbs, I certainly divide, cut, tear in pieces something, (which seems to me as substantial as common Bread,) if that is really Christ's Body, I can see no difference between the Metusiasts breaking, grinding, dividing, and the Jews cutting. To divide something into a thousand pieces, and yet not divide the real Thing or Substance confessedly in it or under it, is to me an unintelligible subtilty. How*
- c. 14. *he shuffles about those words of Augustin, the Sacrament of the Body of Christ, is after a certain manner the Body of Christ, and at last confesses it to be so, non rei veritate sed significante Mystério, not in the Truth of the Thing but by a significant Mystery. That he might seem thoroughly Orthodox, he makes Transubstantiation part of his Creed; and then endeavours to reconcile this*
- c. 18. *Contradiction, what we take, is the very same Body Christ received from the Virgin, and yet it is not the very same. It is the same as to its Essence, and the propriety and virtue of its true Nature, but not the same if you regard the species of Bread and Wine. So that, according to him, what we see, and touch, and tast, and eat is by no means the same, and yet according to the Berengarian Form, what we thus, sensualiter, sensibly or sensually, receive is the very same; and therefore he is confounded at what he at last*
- c. 18. 246. *quotes out of St. August. on those words, unless you eat my Flesh, (and so say we on those words, this is my Body) understand what I have said Spiritually, ye are not to eat this Body which you see, and to drink that Blood which they shall shed, who shall Crucify me. He saith, Calumniosa ista obiectio est, this is a Calumnious objection; and he would shuffle it off by other passages in August. whereas indeed it is a sure *ὑποτίθηται*, Test, which fully explains all the Hyperbolical expressions not only of Augustin, but of all the other*
- c. 20. 247. *Ancient Fathers. Speaking of the truth of Christ's Body and Blood he drops this sentence. Non improbabilius quidam &c. Some do not improbably expound the Truth of the Body and Blood of Christ, for the very Efficientiam, Efficiency, or Effect, of them, that is, the Remission of Sins. If he allows this Exposition which is plain and intelligible, why should Rome publicly impose upon us any other, especially their own most Absurd and Ridiculous Invention? And all his Instances there of Christ his being called, a Lion, a Lamb,*
- p. 2. 249. a. *a Worm, a Rock and the like, make plainly for us. The Bread is no more*
- T. p. 109. *Christ's real Body literally, nor Christ's real Corporeal Bread, then Christ was literally a Lamb, and a very real Stone. But all is to be understood figuratively, or in a spiritual Sense. He as poorly there answers what is quoted*

ted out of *Ambrose*. *As thou hast received the similitude of Christ's Death*, in Baptism, *so thou drinkest the similitude of his Precious Blood*, in the Eucharist. How doth he, or any one else, answer that of *Bereng*. *If the Bread be turn'd into the very Body of Christ, either the Bread is lifted up into Heaven, or the Flesh of Christ is brought down to the Earth*. That shuffle in the Trent Conc. will not do; *Christ is in Heaven by a natural way of existing, but in many other places, Sacramentaliter, Sacramentally*, that is they tell you, *by such a way of existing as they could not express*. So they fob us off with a Word, which signifies just as much as *Hocus-pocus*; that is, *Nothing*. All that *Lancfranc* saith is only this, *this Argument is, secundum humanam sapientiam, non secundum Divinam, according to human Wisdom, not according to what is Divine*. This is the common subterfuge or trick of Romantick and meer speculative Divines, especially in the Roman Church. When they have once taken up and positively asserted an Opinion or Notion, though never so extravagant, and have strain'd their Wits to the utmost to make it good, and by all the fetches and subtilties of Metaphysics, or Philosophy, or Fancy colour'd it over and made it a specious Piece of Incomprehensible and Unintelligible Nonsense; if any Sober and thinking, honest-hearted Christian offerd to look into it, and judiciously examine it by the Light of God's word, and the plain Dictates of common Reason, and did not swallow it at once by a meer blind Obedience, but upon the whole found, and perhaps Published, evident Truth against it; they presently not only brand him with the opprobrious name of Schismatick or Heretick or worse, but tell him *he must captivate his Thoughts and Understanding*, and not dive into these Mysteries, (which only themselves have made;) and presently all the Texts, here mention'd by *Lancfranc*, are shot at him, *non plus sapere quam oportet sapere, He must not be Wise above what he ought to be Wise*. Paul's preaching was not with enticing words of Man's Wisdom. And, beware lest any Man spoil you through Philosophy and vain deceit after the Tradition of Men, after the Elements, or Rudiments, of the World and not after Christ. Now as to the *Chimæra* of Transubstantiation, I would fain know who have transgressed the Apostles directions, the Asserters or the Opposers of it? What is the new Invention of it, and all the School-Divinity and Trumpery, by which the *Metusiasts* endeavour to maintain it, but Presumptuous and Arrogant pretences, *to be Wiser* than all other sober Christians? What are all their Writings but tricks and enticing words of Man's Wisdom? but Metaphysical Philosophy and vain Deceit? They were the Transgressors who first contrived this monstrous Opinion, and by all the Fallacies, Forgeries, Shifts and Devices, that human Wisdom can invent, have endeavour'd, and yet do endeavour, to impose it upon the whole Christian World; and now they would turn the Apostle's Battery, which is plainly level'd against themselves upon us, and bid us beware, and not pretend to be so Wise as to examine it. At last he gives us *Berengarius* his Opinion in these words; *You believe the Bread and the Wine, at the Lord's Table, in the time of its Consecration to remain, as to their Substance, immoveable; that is, that they are, or exist, Bread and Wine before Consecrated, and are, or exist still, Bread and Wine after Consecration. That they are therefore called the Flesh and Blood of Christ, because they are Celebrated in the Church, in Memory of his Crucified Flesh, and the Blood which was shed from his side; that we being by this admonished may always remember the Lord's Passion, and remembering it may continually Crucify our own Flesh with the Vices, or Affections, and Lusts*. I was the more willing to set this down at large, because I am the more fully perswaded that he was absolutely in the right; for these words of Christ, *this is my Body, this is my Blood*, and his whole Institution, were taken up (as I have above observed) from the Custom of the Jews then in use, of eating the Bread of Affliction after the Paschal Supper; and *this is my Body*, was no more than a Hebrew phrase, signifying, *this is in Remembrance of my Body*.

T. p. 109.

249. 2.

c. 21. 249.

vid. inf. p. 112.

2. Cor. 10. 5.

Rom. 12. 3.

1. Cor. 2. 4.

c. 22. 250.

T. p. 110.

p. 5, 6, 7.

T. p. 110. as *this is the Bread of Affliction*, that is, in Remembrance of the Bread of Affliction; and the Bread in the Eucharist is as much (and no more) Christ's Body, as the present Jews Cake is the Bread of Affliction, which was eaten so long ago in *Ægypt*. Against this Profession of Bereng. Lancfranc thus argues, *If this be true, then the Jewish Sacraments were more Valuable and more Divine than the Sacrament of Christians; As Manna and the living Beasts, which the Jews Sacrificed, were better than a little Morsel of Bread and a sup of Wine.* Alas! we Christians own but one Real, Bodily and Bloody Sacrifice, Sacrificed once for all, our Crucified Lord; who was the real Substance, of which all the legal Sacrifices were but Shadows; and Berengar. hath truly taught us the end and meaning of Celebrating the Sacrament, by remembering that one Sacrifice of Christ, to crucify our corrupt Affections and Lusts; to present, thus, our Bodies a living Sacrifice, Holy, Acceptable to God; to offer up Broken and Contrite Hearts, and the Sacrifice of Praise through Christ to God Continually. These are the Christians Sacrifices, which are infinitely prefer'd before those of the Law, and which our God will not despise. This is the plain account of the first rise of the Metusians Doctrine, and I have thus briefly run over the greatest part of Lancfranc's answer to Berengar. because he seems to be one of the first, if not the very first, who Publickly opposed him; which is done so slightly, as I confess it seems to me, either a meer forced engagement, or a piece of worldly Policy, or both, as I have already hinted. Give me leave here once for all to make this most serious Enquiry.

We find it in the Liturgies of the East, as well as amongst us in the West; and likewise in many of the Antient Fathers, that Christ, at his Institution of the Sacrament, did Eat, with all the rest, and Drink, *the Bread and the Wine*, which were there set before them. St. Chrysostom, not only plainly asserts it, but also gives a solid Reason for it. His words are these. *Ut, Apostoli & Populi, tunc temporis, μὴ παραχθῶσι, minime turbarentur, primus ipse hoc fecit, ἐνάγων, incitans, vel inducens, eos, ἀταράχως, citra Perturbationem ad Mysteriorum Communionem, ipsum sui ipsius sanguinem ipse Bibit.* That, his Apostles and the People, at that time might not be troubled, or as we say, make no scruple at it, he himself first did this, inducing, or moving, them without troubling themselves, to the Communion of the Mysteries, he himself drank his own very Blood. Without doubt Chrysostom in this place had regard to what we read in St. John; Where when Christ had spoken to the People concerning their Eating his Flesh and Drinking his Blood, it is manifest what a strange disturbance his words gave them. *Except ye Eat the Flesh of the Son of Man and Drink his Blood ye have no Life in you; whosoever Eateth my Flesh and Drinketh my Blood, hath Eternal Life; for my Flesh is Meat indeed, and my Blood is Drink indeed.* These words, literally taken, were enough to astonish and confound any Man, as they then did those that heard them they cryed; *How can this Man give us his Flesh to Eat?* Again, *This is a hard saying who can bear it.* And therefore, it is no wonder, that many, even of his Disciples, went back and walked no more with him. Now therefore to explain his Words, and to take away that, their old Scruple, if any thing of it still remain'd in their Minds, he himself Eat of the Bread and Drank of the Wine, to shew that they were only Symbols or Signs, or Memorials of his Body or Flesh which was to be broken, and of his Blood which was to be shed for us; and shewed them that his Words were not to be taken literally but in a spiritual Sense. *It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the Flesh profiteth nothing; the Words that I speak unto you; they are Spirit and they are Life.* So he expounds his coming down from Heaven, to do God's will, to raise up believers at the last Day, to be betrayed to Die, that is, to teach the words of Eternal Life, as we read before, (that is his Doctrine) was the Life of the World; the Bread that came down from Heaven, the Bread of Life. Manna was not literally

rally Bread, no more was *the Bread*, which was Eaten, Christ's *very Body*, but *figuratively so*. Manna was for Food, and so called Bread; and the Bread which Christ did Eat, was not his very *Flesh and Bones*, but *the living Bread*, that is, *the Spiritual lively Remembrance of his Death*, whereof *the visible Bread* was only a Sign. To the same purpose saith St. Jerom, *Dominus Jesus ipse Conviva & Convivium, ipse Comedens, & qui Comeditur.* The Lord Jesus, himself being the Guest and the Banquet, Himself Eating and being He that is Eaten. And a little farther, *nequaquam in vetustate Literæ, sed in novitate Spiritus*; By no means in the oldness of the Letter, but in the newness of the Spirit. *Ad Passionem veniens cum gratias egisset, tenens Calicem, & bibisset ab eo, & dedisset Discipulis, dicebat eis, Bibite ex eo omnes.* Coming to his Passion — when he had given Thanks, holding the Cup, and had Drank of it, and had given it to the Disciples, he said to them, Drink ye all of this. And that Christ did partake of the Bread and Wine, at his Institution, is plain from Chrysostom's Liturgy in the words Printed (out of my MS.) here above.

T. p. 110.

Epist. 150.

Hobid. quaest.

2. p. 349.

Edit. Col. Agr.

See also Iren.

l. 5. c. 33.

Edit. Col. Agr.

p. 497.

p. 88.

Thus far, I must think, is very plain for the *Spiritual* meaning of Christ's words, *this is my Body, this is my Blood*.

Now let us see how the *literal* Sense will appear. *This is my Body*; that is, (say the Metaphysicians,) *my very Flesh and Bones which I now have about me. This is my very Blood which now moves in my Heart, Veins and Arteries.* Here I shall humbly put this Question; Did Christ Eat that his own very *Flesh and Bones*, which was then present with them? Did he Drink that his own very *Blood*, which was then dispersed throughout his whole Body? Did he then give his whole entire Body, *Flesh, Bones and Blood* (which was then there seen by all of them) to his Disciples in every Portion, nay, in every Mite, to be devoured by every one of them? The Affirmative is indeed a hard saying; for my own part I must needs confess that I cannot bear it.

So again; the Schoolmen have made a great Noise and fond Disputes about the meaning of the word, *τῆν*, *This* in Christ's Form at his Institution of the Sacrament. Now can there be a more plain and easy Sense made of it then *this Thing, this Morsel, or this Piece of Bread*, which I now hold between my Fingers and my Thumb (or in my Hand,) is *my Body*? Now if this was made that his very *Body and Bones*, which was then there Present and Visible and Tangible before them, and was then that whole *Body* held between the Fingers and Thumb, or in the Hand of the self same *Body*, at the very self-same time, and yet the same was given intirely and separately to every one of the Communicants, whilst even all this time Christ was himself there by; For my own poor Soul's sake I must heartily desire a clear Solution of this Amazing Riddle. I must my self cry out, *how could all this be?* Whereas in a spiritual Sense all these Questions may be easily, fairly, clearly and fully answer'd.

v. 32.

The Story of Berengarius is notorious enough, and by the Barbarous usage of him, we may easily Imagine what any one else was to expect, who should have dared publickly to own the same Truth. He was ready to vindicate his Doctrine before the Bishops, or any one else publickly, *si mihi tutum fieret, if it had been safe for him*; and he could have satisfied Asceline himself, *if he would have admitted him to a Conference with him, si mihi fiat copia tecum agere.* And he was ready to do the like to the King of France, and to whom he would have, out of the Scriptures. How unsafe it was for him to do this, we may guess by what he there saith of the King, that he had wrong'd him, unjustissime & Regiâ Majestate indignissime, most unjustly and most unworthily of (or not becoming) Royal Majesty; But we may more clearly see it, by Durandus his account of the Synod at Paris, where it was decreed, that unless he and all his followers repented, they should be immediately sought out by the whole French Army, and wherever they were met together, they should be besieged

Ep. ad Ascel.

T. IX. 1057. b.

Labbe.

id. c.

Ep. ad Ricard.

Labbe. T. 9.

1062. d.

T. p. III.

Labbe. T. IX.

1060. d.

T. p. 111. *until they should either consent to the Catholick Faith, or be taken and put to Death.* Only this Violence brought this great Man to do what afterwards he did, *by force to stop the Mouth of an Author or burn him,* (which is the surest way to silence him) *and to burn his Books, or (what is all one) to force him to burn them,* one would think was a pretty sure Method to root out any Doctrine quite out of the World; his Enemies may then venture to boast, *that he was publickly Confuted and Condemn'd,* and say what else they please, when scarce any Remains or Fragments of the whole proceedings are left but what they allow. This hath often been the Practice when Ecclesiastical and Secular Powers have combin'd in Violent measures. But *though Hand join in Hand,* great is Truth and it will prevail.

Now I shall not overmuch wonder at what followed. We have *Berengarius* his Story only from Popish Authors, and that (as is hinted) very imperfectly, for what that Age did not relish is in a manner all suppress'd and lost. *He,* say they, *Abjur'd his Doctrine,* his Conscience troubled him and he again maintain'd it. *He abjur'd it again,* but still it was his Opinion to his Death; for had he at last died a Convert to Rome, he would not then have been branded, *as,* cariosus nefaudissimusque Hæresiarcha, *A rotten and most infamous Archheretick.* And if those were his last words, which *W. Malmesbury* (that flattering Monk) Records, we may justly put a fairer and truer Interpretation upon them then what that Papalin hath done; *Christ will appear to me for my Repentance, I hope, to Glory; or for others, as I fear, to Punishment.* It is plain *that he repented that he had ever Abjur'd;* and he might be fearful, *that many fell off from the Truth* by that his bad Example; and the Excellent Epitaph made for him after his Death speaks him so brave a Man, as *Baronius,* if he had died at last his Creature, would never have past so peevish a censure of it, or offer'd to disparage *Hildebertus* the Author of it (as he hath done) who notwithstanding was then an Arch-Deacon, and afterwards a Bishop. *Baronius* after all durst not absolutely say that he died a *Metusiast,* at best he doubted of it, for he says, *He might find God's Mercy, if he died in the Catholick Church.*

But now what can the *Metusiasts* make of all this. *As to the Man,* we have a very sorrowful, but remarkable Instance of the Frailty of human Nature, and must lament the weakness of Flesh and Blood, when Men are set in so great a streight as to have the Option of either the Violating their Conscience, or meeting with certain Death, or Torments which are worse. If the Blessed Jesus himself in his Agony sweat drops of Blood, and so earnestly pray'd that (Death) *that bitter Cup might be removed from Him, as an Angel was sent from Heaven to strengthen Him;* why should I wonder that a meer Man should shrink at the sight of the King of Terrors? It is plain that there were many of the same Sentiments with him, and all but he (even his own Bishop) were struck Dumb by the Menaces of the Pope, and the Tyranny of the Civil Power, or wrought off some other way; He poor Man, alone could keep up his Courage against all things but Death. *Lancfranc* braves him indeed, *Nonne præstabat si veram Fidem &c.* *If you had thought your own belief was true, had it not been better for you to have ended your Life by an honest Death, then to abjure it?* It had been better indeed; but I fear there were not in those sad days, neither perhaps are there even in our own, many able to resist unto Blood. I cannot but suspect, that even *Lancfranc* himself (as is above said) and many more of the few Learned Men in that Age, were of *Berengarius* his Opinion; but by the blind Zeal and Fury, and Violence then reigning, they were wearied, and under these pressures on one side, and the allurements of Quietness and Ease, and Promotions and the like, on the other, they fainted in their Minds; as it is now the case of many in the Greek Church, as shall be by and bye more fully asserted.

But now as to the Rash Impious and Extravagant Practice of the Roman Church then towards Him, it will remain for ever such a notorious Mark of its Infamy

Infamy and Madneſs, as all the Craft and Subtilty of the Devil or Man will never be able to blot it out. *Cardinal Humbert, by order of P. Nicholas and his whole Council, drew up the Form of his Confession, which was publickly read and approved of by them all; and therefore Binius calls it, Fidei Catholicæ Confessionem, a Confession of the Catholick Faith.* Now this Article in it, *That the true Body of Chriſt is (in the Sacrament) Senſibly, not only Sacramentally (for ſo, non ſolum Sacramento muſt ſignify or ſignify nothing,) but in Truth, Handled by the Hands of the Priests, and broken, and torn by the Teeth of the Faithful,* is ſo groſs and abominable an Aſſertion (and yet impoſed upon Him by a Church which preſends to be Infallible) as their own Doctours themſelves, in that and all ſucceeding Ages, have been aſhamed of, and confounded at it. And the very Council of Trent it ſelf, (as Senſible of this) have minced the matter by ſaying, *the Body of Chriſt is preſent here (not in Veritate, in Truth, as it is in Heaven, and as Berengar. was forced to ſay, but) Sacramentaliter, Sacramentally they cannot ſay how.* It is amazing to ſee how they Sweat, and beat their Brains, to ſave the Credit of the Pope, and the Council, by mollifying, ſtretching, wreſting and variously turning and interpreting the words of the Form, every one according to his own Fancy and Conceit. *Baronius* names ſome of that Age, and *P. Lombard* mentions ſeveral of their conjectures, but at laſt he himſelf (to ſhow his Scholaſtick Nicety or Acutenefs like a Maſter) plainly contradicts the Pope and Council. Their Form ſay, *ſenſibly, not only Sacramentally but in Truth, handled and broken and torn;* He out of his own forge Coins this Ridiculous diſtinction, and ſaith, *Senſibly and in Truth handled by the Priests, but broken and torn by the Teeth Sacramentally only.* *Baronius* (it may be in favour of this diſtinction) leaves out, (et,) and, reading it, tractari, frangi & atteri, to be handled, broken and torn; yet *Lombard* himſelf puts it in, in the very Paragraph beforegoing; now when it is there ſaid plainly by *Berengarius* his Form, *in Truth to be handled and broken and torn,* what pretence *Lombard* had for this ſhuffle I cannot ſee; ſo that, *in truth ſenſibly to be torn, and, not in Truth but only Sacramentally to be torn,* I think is a plain Contradiction; However it is manifeſt that *Lombard* did not hold Tranſubſtantiation in ſo foul and groſs a manner, as *Pope Nicholas* and his whole Council did. The ſecond Form of *Berengarius* his abjuration was abſurd enough, but not altogether in ſo groſs Terms as the firſt. *That the Bread and Wine were Subſtancially turn'd into the true and proper and enlivening Body and Blood of Chriſt; and were the true Body of Chriſt which was Born of the Virgin, and hang'd on the Croſs, and ſits at the right hand of the Father, and the true Blood which was ſhed from his Side; not only by a ſign or the virtue of the Sacrament, but in the Propriety of Nature and the Truth of the Subſtance.* Their Heat and Madneſs were now ſomething abated; perhaps by the previous Diſputes and Diſquiſitions, which were there held for ſome days by the Members of that Council. They were far enough from being all of one Mind, multis hæc, nonnullis illa prius ſentientibus, many thinking thus, ſome (as the matter is there minced) thinking otherwiſe, to wit, that all was only Figuratively to be underſtood; However the greateſt part aſſerted the ſubſtancial Conversion of the Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Chriſt; without doubt it was an eaſy thing for the Pope to ſecure a Majority; it is there ſaid, *ſome of the neighbouring Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, and Religious Perſons, and of divers Regions and Provinces, met by the Pope's Precept; the number of them is not known, but we may well imagine that the greateſt Part were Creatures of his own, culled, and pickt and called for his purpoſe.* Yet it is plain by this, that as yet the Doctrine was but a diſputable Point; and that many great Men, ſuch as were counted fit to be Members of a Council, held contrary Opinions to it. But this is moſt plain in *P. Lombard* himſelf; he again and again tells us of ſeveral Opinions concerning the Eucharift, then freely and without any publick Controul main-

T. p. 112.

Baron. 1059.

13.

Lab. T. ix.

1102. c.

Supr. 109. Q.

1059. 18.

Diſſinſt. 12.

1059. 13.

T. p. 113.

Conſ. Rom.

Lab. T. x. 378

tain'd and ventilated. Some held that it was received by good Men only; some that the (real) Body of Christ was not on the Altar, and that the Substance of the Bread was not turn'd into the Substance of his Flesh. Whether the Conversion was Formal, or Substantial, or after another manner, Lombard saith, he himself was not able to determine; some thought it was Substantial, and he saith, the Authorities alledged for it, seemed (for he is not there positive) to him to agree with it. Others opposed this Opinion. Others denied that the Substance of Bread is at any time the Flesh of Christ. Others allow'd that that which was Bread is after Consecration the Body of Christ, but it does not follow, that Bread is the Flesh of Christ. Some said that under the Accidents of the Bread, there is the Substance of the Body, but it is not made out of them; but that the Bread pass into the Body; and they said that either the Substance of Bread is resolved into the present Matter (Christ's Body) or annihilated. Others thought that the Substance of the Bread still remain'd, and that the Body of Christ was there also; This is plain Consubstantiation. Some thought the Bread only dipt in the Wine was a sufficient Eucharist. Concerning the Accidents, it seem'd to him that they should exist without a Subject, rather than be in one; However he did not absolutely assert That then. Some thought that there was no real Breaking, but that something only seem'd to be Broken. Others that there might be a Breaking by Divine Power, where nothing is broke. Others that Christ's Body is essentially Broken, and yet, exist intire. His Opinion was that the Breaking was in the Species or Accidents, and not in the Substance of the Body, seeing the Accidents were without a Subject; Although some asserted them to be founded in the Air. He tells us, That also may be safely said, that the Body of Christ is not taken by Brute Animals, though it seems so; what then doth a Mouse take, or what doth she eat? God knows.

Amongst these various Conceits and Opinions, That of the Conversion of the very Substance of the Elements, into the very Substance of Christ's Body and Blood was counted most Orthodox, because it came the nearest to the first Form of Berengarius his first Abjuration, and so in some measure it saved the Credit of P. Nicholas and his Council, and after a fashion preserved that main corner Stone of that Church, its Infallibility, secure; for after P. Nicholas and his Council had once (though rashly) approved that Doctrine, they could by no means part with it; and therefore to fix it forever, and at once to cut off all other Disputes and Reasonings amongst them to the contrary, P. Innocent the third called a Council, and trimming it and softning it a little, he there made it an Article of Faith in these words. In which (Church) Jesus Christ himself is the very Priest and Sacrifice. Whose Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar are truly contain'd under the Species of Bread and Wine; they being Transubstantiated by Divine Power, the Bread into the Body, and the Wine into the Blood; that we may receive of His, what he himself received of ours, to perfect the Mystery of Unity. This Pope and Council seem plainly ashamed of what P. Nicholas had done; for if what he made poor Berengarius confess, was then (as it was called) the Catholick, Infallible, Faith, why should this Pope and Council recede one tittle from it; or why did Greg. 7. doubt of it, enquiring of God by Fasting and Prayers, whether Berengarius or P. Nicholas his Doctrine was the truest. And here I must make a Remark or two upon this Council, which are not I believe, so obvious to every Reader. The Latins vauntingly call this, a General, an Universal, an Oecumenical Council; and the History of it tells us, that two of the chief Patriarchs, of Constantinople and Hierusalem were there; and that he of Antioch sent a certain Bishop as his Proxy, and he of Alexandria sent one Germanus, a Deacon, as his. That the Emperor of Constantinople and the King of Jerusalem, (as well as other Kings and Princes) sent their Embassadors thither. This looks very great indeed; as if both the Eastern

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T. p. 113.

l. 4. dist. 9.

§. 2.

Dist. 10. 1.

Dist. 11. 1.

§. 2.

§. 3.

§. 4.

§. ult.

Dist. 21. 1.

§. 2.

§. 3.

§. 4.

§. 5.

Dist. 13.

§. 1. infin.

T. p. 114.

and 1215.

T. conc. 11.

part 1. p. 143.

c. cap. 1.

Fascicul. rerum

exposit. p. 40. a.

Labbe. T. 11.

part 1. p. 116.

and Western Church had met and agreed to settle *this monstrous Doctrine*; and the little Note, set there before *the Decrees*, impudently asserts as much. But when all is done, it was but *a Politick Club or packt assembly of Latins* only, and of such as were the Pope's Creatures, and their Subjects under them. *Henry, the Latin Emperor*, then had *Constantinople*, and *Joannes Bravenus* was then titular King of *Jerusalem*; These made Latin Patriarchs; either *Matthaus*, (*a Venetian*) or some other (between him and *Tho. Maracenus*, who was the first Latin Patriarch,) was then the Latin Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and *Radulphus* was the Latin or titular Patriarch of *Jerusalem*. I am sure *Theodorus Lascars*, the true Greek Emperor, was not there; neither was *Maximus* or *Manuel*, (one of them being then the true Greek Patriarch) there, who that obscure Bishop (*Episcopus Antheradenus*, or *Anteradenus* or rather *Antaradenus*) and that Deacon, *Germanus*, were, (who are said to be Proxies of the Patriarchs of *Antioch* and *Alexandria*;) I cannot tell; However they seem to me to be two too mean Fellows to represent too such great Thrones as these; and I rather think that they were two mere empty names only, or perhaps they were two Mercenary Creatures, who were then substituted there by the Pope as such Representatives, that this Assembly might seem more General and of more Authority, as seeming to be made up by the five Grand Patriarchs of the Church; and it is a well known Trick and Practice of the *Roman Church* to make, and muster up such nominal Patriarchs, Arch-Bishops, and Bishops and the like, upon such occasions; *P. Innocent* would not slip this fair opportunity, of getting such a specious Grand Council to settle his Grand Doctrine. The Decrees of this Council are said to have been written both in the *Greek* and *Latin*; and that the *Latin* Copy remains yet entire, but the *Greek* Copy is imperfect and worn out in many places; which truly, as to the *Latin* Cause, is very great Pity indeed; for, had that been preserv'd entire likewise, they might then have prescribed from hence for the Antiquity of the *Greek* word, *μετεσώμειν*, as well as of their *Latin* word *Transubstantiatio*; if in the first Decree, it had in the Copy then been read, *μετεσώμειν*, for *Transubstantiatis* in the *Latin*; and they might have then, without any farther trouble, thus have clearly proved that both Churches, (supposing the *Greeks* were there) had then been fully agreed in that Point, and it is as great a loss for them, that the *Greek* Text of the fourth Decree is wholly wanting, whose Title is, *of the Pride of the Greeks against the Latins*; For (still supposing the *Greeks* had been there) it would have remain'd as a perpetual Memorial of the *Greeks* Confessing and Repenting of a grievous Fault there charged against them, that they had so abominated the *Latins* formerly, as that if any *Latins* had said *Mass* at any of their *Altars*, they wash'd them as being unclean, before they themselves would use them again; and if any, of the *Latin* persuasion, turn'd to that of the *Greeks*, the *Greeks* Re-baptized them; nay, they had it by hearsay, (*sicut accepimus*) that this was even then the *Greeks* practice. Now can any rational honest Man believe, that the *Greek Church* then and there agreed, by sufficient Representatives, to this shameful Decree against themselves? What ridiculous stuff and pompous fraud is this? What vile Methods and wicked Courses have been taken to obtrude such prodigious Trumpery upon the World?

This is the short, but true account, of the Rise, and Progress and Establishment of this monstrous Doctrine; and now since the Pope in a general Council (as they call it) had declared it absolutely as an Article of Faith, his pretended *Infallibility* and *Transubstantiation* are so inseparably riveted together, and so firmly racked to his Church, that, as the one hath a while, like a Bladder, made a poor shift to bear it up; so the other, like a ponderous Mountain, will in time as certainly sink it down. Pope *Innocent* could not himself be insensible of this; and therefore to maintain this *Carnal*, shall I say, or rather *Diabolical* Invention, and secure matters as well as he could; he betook himself to the *Arm of Flesh*, and in that Council decreed, that all Hereticks should be

T. p. 114.

ibid. 142.

Marin. sanut.

secret. l. 3.

part. 11. c. 5.

Spondan. 1215.

§. 12.

Sanut. ut supr.

Georg. Acrop.

c. 19. p. 17.

Mirai notit.

Episc. p. 211.

T. p. 115.

Decr. 3. T. 11.

p. 148.

Con-

T. p. 116. *Condemn'd to the Secular Powers; if they were Clergymen, they should be degraded from their Orders, and their Goods applied to their respective Churches; if they were Laymen, their Goods should be Confiscated. That all suspected Persons, should clear themselves or be Excommunicated. That all secular Powers should be compelled to Swear, that they would extirpate all those that the Church had noted for Hereticks. That all Temporal Lords, who did not do thus, should be Excommunicated; and if they stood so Excommunicated a year, the Pope was to absolve their Subjects from their Allegiance to them, and to expose their Land to be possess'd by such Catholicks as would do the business. He Establish'd the Cruciatæ, that is, gave large Indulgences and Privileges to those, who under the badge of the Cross should undertake to root out Hereticks. That no Heretical Judge, or Advocate, or Scrivener should Practice, neither should any thing which they did be Authentical. All Receivers, or Abettors and Favourers of Hereticks were to be Excommunicated; and if they continued so one year, they should be incapable of all publick Offices, Councils, Elections, or of making a Will. No Clergyman was to give such Persons as these the Sacrament or Burial. All Prelates were obliged to make the neighbourhood in every suspected Parish to Swear, to Inform of all Hereticks and Conventicles, which came to their knowledge; and they, who should refuse to swear thus, were to be reputed Hereticks themselves. This Tyrannical Decree served not only to justify all the Rigour and Severity before used towards Berengar, and all his followers, but to give Authority for the Future, to all the furious Inquisitions, Barbarous Cruelties, and Savage Inhuman Practices, which Thousands and Thousands, even all good Men of contrary Perswasions, every where met with; when all the Ignorant, hotheaded Monks and Friars, the Lewd Mass Priests and Domineering Prelates, the Superstitious and Biggotted or rather Infatuated Potentates, were thus let loose and set on upon them. By this we see how in Ignorant, Debauched, and Degenerated Times, Power may make any thing pass for an Article of Faith.*

We will now see when and by what Methods this strange and upstart Doctrine had its Rise and Progress in the East, especially in the Greek Church. I have already taken Notice that the Greek Fathers have used many Figurative or Metaphorical Expressions about the Sacrament, as μεταποιεῖν, μεταποιῖς, μεταβάλλειν, μεταβολή, to be changed, to change, a changing, μεταποιχεῖν, to be transelemented; St. Augustin explains that, the Element (of Bread) by the word, (being Consecrated,) is made the Sacrament; it was common Bread before, but now holy μετασχεύειν, to be transformed, (as when a Priest is made a Bishop) or reformed, (as when a wicked Man is made Good) μεταρρυθμίζω, to be new model'd. The Holy Ghost is said θεοποιῖται, to Deify, Men, or (if you will say) the Sacrament too, it cannot be literally true. Now all these expressions signify a Change indeed, which we allow; but there may be several Modes or Manners of Changing, (as appears by what hath been said out of P. Lombard and the rest) and of all these Modes the Latins have chosen the most Absurd. The learned Simon seems to Triumph, as if we cavil only at the word Transubstantiation, and saith, that we may as well Quarrel at the words, Trinity, Consubstantiality (and so at Hypostasis, and Person, and the like) which were used by the Church to explain that Doctrine, which had not been before so plainly and fully delivered. Now as this learned Man truly saith, we are to enquire whether the antient Greeks really did mean by these several words, a Substantial change, or no. If therefore he could shew us where the antient Greek Fathers declare in plain and pure Sense, as much for the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, as the late Mongrels, which he quotes, have done (Coresius, Dionys. Protosyncellus, and that paultry Monk, Agapius,) especially for the Accidents remaining without a Subject, I believe we should not much matter either the Latins or Greeks new invented words; we should thank him to shew us the thing it self clearly express

in

Supra p. 50.

p. 113.

p. 16.

p. 121.

p. 121. a.

p. 124.

in them, or, as he saith, *more clear then the noon day Sun*. But all we are told by their own Authors, *that the Wafer or Bread broken into three parts, at the Sacrament, signifies and figures out a threefold Body of Christ, the first Particle signify the Body which rose and is now in Heaven, the second which is eaten by the Priest and People, signifies his Body the Church Militant, the Church figures the Church Dead in Christ, which being united to him shall rise again, and is called the Viaticum*. Now if the Bread may be, or is, all or any of these, it is only figuratively; and is far from being Transubstantiated. All the Greek Fathers Expressions fall infinitely short of this, *that the very Substance of the Elements is destroy'd, or vanish, or is chang'd into the very Substance of Christ's Body and Blood*; which is the Plain meaning of Transubstantiation avow'd by the Romish Church; and therefore they have nothing to plead for it directly out of the writings of the Antient Greeks.

Caryophilus, a Renegado Greek, upbraids the Calvinists for saying *that the old Greek Fathers did not understand, δύναμιν, the Force or Power or Efficacy of the Eucharist*. Whether they did or no, the Learned World must be Judge; But I fancy that *Caryophilus* himself either did not understand it, or did not understand the Fathers whom he cites about it, or rather he dissembled the matter. These are there noted by him as the words of *Basil's Prayer*, before the receiving of the Bread, *Attend, O Christ, from thy Holy Habitation and the Throne of the Glory of thy Kingdom, and do Thou, who sittest above with the Father, and art here Invisibly with us, come to Sanctify us*; Here seem to be two Persons of Christ intimated, one with his Body sitting in Heaven, the other Invisibly then Present on Earth; so these words, after the Consecration, *Teach us, O our God, to perfect Holiness in thy Fear, that in the pure Testimony of our Conscience, we receiving a Portion of thy Sanctified things, ἐν ὁσμῶν, may be united to (or made one with) the holy Body and Blood of thy Christ, and having received them worthily, may have Christ dwelling in our Hearts*. I ask, is it then a Corporeal descent of Christ's Body in Heaven that is pray'd for? Are we to be united to, or made one with, *that real Flesh and Blood*, which is here pray'd for, and they pretend to be first in Heaven and then to come down? Are we to be made walking Members or Pieces (pardon the Expression) of *that real Body*? (For they cannot conceive that we are made *the whole entire Body*;) or when all is done, ought not *all this* to be interpreted *Figuratively and Spiritually*? For there is no Reason in the World to take one Prayer or Part, Spiritually, and the other Corporeally and Litterally. So those Celebrated words of *Chrysostom*, which the Latins Glory in, and he there quotes to prove, *that we eat Christ's Body with our Teeth; that we may be commixed into (or with) the Flesh of Christ, not only κατὰ τὴν ἀγάπην by Charity (or universal Christian Love) ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα, but also in very deed. This is done by that Nourishment which he, ἐχαρίσατο, hath Graciously given us. Therefore, ἀνέμιξε, he hath commixt himself with us, and, ἀνέμιξε, hath mingled his Body into (or with) us, that we may be made, ἐν τῇ, one thing, as the Body join'd to the Head. And shewing the Desire (or Affection) of himself which he hath for us, He, to those who desire it, hath not only offer'd himself, that they may see him, but also touch him, and eat him, and fasten the Teeth in his Flesh, and, συμπλακῶν, be knitted together and fulfil their whole Desire. Are our Bodies, or we, in very Deed, truly commixed with the Body or Flesh of Christ Bodily? Are we all, Bodily made one thing with him, so as the Earthly Body join'd to the Head is One? If all this must necessarily be expounded in a Spiritual and Figurative Sense, why must not the rest be expounded so likewise? As thus, we as verily see him with the Eye of Faith (and the Latins see Him no otherwise,) as we steadily see the plain Bread with our Bodily Eyes; (we at our solemn Commemoration of his Passion, relish his Sufferings, and the easy Commands and gracious Promises of his Covenant in our Minds, and feel the blessed Virtue and Comfort of them in our Souls, and*
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T. p. 116.

p. 124. b.

Macrologus de

Missa c. 17.

p. 208. Gemma

anima. c. 57.

p. 191.

Habertus in

Archieratico.

p. 226.

228.

2 Cor. 7. 12

p. 240. ex both.

81. in Math.

et 46. in Joh.

T. p. 116. they are digested into Spiritual Nourishment, by our Understanding and Meditation, as verily, as we Touch, Tast, Eat and Digest the Bread with our Body; Nay, we may be more Truly and Rationally said to do all this with our Souls then with our Bodies; for it is with our Souls alone that we Tast, and See and Feel and Perceive and Exercise all our Senses, as well as Think; we cannot have a truer Explication of all this Matter, then what Christ himself hath given; *The words that I speak, saith he, unto you, of Eating my Flesh and Drinking my Blood, are Spirit and are Life.* And so those other Expressions of Chrysostom, cited by Habertus, are to be expounded Figuratively or Spiritually, as well as those last there set, *the Body* (of Christ) *Immortalized by God, when it is in our Body,* ὅλον πρὸς ἑαυτο μεταποιεῖ καὶ μετατίθησιν, *Changes and Translates it wholly into it self.* It is a very common thing with the antient Fathers, especially the Greeks, in their Raptures and their Divine Transports to use very Hyperbolical and Catacrestical strain'd Expressions, which in a plain literal Sense would seem very highly Irrational and Extravagant; but in a refined Spiritual Sense, will well enough suit with their elevated Devotions. Let that one Instance above out of Nazianzen suffice for all, *we are all by the Holy Ghost, θεοποιούμενοι, Deified, made very Gods;* like that in Pythagoras verses, *A good Man, ἀθάνατος θεός, ἀμείροτος, ἐκ ἐπιθνήτος, is made an Immortal God, Incorruptible, no longer Mortal;* So in Patriarch Jeremias, as you will have it by and bye, *true Receivers of the Eucharist* χρυσιαῖζον θεοί, *are named Gods.* These are only Raptures, or elevated Expressions of the Dignity of a Virtuous or Pious Man. But I'll return to my little History.

The first attempt therefore of the Latins upon the Greeks, was at the Council of Florence, There is not any account either in Labbe or Syropulus of any publick Disputation or Canvase there held by the Greeks and Latins about Transubstantiation, yet Caranza absolutely makes That, the last of the five Points there Controverted between them. If it was Controverted, then it is plain that the Greeks were not of the same Mind with the Latins, in that Point, before they came there; If it was not Controverted, but that the Greeks were of the same Opinion with the Latins before, why was it not put into the Definition, as well as the rest? The four Greeks, who went to the Pope, they to flatter him said, *they believed the Bread was Consecrated by the words of Christ, and so passed by their own avowed Opinion of its being Consecrated by the Prayers of the Priest there following.* But still they said, πλειῶστα, *that it was Consecrated, not Transubstantiated.* And all this was Transacted by private Men, and it never came before the Council, neither was any thing then publicly determin'd about it. So as in those days it cannot be said that Transubstantiation was an article of Faith amongst the Greeks; for if it had it would certainly have been in the Definition. Yet if it had been there, it would not have done their business, seeing that Council was carried on by the Pope, and his Creatures both, with all the Force and Tricks and Baseness imaginable, and with the most Barbarous and Violent usage both to the poor Greeks and the Emperor himself, who was then sorely press'd for supplies to defend Constantinople; and the Latins took all their Advantage from his extream necessities, (as not only Syropulus but their own printed Acts sufficiently declare,) and yet (as is above-said) he would by no means permit that any thing of that Nature should be put into the Definition. And no sooner did the Greeks return, but the three other Patriarchs, then living, called a Council and therein unanimously declared against the Decrees of the Council of Florence, and own'd that they had been betray'd by their Representatives, and threatned the Emperor himself if he should persist in the pretended Union; You may see how ignominiously the Fathers were received at Constantinople at their return, and their renouncing and condemning the Decree in that solemn complaint, πεπράχαμεν τὴν πίσιν ἡμῶν, *we have sold our Faith, and commuted our Religion for Impiety, betraying the pure Sacrifice, we have used unleavened Bread.* I have an extract, which

I took

I took out of an Authentick MS of another Council, held to the same purpose, by *Simeon* Patriarch of *Constantinople* and his other Brethren, after the City was taken. And not only the Greeks and their four Patriarchs, but the *Russ* also utterly disclaimed the *Florentine* Council, and its pretended Union; in so much as *Isidore*, their Arch-Bishop, (who had been a great, but Treacherous manager in that Assembly, and was made a Cardinal for it,) when he came home was imprison'd, and had he not luckily made his escape he had certainly been cut off. And *Bissarion*, who had been another false Brother here, durst not go home to *Constantinople*, but came to an Ignominious Death far from his own Country; for he had juggled (after his Greek way,) with *Lewis King of France*, pretending to reconcile a difference between him and *Charles Duke of Burgundy*, and the King took him gently by his long Beard, and said, *Barbara Græca genus retinent, quod habere solebant*, intimating that he was as his Country Men of old, a treacherous Greek; which disgrace, as a notable Jesuit tells us, within a little while after broke his Heart. Thus God rewarded, even in this World, these two top sticklers in that Council, who villainously betray'd and cajol'd the rest of their Greek Brethren there.

T. p. 117.

Guagn. Masch.
descr. p. m.
173. 35.Doutreman. c.
Constant. Belg.
l. 1. c. 11.

The state of the Greek Church, after *Constantinople* was taken by the *Turks*, continued in Peace and Quietness but a very little while; I think during the rule of only the two first Patriarchs; for afterwards it was most miserably harrassed, distracted, and oppress'd; Partly by the insatiable Avarice, and boundless Violence of the Sultans, and their Ministers and Favourites; partly by the mutual Envy and Hatred and the Ambition, and (from hence,) by the lamentable Quarrels and Dissentions amongst the Greeks themselves, especially the Patriarchs and the great Men in the Church. And the Romish Emis-faries and other managers, (those dexterous Fishers in troubled Waters) you may be sure reaped no small Advantage by it; they now more easily and securely scatter'd their Principles amongst them; and many of the better sort of Greek Youths to get Learning (which was now almost lost in Greece) went and were educated in *Italy*; and thus by degrees the Latins every where insinuated their Doctrines, not only into the ignorant and meaner sort of the People, (who were now like poor Sheep, without any Shepherd, going astray,) but even into several of their chief Church-Men, then divided and distracted amongst themselves. And from those days I must date the very beginning of the Greeks degenerating, and by degrees being poison'd with the Latin Doctrines; Men of any Learning, under difficulties and Oppression, daily warping towards the Roman Tenents, or for quietness seeming to favour them. Thus *Metrophanes* Metropolitane of *Cæsarea*, a Man of some Learning and Breeding, went to *Rome* to consult with the *Pope* and *Cardinals* about some method to be taken for uniting the two Churches; but there was then so strong a party of true stanch Greeks remaining, as that when he came home again, he was in a solemn Synod, publicly Excommunicated for it. Yet for all this he plaid his game so well, as not long after he was made Patriarch himself; *Joasaphus*, or, (as *Allatius* calls him,) *Josaphat*, being laid aside and he thrust into his place. This *Joasaphus* was not only a Learned Man himself, but was also the first Promoter of Learning amongst them; having sent for *Joh. Zygomalas*, an able Man to *Constantinople*, and he gave him a Salary to Teach the Youth there the learned Greek Tongue, and the liberal Arts and Sciences. *Mich. Cantacusanus*, (who then Domineer'd, and did what he would amongst the Greeks,) had a great Pique and Private Grudge against him; but though this his Spite and false Accusations, (which by his means were moved and managed in a publick Synod against him,) are reported as the main Causes of this Patriarch's Ejection; yet I doubt not, but with one Party of the Factions then reigning there, this very thing not a little contributed to it, to wit, He had set up publick Schools for Learning at *Constantinople* and, (Ignorance being the Mother and Nurse of the Latins Doctrine as well as Devotion) this would

T. p. 118.

Crus. Turco.
Grac. p. 212.

ibid. 170.

ibid. p. 92.

- T. p. 118. spoil the Roman Mercate there, and keep the Greeks from going to *Italy*, and so from their being any longer tainted and Debauched in their Principles there; As this was one of the chief occasions afterwards of *Cyril Lucar's* ruin. I am the more confirm'd in that my abovesaid conjecture, because this *Metrophanes*, who was intruded into his place, was all along a well wisher to the *Roman Cause*; and *Busbequius*, who was his acquaintance, tells us, *He was very eager for an Agreement between the Latin and Greek Churches, beyond the Custom of the rest of that Nation, which in a manner abominate the Men of our Religion*, saith he, *as Impure and Profane*. And *Gerlachius*, (though he is very favourable in the rest of his Character as having contracted a friendship with him,) saith the very same of him. Yet this *Metrophanes* after he had sat eight or nine years was forced to resign, and *Jeremias*, that noted Man, succeeded him. But about seven years after *Metrophanes* got in again, and within a year died; and *Jeremias* was again restored to his Seat, and sat some time; but *Pachomius*, his bitter Enemy, got him Banished to *Rhodes*, and thrust himself into his Place; but the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* excommunicated him for it, and he was himself Banished; and *Theoleplus* by violence next obtain'd the Seat, but was turn'd out and *Jeremias* recalled the third time, and died Patriarch. This *Jeremias* hath a wonderful Character given him by *Malaxus*, and it is plain that the other Patriarchs and Metropolitans, and the better sort of Greeks, lov'd him and honour'd him, by their setting him so often upon the Throne; and although Ambition and Envy and Malice mixt with divers Intreagues, might in that confused state of the Greek Church create him many Enemies, yet I am apt to believe that there was another, as powerful a motive, added to all these, which particularly animated the Roman faction against him. They did not think him altogether a Man for their purpose, at least not so Zealous as *Metrophanes* had been; for he was a Learned and Studious Man, and encouraged Learning as much as *Joasaphus* had done; and in some things he directly opposed the Latins, in other things he rather shuffled and would not come up to their pitch; I will give you an Instance as to both these Points. Pope *Gregory* the XIII. endeavour'd to introduce his new Reformation of the Calendar into the Greek Church; *Jeremias* and the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and others, vigorously opposed it, by a solemn Declaration under their hands, and publicly condemn'd the Pope for his vain Glory, and for troubling the Churches of Christ, by violently obtruding his Novelties upon them; yet I find that some of his Enemies were so wicked, that they falsely and maliciously suggested quite the contrary to the Sultan, as if he had conspired with the Pope to bring in his new Calendar at Constantinople, when really he was the main Man that kept it out. Next let us see his Sentiments about the Eucharist. The *Wirtemberg* Divines had sent to *Jeremias*, the *Augustan Confession*, desiring his Opinion of it; and you may, bye the bye, perceive by this, that they did not take him for a profest Romanist. And as to the Point of *Transubstantiation* (which, next to the *Infallibility*, is the second bewitching Darling of the Latins) let the Reader judge whether he really may be said to have embraced it, or whether he rather only cautiously paid a Compliment to it, and reserved other thoughts to himself, for it had been then a very dangerous thing for him to have plainly exprest himself against it; as the *Wirtemberg* Divines, in *Thuanus*, seem to intimate. He saith; Δοξάζει ἡ καθολικὴ Ἐκκλησία, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμόν, ὁ μὲν ἄρτος μεταβάλλεται εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τῆς χριστοῦ, ὁ δὲ ὄνους εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ αἷμα, διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου, ἐντύμῃ ὅτι δηλαδὴ, τῷ ἄρτι, καὶ ἐκ αἵματος — εἰπελάετε, Φάγετε ὃ τῆτο εἶπὼν ἐστὶν αἷμα, ἢ τύπος τῆς σωματικῆς, ἀλλὰ τῆτο ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμά μου καὶ τὸ αἷμά μου. — ὃ τύπος λοιπὸν ἢ αἷμα ὁ ἄρτος τῆς κυριακῆς σωματικῆς, ἀλλ' ἐντύμῃ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς κυρίου σῶμα. — ὁ ἄρτος γίνεται σῶμα χριστοῦ, ἐπιφοιτήσει τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι μεταποιῶνται, καὶ ὁ ὄνους καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αἷμα χριστοῦ, αὐτὰ ὑπὸ λόγον καὶ ἐννοίαν. — ὕδωρ Φυῶς μεταποιῶνται εἰς τὸ σῶμα χριστοῦ, καὶ ἐκ εἰσὶ δύο ἀλλ' ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτό. ἐκ ἐστὶ δὲ τύπος ὁ ἄρτος καὶ ὁ ὄνους τῆς σωματικῆς καὶ αἱματικῆς τῆς χριστοῦ, μὴ γένοιτο. Ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τῷ
- Ep. 4. p. m. 187.
- Crus. ut supr. p. 212. id. 176. id. 212.
- Phil. Cyprius.
- Crus. 176.
- T. p. 119.
- Hen. Hielar. Chronicon. in Append. c. 5. id. p. 428.
1. 73. p. m. 494. c. 10. p. 86. resp. 1.
- c. 4. §. 3. resp. 2. p. 240.

τῷ κυρίῳ τεθεωμένον. Αὐτῷ τῷ κυρίῳ ἐπόντος, τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν, ὃ τύπος τῷ σώματι, ἀλλὰ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ὃ τύπος τῷ αἵματι, ἀλλὰ τὸ αἷμα. *The Catholick Church do hold that at the Consecration the Bread is changed into the very Body of Christ, and the Wine into the very Blood, by the Holy Spirit; that is, the Bread being Leavened and not Unleavened — Christ said, take, Eat. Not saying this is an Unleavened thing or a Type of my Body, but this is my Body and my Blood. — Therefore the Bread is not a Type of Christ's Body, or an Unleavened Thing, but Leavened, and the very Body of the Lord. — The Bread is, or is made, the Body of Christ, and the Wine and the Water the Blood of Christ, by the accession of the Holy Spirit changing them above Reason, (any Word) or Thought, — they are changed Supernaturally into the Body and Blood of Christ, and are not two but one and the same thing. The Bread and the Wine are not a Type of the Body and Blood of Christ, (far be it from us,) but they are the Body of the Lord Deified, the Lord himself saying, this is, not a Type of my Body, but my Body; and not a Type of my Blood, but my Blood. Now, his saying, the Bread and Wine are changed into the very Body, and very Blood of Christ, without doubt pleased the Latins well; but as he explains himself, it is far enough from Transubstantiation. They are changed, saith he, ὑπερφυσικῶς, ὑπὲρ λόγον καὶ ἐννοίαν, Supernaturally; as to the mode or manner, it is beyond what we can say or think, and again μυρίων σωματίων χρεῖα thousands and thousands of Mouths or Tongues are not able to express it. The Bread is changed into Christ's Body, no Man knows how, saith Jeremias, yes, say the Latins, we will tell you how, the Substance of the Bread is quite lost, and only the Accidents remain; the good Patriarch either knew nothing of this Theology; or, if he did, he would not own it. Next he positively denies the use of, ἀζύμον, what is unleavened, that is plainly wrong Doctrine at Rome. But he saith, the Bread of Christ's Body is not a Type but the very Body. True, but he calls it Bread still, and does not any where at all blame the Lutherans for believing that the Bread remains after Consecration. Again he saith, the Bread and Wine are not Types, but then he adds, they are the very Deify'd Body of the Lord. Did the Patriarch now think, or did Berengarius confess, or could Pope Nicholas believe, the Deified Body of Christ was handled and broken by the Priest, and chew'd and torn by the Teeth of the receivers? He saith indeed that they are not Types, but sure he forgot what he said before, or if he remember'd it (supposing him a real Metusiast) he prevaricated egregiously; for he saith, ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁρῶμεν τὸν χριστὸν τυπόμενον καὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ πάθη, καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Φαλμοῖς καὶ ἀναγνώσει καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπο τῷ ἱερέως διὰ πάσης τελετῆς πραττομένοις ἡ οἰκονομία τῷ σωτήρι οὐ μαίνεται — καὶ ἐστὶν ἡ πᾶσα μεταγωγία καθάπερ εἰκὼν μία ἐνὸς σώματος τῆς τῷ σωτήρι πολιτείας, πάντα αὐτῆς τὰ μέρη ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους, κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλα τάξιν καὶ ἀρμονίαν ὑπὸ ὅψιν ἄγνοια. In these, (that is, all the parts of the whole Celebration of the Eucharist) we see Christ Typified and all his works and sufferings for us. For in the Psalms and Lessons, and by every thing which the Priest doth throughout the whole Office, the Oeconomy, or Administration, of our Saviour is signified. — And the whole sacred Action is as it were one Image of one Body of the Policy, or Conversation, of our Saviour upon Earth, bringing all its parts from the beginning to the ending, (according to their respective Order and Harmony or Agreement,) under our sight. Here he makes the whole Business but one continued Type, or a meer Representative of Christ upon Earth, from his Birth to his Ascension; and yet he presently, saith, τὰ τίμα δῶρα εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ κυριακὸν μεταβάλλει σῶμα, τὰ πάντα ταῦτα δεξάμενον, that the precious Gifts, the Bread and Wine, are changed into the very Body of our Lord, which hath undergone all these things, was Crucify'd, Rose again, Ascended. This whatever he meant by it, by no means hang together, that all the parts of the Celebration should be Typical and meerly Representative, and yet this last alone, Real. Run over the Liturgy beforegoing, the Bread stab'd with the*

T. p. 119.

T. p. 120.

p. 110.

p. 192.

c. 13. p. 97.

p. 16. & Caba-
silas MS. Δ.
Lance, p. 65.

- T. p. 120. *Lance*, represents the Piercing of his Side, and his Crucifixion; The Wine and Water, the Blood and Water issuing from his Side; the Asterisk, the Star at Bethlehem; the Coverings over the Asterisk, Christ's Burial; and the like. Now why must the bare Narrative of Christ's Institution of the Eucharist, (which only tells us matter of Fact, and so really Represents to us only what he did and spake himself) be so understood, as these words, *this is my Body, this is my Blood*, must here now be taken as Litterally true, and effectual, and not Typically or Figuratively, as all the other parts are? So
- Q. p. 20.
- T. p. 121. Christ's Ascension is afterwards Typified by the carrying of the Dish and the Chalice into the Prothesis; when the Priest there saith, *be thou Exalted, O God, above the Heavens*, must we believe Litterally that Christ is really then Exalted, or is this to be lookt upon only as a Type or Representation of it? Again he seems to use the very Latins expressions, when he saith, *Christ did not say this is a Type of my Body, but this is my Body*, this may seem to be against us, as that other is directed against the Latins, *he did not say this is, αζυμων, unleavened*. As to the first I am sure Christ did not say, *this is, αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμά μου, my very Body*, but *σῶμά μου, my Body*; and therefore it is highly unreasonable to stretch it to an absurd Litteral meaning, when it may be fairly called his Body in another Sense; as the Jews Cake is truly called the Bread of Affliction, by an usual Hebrew Phrase, and yet it is not the very same individual Bread that their Fathers did Eat so long before. As to the second, if that be a good Argument for leavened Bread, Christ did not say, *this is unleavened*, so he did not say, *this is Leavened*; and therein Greeks and Latins are upon a level; and by the same way of arguing I must conclude them both in the wrong, if they call the Eucharist, a Real, literally true, Sacrifice of Christ's Body; for he said no such thing, as *this is a Sacrifice*; He only said, *do this in Remembrance of me*; that is if you please, *only in Remembrance of that his one Sacrifice of himself, made by himself once for all*. Again when he saith, *the Bread is changed into the very Body of Christ*, whatever he meant by it, it could not be, *that the very Substance of the Bread is quite lost and made the very Substance of Christ's very Body*, for he hath this explication immediately following; ἔπε μὲν τότε δοθείσης τῆς σαρκὸς τῷ κυρίῳ ἦν ἐφόρει, εἰς βρώσιν τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις, καὶ τὸ αἷμα τῷ εἰς πόσιν, ἢ νῦν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ μυσταγωγίᾳ καταβάνοντ' τῷ κυριακῷ σώματι ἐξ ἑραν· βλάσφημον γὰρ ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν μεταποιούμενε μεταβαλλομένε -- τῷ μὲν ἄρτι εἰς αὐτὸ τῷ κυρίῳ σῶμα, τῷ δὲ οἶνε εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ κυρίῳ αἷμα. Not that either then, when Christ instituted the Eucharist, the Flesh of the Lord which he bare about him was given to the Apostles for Meat, or the Blood for Drink; or now in the Divine Celebration of it; as if the Lord's Body came down from Heaven; This is Blasphemy; but that the Bread then was, and now is — alter'd and chang'd into the very Body, and the Wine into the very Blood of the Lord. How could it be his very Body, and his very Blood, (that is Litterally and Substantially so,) and yet not the very Flesh and the very Blood which he bore about him? Could it be the very same Body, without the very same Flesh and Blood? He saith, *it neither was, nor is that very same Flesh nor that very Blood, which he carried about him*, therefore they must be both taken in some other spiritual Sense; and he hath told us it is, τὸ σῶμα πνευματικόν, the Deify'd Body, and that we by partaking of it, θέσει καὶ χάριτι θεοῦ χρηματίζωμεν, may by Adoption and Grace be called Gods. Let that Deify'd Body be what and whence it will, he plainly saith, *it is not that very Body of Flesh and Blood which he had here on Earth*. Again he tells us that the Greeks call all the Sacraments, μυστήρια Mysteries, διὰ τὸ ἐν αἰδητοῖς συμβόλοις νοητὸν ἔχειν τὸ ἀποτελούμενον καὶ ἀπόρρητον, because by sensible Symbols, or tokens they produce, or effect, an Intellectual and hidden thing in us. And therefore he calls the Eucharist κοινωνίαν τῆς πνευματικῆς τροφῆς, the Communion of Spiritual nourishment, because it impart it to our Souls by receiving these sensible things, Bread and Wine. Yet more fully, τῇ μὲν χάριτι τῷ πνεύματι νοητῶς ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀγιάζει, τοῖς αἰδητοῖς δὲ ὕδατι, ἐλαίῳ, ἀστρά, ποτηρίῳ, καὶ τοῖς
- p. 28. Q.
- p. 5. Q.
- c. 10. p. 86.
- ibid.
- T. p. 122. p. 77.
- p. 78.
- 79.
- λοιποῖς

λοιποῖς ἀγιαζομένοις τὰ πνεύματι, καθ' αἰσθητὰ ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ σώματα: *Christ Sanctifies our Souls Intellectually, or Spiritually, by the Grace of the Spirit; but by sensible things, Water, Oyl, Bread, the Cup and the like, being Sanctified by the Spirit, he also Sanctify our Bodies.* Here he makes all these sensible Things Types alike; the *Water* in Baptism is a Type of our Regeneration, (and the *Chrism* there, he saith, is, σημεῖωσις καὶ σφραγὶς χριστοῦ, a signification and seal of Christ,) and the *Holy Oyl* is expressly called, εἰς τύπον ἐλέους, a Type of the Divine Mercy; and therefore he must here make the *Bread and Cup* as much a Type, of the Body and Blood, as any of the rest, like the *Maronites*, who as the Learned *R. Simon* tells us out of their Books, call the *Consecrated Wine in the Cup*, expressly a Type of Christ's Blood, as they call the *Water*, which they mixt, a Type also of that which flow'd out of his side. The *Water* (and the *Chrism*) and the *Holy Oyl* are changed by being Sanctified by the Priest; but none will be so mad as to say that they are *Transubstantiated* into this or that; no more could the Patriarch, who so plainly said these Things, believe that the *Change of the Bread and Wine*, be it what it will, was such a *Substantial change* as the *Latins* make it. Therefore this Patriarch (and we may well suppose the main Body of the Greek Church under him) made no great approach nearer to the Roman Doctrine in this Point, then what was made at the Council of *Florence*; and considering the Distraction and Confusion of Affairs at that time, and the Violence and Fury of the *Latins*, who were always very Vigilant and Busy both at home and abroad in carrying on their Point, what he did was done with that Prudent Caution, yet such plain Indifferency, as signified nothing to their Cause. But there were some *Greeks* even then, and some since, who rashly and boldly ventur'd to assert it in express Terms. *Gabriel Severus* did not stick to use the word, μετεσώσις and μετεσώσις ἔστιν *Transubstantiation* and *Transubstantiated*. I will not say he was the first inventer of these words; yet what a late Author says to the Contrary, of *Genadius* (the first Patriarch of *Constantinople* under the *Turks*) his having used it long before him, seems to me very suspicious. His words are quoted out of a MS. of *Meletius Syrigus* against *Cyril Lucar's* confessions, so that the truth of this Matter depends wholly upon the Fidelity of *Meletius* and this Author. I shall not think much to give you the words as they are quoted, εἰς πίστευν ὁφείλομεν, ὅτι ἐν τῷ μυστικῷ τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς, ὁ ἐκ Μαρίας γεννηθεὶς, ὁ ἐπὶ σταυρῷ, ὁ ἐν ἑρανῷ νῦν, αὐτὸς ἐκὼν ὁλόκληρος, ὑπὸ τοῖς σύμβεβηκοις τῷ ἁγίῳ συγκαλυπτόμενος, καὶ κατ' εὐσέβειαν ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ μυστηρίῳ, καὶ κατὰ χάριν καὶ δύναμιν ἐστὶν τύπος ἐπὶ τὸ μυστικὸν τῷ χριστῷ σῶμα τῷ ἀληθῶς σώματι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀληθὲς ἐκεῖνη τῷ σώματι ὅτιν' ἐστὶν γὰρ τύποις ἐστὶν σκίαις νῦν, ὡς ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ, ἀλλὰ πράγμασι καὶ ἀληθείαις λατρεύομεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τίς τῶν ἁγίων Ἀντίτυπον λέγει τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην τῷ δεσποτικῷ δείπνῳ ἐκείνῳ, δηλὸν ἐστίν, ὅτι ἡ θυσία μὲν αὕτη τύπος ἐστὶ τῆς θυσίας ἐκείνης, ὡς περ καὶ οἱ νῦν θύοντες τύποι ἐσὶ τῷ τότε θύσαντι Ἰησοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἀποτέλεσμα τῆς θυσίας τὸ αὐτὸ ἐστὶ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν, ἡ μετεσώσις δηλονότι. *Thus we ought to believe that our very Lord Jesus himself, who was born of the Virgin Mary, who was Crucified and is now in Heaven, is truly in this Mystical Body, being himself entire hidden under the Accidents of the Bread; and is according to Substance in the Mystery, not according to Grace or Efficacy. Neither is the Mystical Body of Christ a Type of the true Body, but is that Truth of the Body; for now we worship not with Types and Shadows, as of old, but with Things and Truths. But if any of the Saints call this Sacrifice an Antitype of that Supper of our Lord, it is plain, that this Sacrifice is a Type of that Sacrifice, as also they who Sacrifice now, are Types of Jesus who Sacrificed then; But the Effect, or end, or design, of the Sacrifice is the same both then and now; To wit Transubstantiation.* First here seems little less then a plain Contradiction; The *Mystical Body of Christ* is not a Type of the true Body, and yet this whole *Mystical Sacrifice*, is an Antitype of that Sacrifice which Christ made, and the Priests are Types of Christ, but then, that is no more the real Body of Christ, of which it is an Antitype;

T. p. 122.

p. 78.

p. 79.

Apolog. p. 219.

Apolog. pro Ecl. Orient. p. 4. de partic. p. 21.

H. c. Histoire Critiq. de la Creance de la Levant. p. 41. and 201.

T. p. 123.

- T. p. 123. type; then *Priests*, are *real Christ*, whose Types they are. Next these words, *to wit Transubstantiation*, came in so oddly, as, supposing all the words foregoing were *Gennadius* his, these seem to be a meer *Scholion* or note of *Meletius* his, and not his; and they seem added very improperly; for ἀποτέλεσμα, *the Effect*, or end, or design, or (if you please) *perfection*, of both *Sacrifices*, relate purely to us, and must be some Diviner and more Spiritual thing than *Transubstantiation*, to wit, *remission of Sins*. We find the Word μετα-
 Orat. p. 34. σία, *Transubstance*, in *Chytræus* as put in by *Sbinco* Arch-Bishop of *Prague*, into his Edict against the *Wicklefians*; but whether the word was *Chytræus* his own or really in *Sbinco's* Edict, I cannot say; and I believe I could tell where the very word μετασώσις is used in a MS. long before this, by a notorious Apostate Greek; but let it be used first when it will, it plainly came from the Roman forge; and we see *Jeremias* would not use it, though he seems not a little aw'd by the Latin Faction. As for *Gabriel Severus* the same Author as-
 Hist. Critique. fures us, that he had Studied at *Padua*, where he had Learned *Scholastick*
 p. 41. Divinity, whose Terms he used in his Books, and the Author of the French Edition of *Dandini* justly calls his works, *un melange de la Theologie des Grecs &*
 Voyage du M. des Latins, pour avoir voulu suivre la methode de ces derniers; a *Gallimaufry*
 Liban. prefac. or Jumble of the *Greeks and Latins* Divinity, or, with a desire to follow the
 c. ij. Method of the latter. He was made Metropolitane of *Philadelphia*, but he re-
 Hen. Hilar. in nounced that place ob res accisas, saith my Author, for some pressures which fell
 Chron. 425. upon him (I fancy for being a Mongrel Divine, and in this Point appearing a bare faced Metusiast,) and went to be Bishop of the Greek Church at *Venice*, where he could Apostatize from his own Church in this Point, more securely; he had the
 T. p. 124. *Augustan Confession* deliver'd to him at the same time that *Jeremias* had it, but he was for Flying higher than the Patriarch would allow, and that might be one
 Prefat. I. iij. b. reason which made *Philadelphia* too hot for him. Yet *R. Simon* and others would fain make us believe, that he did not make the Greek word μετασώσις, from the Latin word *Transubstantiatio*, but from the naked Sense of the thing it self; Now I would fain know whether *Gabriel* or any other Greek, would have pitcht upon the word μετασώσις, if they had never read nor heard of the word *Transubstantiation*? And what some say, that μεταβολή, μεταποίησις, *Changing and Altering*, and other the like words, used by the Antient Greeks, do signify the very same thing that μετασώσις, *Transubstantiation* does, is such a hardy Assertion as I wonder how any Man of Sense and Integrity can admit it. Many Learned and Good Men do own a real Presence of the Body, and Blood of Christ, but they would never venture to determine any Mode or man-
 p. 136. ner how it is; And *R. Simon* takes notice, that the very Council of *Trent* it self, was to seek for Words how they might express it; And yet their Schoolmen saucily contradict them, by impudently pretending to tell us in express Terms the very Nice, Critical, Exact way how it is done. Is there no other rational nor solid account to be given of this Proposition, the Bread is chang-
 p. 116. ed into, or made, the Body of Christ, but we must stick to this one Absurd and Monstrous dream of a doting *Paschasius*, or a giddy-headed *Humbert*, the very Substance of the Bread is quite gone, and the very Substance of Christ's Body and Blood and Bones is entirely there in its place, under only the Accidents of it, for this is the avowed *Transubstantiation* of the Latins as hath been said; whereas the real Change is not in the Bread, but in the Ef-
 §. p. 56, 57, 58. fect upon us, as hath before been proved. Next to *Gabriel Severus*, I find this *Meletius* and *Agapius* placed with him, in the first Classis of the late
 Prefat. in Gabr. Greek *Metusiasts*, by their Patron *R. Simon*. *Agapius* was a poor Bigotted
 ut supra. Cretian Monk; and he hath heaped up a parcel of special Miracles to confirm
 Αμαρτωλῶν this his Monstrous Doctrine; for my part I shall not wonder that this Cretian
 πατήρ. part 2. could assert *Transubstantiation*, who so confidently tells us such meer old Wives
 c. 15. fables to support it; and so I shall leave him to St. Paul's Character of his Na-
 Tit. i. 12. tion. As for *Meletius* that ingenious Editor of *Dandini*, tells us, that he
 Voyage du M. must avow that this Oriental Theology owes the greater part of his work
 Liban. Prefac. to
 c. ij. b.

to Bellarmine and others of the Latins; and that, excepting some peculiar sentiments of the Greek Church, the rest of it is a meer abridgment of them. And a little before he gives this just Character of all the Greeks, who have Studied in Italy, (*qu'ils ont en quelque facon degeneré &c.*) that they have in some manner Degenerated from their Antient Simplicity, nicely to follow the method of the Latin Divines, and that they Copy out their Books; and at last he honestly speaks this great Truth, *qu'on peut bien mieux apprendre la Creance de l'Eglise Orientale de ceux qui n'ont eu aucune commerce avec nous, one may much better apprehend what the Eastern Church belief is from those who never have had any Commerce with the Latins*, I will put it generally, *with the West*; for I must freely declare my own Judgment, that as to this Dogma of Transubstantiation, I shall never in the least value the Authorities for it, of any Eastern Writer who have conversed with the Latins either abroad or at home; nor of those against it, who have lived or conversed with Protestants. And therefore I shall appeal only to the old Writers and the Antient Liturgies of both the East and West, which were extant before this new Doctrine was trump up, and such as were never under the College of Cardinals File. And therefore what that great Man *R. Simon* saith, as some Evidence for his Cause, *that the Greeks which read the Latins Books were convinced by them of the Truth of their Dogma*, we may as justly say of those who have read our Books and wrote for us, *that they were as much convinc'd by them*; yet he is pleased to call them, *Græculos, Greeklins, Rabulas, Scoundrels* and the like, and their Doctrine, *puram putam Protestantium*, pure exact Protestant stuff; and the Men themselves, *totos in Calvinum transformatos, thoroughly transformed into Calvin*; may not we as well say of his Authors, *totos in Latinos Transubstantiatos, they are as thoroughly Transubstantiated into Latins*; For my part I cannot easily think otherwise of the great *Abraham Echellensis* and *Gabriel Sionita*. Nay, *R. Simon* shews how they sufficiently traduced one another, as Men of no great Sincerity or Honesty. *They both gaped, saith he, at Le Jay's Money, and so fell out about it*. I fancy that Money and Preferment from other hands might as easily seduce them. Neither was their Skill so profound in their own Language and Books, but this learned Rabbin could and did correct them. Therefore as to *Cyril Lucar's* Testimony for us in this Point, I shall at present set it aside; but I can by no means pass by his barbarous usage and tragical end, because it sets forth to the Life the Latins way of Propagating their Faith in the East, and the Jesuits abominable Villainies in carrying it on. *Cyril's* Story is so well known, being set down at large by several Authors, as I need not here repeat it; but the *Histoire Critique* hath flubber'd it over very briefly, and I shall only make some remarks upon what that Author himself lead me to, and owns as Truth; it is plain that only the Jesuits and the Court of Rome created him all his troubles; for saith He, *the Jesuits made a loud cry, that Cyril was an Heretick, and they acquainted the Jesuits at Paris, and the King of France with it; and by this Cry, and their other common Art, (their teaching Children gratis) they gain'd (the Mob) the poor Greeks, by saving them their expence of Schooling; so Cyril was deposed and Banished to Rhodes, and another Patriarch was Elected, who had submitted himself by letters to the Court of Rome, which had supported his Election*. All this he owns, but say nothing of the 20000 Dollars (about 5000 Pounds) by which the Jesuits and the Pope had procur'd his Banishment, and settled their own Creatures in his Room. By this single Instance, I cannot but suspect that at least many of the chief Promotions in the Greek Church, ever since that time, have been managed by Monies and Interest from the same hands. The Turks are always in the taking hand, and are apt to close with the fairest bidders, so that the longest purse most commonly prevail. But more of that afterwards. He goes on, *not long after, Cyril by Money from the Hollanders was re-established in the Patriarchate*. Now the Jesuits had set up a Mercate with the Turks, no doubt it cost Cyril and his

T. p. 124.

ibid. c. ij.

ibid. c. iiij.

T. p. 125.

Prefat. in Gabri
Sev. p. Penult.

P. 140. a.

p. 112. b.

p. 198. 199.
117. 118. a.

p. 90.

Hen. Hilar.
Chron. p. 444.
Smith
Regen valse
Narratio Hist.
Appendice ad
Myster. Jesuit.
Veielius. Hot-
tinger.
P. 54.H. Hilar. ex
Allatio p. 465.

p. 55.

T. p. 126. his Friends a vast Summ; 'tis said, 60000 Dollars, or 15000 pounds; one would think it had been enough to beggar the whole Greek Church. It follows the *Jesuits and Court of Rome made proposals to Cyril of an Accommodation, which being not embraced, the Court of Rome made a new Effort to turn him out.* He does not tell us, that 20000 Dollars more were prepared to set up another new Patriarch, such a one as would be an Obedient Son to the Church of Rome; and that half of this Sum was a Legacy left by a good Woman to Charitable Uses, which the Pope converted to the carrying on of this Uncharitable design. But this did not succeed, for the distressed Greeks, some way or other found Money and Friends to keep the Turk their Patron. He tells us nothing of another *Judas* trick which they immediately went upon; which was to Trapan Cyril by offering him Money, and then, if he accepted it, to expose him as a Mercenary Villain; and *Berilli* and *Conachio Rossi* were sent from Rome to manage this affair. Cyril slighted their Proposals; whereupon they offer'd 20000 Dollars to some *Latinizing* Bishops, to support any one of them who would offer at the Throne. Poor Cyril a while lay close, till this Iniquity was revealed to the Turk, and with the expence of 10000 Dollars more, he weathered out this Storm.

Narrat. Histor. p. 300. &c. p. 55, 56. Next he tells us, *The Court of Rome redoubled their Efforts, and sent a vicarious Patriarch to preserve the Orthodox Faith at Constantinople. But Cyril raised such a Jealousy in the Turks, by reason of this Envoy from Rome, as the Jesuits were very ill treated by them.* Here he curtails the story abominably. This *vicarious Patriarch* from Rome, made abundance of Latins, or Latinized Greeks, Titular Bishops of the Islands and other places as he came along; and appear'd so bare faced for bringing the whole Greek Church under the Roman Yoak, as all, both *Greeks* and *Turks*, took the alarm, and when the Vizier was well informed of the matter, *this pretended Vicar of Christ's pretended Vicar*, was forced to sneak away; and all his titular Bishops, especially those from Rome, were all imprison'd. But that which maull'd the Jesuits was quite another matter, which he cunningly passes by; it was briefly this. *Nich. Metaxa*, a Greek, by leave from the Vizier had set up a Printing Press at *Galata*. This cut the Jesuits to the very Heart, fearing that Catechisms and other Books might be there Printed for the Instruction of the *Greek Youth* and others, which would quite spoil their Trade of seducing them, by teaching them their Roman Doctrine; whereupon they suborn'd a Mercenary Scoundrel Turk, who had been once *Voivode* of *Galata* and had the Viziers Ear, to go to him and make this *Avania* or false pretence, that this Printer was a Man of Arms, and came their to raise Sedition; and to Print Books against the *Alcoran*, and others composed by Cyril, to stir up the Greeks to join with the *Cosacks* and cause a Rebellion. The Vizier immediately without examining matters fired at this, (as nothing to my knowledge is so tender a Point amongst the *Turks* as this; for a meer slight suspicion of such designs is enough to lop off any Man's head;) and on the *Epiphany*, when the *Bailo* of *Venice* was at dinner with Sr. *Tho. Roe*, (then our Ambassador) 150 *Janizaries* came to *Metaxa's* House, and bound his Servants, and took away what they thought good, (which was to the Value of 4000 Dollars) and broke and spoil'd every thing else. The *French* Ambassador was Privy to all this; and contrived to have it done that very day, when he knew Sr. *Tho. Roe* was to make a Feast, saying, *He would give him Sauce to his Meat.* But Sr. *Thomas* going to the Vizier, and acquainting him with the naked Truth of every Thing, and displaying the Jesuits in their proper Colours, and shewing him their devilish Designs and Practices all along, prevail'd so with him as these good Fathers and *Conachio Rossi* were seized, and imprison'd, and at last packt away in Chains, and under a Guard; and orders were given to suppress this factious Crew in all places in *Turky* where they had settled. All the other Religious Orders were wonderfully pleas'd with this piece of Justice, especially the Spanish Fryars at *Jerusalem*; for they well knew the Ambitious and Arrogant temper

temper of the Jesuits, and the designs which they had of turning them out, and making themselves possessors of those Holy places. The Critic goes on, *Cyril by his great vexations having rendred himself odious, and finding himself obliged to maintain a party able to grapple with the Power of the Jesuits at Constantinople, supported by the Court of Rome, yielded, and was Strangled by express order of the Grand Signor.* This indeed is an *Ingenious*, but by no means an *Ingenuous* account of that sad Catastrophe. *Sr. Tho. Roe*, *Cyril's* great Patron, was recall'd home, and *Sr. Peter Wich* succeeded him; and there were two Jesuits, who had lurked all this while close in the French Embassadors house, He, after *Sr. Thomas* his departure, by money (to be sure) and many false, but specious, Insinuations and Pretences, had obtain'd leave of the Vizier to keep these two publickly as his domestic Chaplains. Soon after this, the *G. Signor* was going with his Army against the *Persians*, and when he was on the road, the *Fr. Ambassador* and these Jesuits, and some others, (who had Skulkt up and down at *Smyrna* and elsewhere,) consulting together, thought now was the fairest opportunity for ever to compleat their wicked design at once; and therefore they procur'd this most false and Villainous suggestion to be made to the *G. Seignor*, by some great Men about him, *that he could by no means be safe so long as the Patrick* (for so the Turks call the Patriarch) *Cyril was alive, for he certainly was in Conspiracy with the Cossacks and Muscovites to invade his Dominions on this side his Empire, whilst he was absent with all his Forces on the other side.* So orders were given without any more ado to cut him off, which were immediately executed by seising and strangling him. Take this as a pregnant Instance of the Methods which the Court of *Rome* took to *Propagate their Faith* in the East. Now I think it is plain from hence, that we ought not at all to value any of the pretended Synods which afterwards were made in Greece; for if the Power of *Rome* could procure such an expensive Tragedy as this; Money from the same hand, and the Terror which this Example must needs cast upon the poor Greeks, might then, and may still effect any thing amongst them. However because I find the Latins triumph and boast much of these Synods, I shall here take a short view of them all; not that I shall any ways take upon me to defend *Calvin's* Doctrines, or here at all concern my self with any other of them than what relates to my present purpose, to wit, *the Eucharist.* *Cyril Lucar* was cut off in June or July 1638; and *Cyril of Berrhaea* succeeded him, and in the September following is said to have called and concluded a Synod against him and his Doctrine. This *Cyril of Berrhaea*, notwithstanding *Allatius* is pleased to call him a good and pious Man and a Martyr, was in truth a very wicked Implacable and ungrateful Parricide; for he was deeply concern'd with all *Cyril Lucar's* enemies in all the Barbarous usages which he met withall, and therefore it is no wonder if he afterwards made a Synodical Decree against him. The Latins themselves seem to me to have been ashamed of him, and of his Synod too; otherwise methinks that Synod should have been thrust into *Labbe's* Councils. However, it was Printed 1645, and you have it managed in *Dositheus*. When I compare only the Subscriptions in these two Copies, I am apt to believe that the whole is a meer supposititious thing; but be it what it will, I am sure *Cyril of Berrhaea's* Character will sufficiently lessen its Authority. *Dositheus* is pleased silently to pass over all the inhuman Practices of the Jesuits against *Cyril Lucar*, and lay all his troubles upon himself as occasion'd by his Ambition and, φιλαρχία, desire of Government, and calls it, with *St. Basil*, the disease of *Lucifer*, and saith, ὁ πεφόνευται ἀδίκως, that he was justly cut off; I must crave leave of that great Man to say, that God's Justice appears more plainly to me in avenging *Cyril Lucar's* Blood upon this wicked *Cyril of Berrhaea*, who came himself to the very end which he had procur'd to him; being himself also strangled, like παμμίανος πατροφόνους, an impure, or most Wicked, Parricide, as *Philip Cyprinus* truly calls him; yet he seem'd to *Allatius* good enough to stuff up the

T. p. 117.

21. 3001. 7
511. 9
101. 11. 1000
781. 9
221. 9

T. p. 118.

Hen. Hilar.
Chron. p. 460.
8cc. Veielij. de-
fens. Sect. 4.
P. 104.

Synod. Hierosol.
P. 157.

ib. p. 153, 154.

καταλόγ. πατ.
P. 17.

T. p. 128. Roman Martyrology. Next, here we have in this pretended Synod the names only of three Patriarchs, of about twenty Bishops, and of as many Officers of the great Church. But I find in the Subscriptions to the *Orthodox Confession*, (which follow'd about four Years after,) two other Patriarchs names for *Alexandria* and *Jerusalem*; So that *Cyril of Berrhae's* Patriarchs were either dead or turned out; and thus we may well conclude, that those who subscribed that *Confession* under *Parthenius* were purely his Creatures; and these here, and the Bishops and Officers, were of *Cyril's* faction, or at least such as temporized with the then domineering Power of *Rome*. The next pretended Synod was at *Giaffum* in *Moldavia*, 1642. which you have in *Labbe* and *Dositheus*. T. conc. 15. p. 1713. Synod. Hierosol. p. 185. T. p. 129. The elder *Parthenius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, immediate successor to *Cyril of Berrhae*, with some Bishops and Officers of his (which they call the *Great Church*), drew up a Remonstrance against *Cyril Lucar's* Confession of Faith; and the Voivode of *Moldavia* having, it seems, gathered together some Bishops and Others at *Giaffum* to consult about the same business, *Parthenius* sent his Remonstrance to them, which they call his *Synodical Epistle*. This is Printed with the names of *Parthenius*, and of 26 or 27 Bishops besides, and of about 20 of the Officers of the *Great Church* at *Constantinople*. Yet I find the names of the three Legates from *Russia* only to the Epistle of the Synod directed to the Voivode, but not in the Subscriptions to the Remonstrance or the *Synodical Epistle* of *Parthenius*. But let that pass; the whole number of Bishops and Officers in this pretended Synod, (as in that of *Cyril of Berrhae*) make not above 50 in all. A goodly number indeed to be called, or to represent the whole *Greek Church*. This being the plain History of this mighty Synod, give me leave now a little to reflect upon it. First *Parthenius* himself the Prime Minister or Author of it, is indeed called by *Dositheus* ἀνὴρ ἀεισώμῳ, a venerable Man; as he was a Patriarch I will call him so too; but if you will take *Allatius* his Character of him, we may justly call him as wicked and vile a Man to the full, as his Predecessor *Cyril of Berrhae*. p. 214. was. Take it as I find it in *H. Hilarius* out of him. *Cyril of Berrhae*, saith *Allatius*, treated the Bishops angrily, or furiously, both in word and deed, and therefore incur'd the Envy of many; who all conspiring together with *Parthenius* contumeliously thrust him, (no ways deserving it,) out of his Seat, and banished him to *Tunis*. But *Parthenius* perceiving that the affairs of this *Cyril* did increase again by the Faction of his Partisans, and that there were certain hopes of his being sent back again; fearing that himself should run a great Hazard if he was restored; by a profuse Summ, raised out of the Goods of the Church, extorted from the Turk, a Command to cut him off, and sent it to his friend *Bechir* (or *Becchy* or rather *Beghi*) *Basha* of *Rhodes*, who immediately directed it to *Tunis*. Whilst the hangman was ready to do his office, and the Turks would have perswaded *Cyril* to consult or save himself and his affairs, by turning a Mahometan, he answer'd, that he would die with the Church of *Rome* and with *Christ*, whom he heartily affected, and so he was Strangled. Now for my part I must plainly call him a Murderer, who thus Conspired and procured the Death of his Predecessor, whether he deserved it or not; And he being such a Crafty and designing Man, and having done so foul an Act as this to keep himself safe in the Throne, what would he farther not be ready to do, still to save himself? Therefore having destroyed *Cyril of Berrhae*, who was professedly the *Latins Creature and Beloved*, he must needs have disobliged them to the highest Degree; and therefore now to curry favour with them again, though his Opinion concerning the Eucharist might be far enough different from theirs, I cannot but have a strong Suspicion that he contrived this Remonstrance, and juggled with his Junto, (the Voivode and the rest of the Subscribers to this formal Synod,) to appease the *Latins* fury, by damning *Calvin's* Tenents right or wrong, and *Cyril Lucar's* Confession which approv'd them; well knowing how highly he should gratify the *Papalins* thereby, especially in the Point of the

Chron. p. 470. T. p. 130.

the Eucharist, wherein he seems to do fair Homage to their Grand Idol, *Transubstantiation*. This must appear but as a plausible Trick, and as a very small fault, for a Man who had been wilfully guilty of Blood, once more, by subscribing a poultry Chimerical Notion, to Sacrifice the Peace of his Conscience to his Peace with the World. Next, he that could by force of Money cut of his Predecessor, and had a Party of Bishops to join with him in this execrable deed, as is abovesaid, might as easily procure by Money, or otherwise, a few of them to join with him in this; and as for the rest, who were Officers of his Church, they must be always at his command, being all his Creatures or Dependents. For if you will compare the names of his Officers in this Synod, with the names of those in *Cyril of Berrhaa* his Synod, (which was but four Years before) you will find them in a manner all new, and that *Parthenius* had here a set of his own; as all new Patriarchs make all or most part of their Officers and Domesticks New; There are no *Patent Officers* there, as with our Arch Bishop of *Canterbury*. Again, *Melesius Syrigus* was one of *Parthenius* his Legats at this wonderfull Synod; and you may read here above what a fit Man he was for his present purpose, being as to the Point of *Transubstantiation* Latinized sufficiently, and become a perfect Greek *Bellarmino*.

Q. p. 124.

The next thing which I shall consider is a Book stiled 'Ορθόδοξος ὁμολογία τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς, *The Orthodox Confession of the Catholick and Apostolick Eastern Church*. We have this History of it from *Nectarius* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, in his Epistle which is set before the Book. "It was coin'd in *Russia* upon this account. *Petrus Mogilas* was made Metropolitane of *Kiobium*, by *Theophanes* Patriarch of *Jerusalem* (who was one of the Subscribers to *Cyril of Berrhaa* his Decree against *Cyril Lucar*.) He to correct several Heterodox Novelties (as they are there called) which had defiled his Flock; called together three of his Bishops (who had also been Ordain'd by the same *Theophanes*) and some other of his learned Men, and drew up this Book as a Confession of the Faith of the *Ruthen* Church; designing to send it to the Greek Church at *Constantinople*, that it might be Examined by a Synod, to which they would send Legats of their own. At last they made use of this now mention'd Synod in *Moldavia*, to which *Melesius Syrigus* and *Porphyrus* of *Nice* were sent as *Parthenius* his Legates; these with three Legates sent from *Russia* (are said) μετὰ πολλὰς ἀναγνώσεις καὶ ἀναπτύξεις γραφῶν ἱερῶν, after many disquisitions and explications of the Holy Scriptures to have brought the Book to this Perfection, having thoroughly cleansed it from all foreign Opinion and Commixture of those Novelties. Then it was sent to the four Patriarchs, who received it as Pure and Genuine; and (he saith) it was ratified by the Subscriptions, not only of the *Russes* but (what is more Catholick) of all the *Greeks*; and they called it, the *Orthodox Faith*. The *Russes* had long before Printed it in their own Tongue, but the *Greeks* had it only in Manuscript, till *Panagiotas* Printed it at his own Charge, Translated into Latin and Vulgar Greek, and order'd it to be given *Gratis* to every Body. This Epistle of *Nectarius* is dated Nov. 20. 1662. Then there follows before the Book *Parthenius* his Epistle, dated Mart. 11. 1643. (which is just a Year after the pretended Synod) in which "He ratifies only the Greek Copy, and by the common Sentence of the Synod, recommends it to be read, and received by every good Christian in the Eastern Church. After this there follow the names of himself and three other new Patriarchs, (as is above noted,) of nine Bishops; and of thirteen Officers of the Great Church, all except one, new Men. This is the Summary account which *Nectarius* gives by way of Preface; let us now take a short review of the whole matter. *Adrian Regenvolscius* tells us something of the troubles in the lesser *Russia*, which had, about these times, by the Jesuits and other busy Emissaries from *Rome*, been raised and fomented between those, who by their Arts and Frauds had been quite Apostatized to *Rome*, and those who still own'd no other Head of the Catholick Church, on Earth, but

T. p. 131.

System. histor.
Chron. l. 4.

T. p. 131.
P. 476, 477.

Jesus Christ. Amongst these latter, I there find this *Petrus Mogilas* or *Mobila*, recon'd as one. Though it was an avowed Principle of all these, to explode the Pope's Supremacy, yet many of them, having either themselves Studied in *Italy*, or been Tamper'd with, or Tutor'd by such as had been train'd there, were by degrees infected with several Points of the Romish leaven. I cannot but suspect that this *Mogilas* and his three Bishops (who join'd with him in drawing up this Book) were of that stamp, being all ordain'd by *Theophanes* of *Jerusalem*, who was as meer a slave to *Cyril* of *Berrhae*, as *Cyril* was to *Rome*, in Anathematizing *Lucar's* Doctrine about the Eucharist. But let them pass; however we are uncertain whether that Point about the Eucharist and the rest (which in this Book now expressly agree with *Rome*) were in every thing the very same in that Book which was sent from *Russia*. We have just Reason to think the contrary; for, in perfecting this Book, there were many new *Disquisitions* and *Explications* of *Scriptures*, much sifting and canvassing made to cleanse it and correct it. And without doubt *Melesius Syrigus* was, ἐγὼ διδάσκαλος, the Chief Stickler, or top Reformer in all these Points; For *Nectarius*, speaking little or nothing in Commendation of any of the other Legates, gives him this lofty Title. He was, διδάσκαλος τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, ὃς ἔπ' εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ ὁρθοῖς δόγμασιν παιδόμενος ἀνατρεφεῖς τὴν καὶ παιδεύεται, Doctor of the Great Church, one who had been brought up and instructed in Pious and Orthodox Opinions from his Childhood (no question but he had learn'd these Pious and Orthodox Sentiments during his Studies in *Italy*), and he was τὰ ὅλην τῶν ὁρθῶν τῆς πίστεως δογμάτων, the very Rule, or Chalkline of the Orthodox Points of Faith; so that it is very Plain that all this Book, (whatever it was, when it came out of *P. Mogilas* his hands) was now exactly new Model'd and Squared and Adjusted, (by this doughty Regulator) by this Rule, which (especially as to the Eucharist) is manifestly Gaged or Siz'd from the Original and Infallible Standard in the Council of Trent. The Reader may be pleased once

Q. p. 124.

more to turn to what I have before noted concerning this great *Melesius*; or from the whole Preface to *Dandini* there quoted, he may judge what admirable Rules, or faithfull Regulators, of matters of Faith we are like to find amongst the Greeks who have Studied in *Italy*. Well, it was sent to the four Patriarchs; and suppose they did Subscribe it. I am confident that in those confused and dangerous times, if required by the then powerful and domineering Faction they durst have done no less. The dreadfull fate of *Cyril Lucar* was fresh in their Memories; the exorbitant Power and Endeavours of *Rome* were still the same or greater; and the *Turk* for his pay was always ready again to execute any such design. This Book was finished and Authorized, it seems by *Parthenins*, Mart. 11. 164 $\frac{2}{3}$. and lay by in the *Russe* (its Original,) Tongue till 1662. and then was set out in vulgar Greek and Latin by *Panagiota*, being Printed at his own charge. *Panagiota* was chief *Turgeman* or Interpreter to the Grand Seignor, in great part of mine own time in *Turky*. I never heard him publickly own'd as Interpreter to the *German* Emperor, though I have indeed been credibly inform'd that he had a Salary from him all along, *Sig. Marco Antonio* had; This might be underhand, for had it been known to the *Turk* that one in his Trust, so near and constantly about him, and as it were his menial Servant, had any ways been a *German* Pensioner, I believe that Jealous Court would at least have discarded him. But be that as it will; this I know that he was a very great Favorite of the Vizier *Azem*, Young *Kioprogle*, and highly esteem'd by the Grand Seignor himself. He was a very able, wise, wary and cunning Man, and plaid his Game so well between his two Patrons, the two Emperors, as he died in Peace. In his time the Holy places at *Jerusalem* were all in the Possession of the Latin Fryars, which always was a sore grievance to his Greeks; yet for him to attempt any thing to gratify and relieve them in this Point, would utterly disoblige his *German* Master, and thwart the Latin Interest. Now my real thoughts are these, being partly what (I confess,) I only (but I hope I rationally) guess; partly, but mostly, what I certainly

T. p. 132.

rainly know. First I cannot but think that to compliment the Latins, he got this Book, which had so long lain dormant, and Printed it; well knowing how sweet a Morfel it would be to their pallate, and that the *Grandeess* amongst the Greeks, for their own peace and safety, would join with him, or at least be passive enough in the matter; for, as to the other Clergy amongst them, not one of a Thousand either Studied, or Understood, or car'd for one jot of it. But that which facilitated the chief Greeks connivance at these proceedings, was a secret which I my self was privy to, and I liv'd there until it was executed on the Greeks behalf; and it was this. *Panagiota* having that great Interest with the Vizier, was continually press'd and wrought upon by some topping Greeks, especially by that Courageous, Wise and Zealous Man, *Dositheus*, the Venerable Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, (whom, let our Opinions in Religion be what they will, I must ever Honour and Respect as my worthy Friend) I say he was press'd to try what he could do with the Vizier, for the recovering of the Holy Places to the Greeks. He effected it, and got a Command to restore the Patriarch and his Greeks to the Possession of them. This Command was kept very Secret during *Panagiota's* life, for it would quite have ruined his Interest with the Latins, nay, expos'd him to their utmost Fury had it been Published before his Death. He being Dead *Dositheus* apply'd himself to the Vizier, and had the Command revived and ratified, and by it, whilst I was at *Constantinople*, he got the Possession; but of this matter more bye and bye. Now as to the Book it self, I hope the Learned *R. Simon*, who of the Greeks that Favour the Protestant Doctrines, (*those*, *Rabulæ*, *Scoundrels*, as he is pleased to call them) again and again exclaims, *That they are made meer John Calvins* every one of them; I hope, I say, that he will be so candid as to pardon me, if I say that many of the Points therein concluded, especially that of *Transubstantiation*, are as it were *meer transcripts*, almost word for word, out of the Council of Trent, and Latin Authors who defend it. The two pretended Synods, which we have just now considered, did not use the word, *μετεσώσις*, *Transubstantiation*; but *Melesius*, (*the Rule*,) and the rest of his Brethren, who pretended to cleanse his Book, *ἀλλοτρίας γνώμης ἀπάσης καὶ τῶν νεωτερισμῶν*, from all Foreign Doctrine and Novelties, did not only use that new upstart Term of the Schools, but also avowed and settled that very Absurd and Monstrous Doctrine it self, in such express Words, as if the same Holy Ghost, which carried it in a Bag from Rome to Trent, had brought it in the same Bag from Trent to them. I will refer the Reader only to the Exposition of the sixth Article of Faith, and of the Eucharist it self. In the first they declare after this manner, *Christ as to his Flesh which he bore is only in Heaven and not upon Earth; except when he is Mystically in the Eucharist, κατὰ μετεσώσιν*, by *Transubstantiation*; when the Substance of the Bread is changed into the Substance of his Body, and the Substance of the Wine into the Substance of his Blood; and therefore we ought to Glorify and Worship the Eucharist in like manner as we Worship our Saviour Jesus himself. Which however in spite of whatever *Melesius* would Regulate, the Greeks in my time would never do, as hath been often said. In the second place you read thus, *after these words* (the words of the Priest often mention'd before) *changing by thy Holy Spirit, Transubstantiation is immediately made; and the Bread is alter'd, or changed, into the true Body of Christ, and the Wine into the true Blood; there remain only the Species, which appear, and this by divine Dispensation-----we ought to believe his words, this is my Body, this is my Blood, and his Power, rather than our unjust, or unfaithfull, Senses.* This is a large step, or rather a running leap towards pure Infallibility; yet I cannot but take notice that they here still stuck to their own words, or way of Consecration; attributing it to the Priests Prayer, and not to the repeating of the words of Christ; so that these good Fathers, when all is done, have declared themselves in this Point, but *Mongrel or half bred Papalins* at best. However to vouch their Doctrine Catholick, they

T. p. 133.

T. p. 133.

Part. 1. Quest.
56. p. 77.81.
82. r. 74.
Part 1. Quest.
107. p. 124.

- T. p. 133. they set a good face upon it, and called it, *the Orthodox Faith, not only of the Russes, but of all the Greeks*, or rather according to the Printed Title it self, *Ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, of the Eastern Church. True Jesuitical Modesty* indeed! But surely the whole Greek Church, even in its greatest Latitude, is still but a part of *the Eastern Church*; I think there were no *Armenians, Abassins, Maronites*, or Christians of St. Thomas there; neither had they their Legates in this petty Council; and the Subscriptions and Names of a meer handfull of Greeks (be they what they will, which may be justly suspected to be as only pretended, or at least procured by indirect means, or supposing that they were all genuine and all freely set down) can never pass with me for *the whole Greek Church*, any more than a private Cabal of the Pope and some Cardinals and Partisan Bishops ever past, or was own'd by Men of Sense and Honesty for the whole Latin Church. *Nectarius* was a great and an Active Man in the Greek Church, and we have several Books Published under his Name. But as to the Notion of *Transubstantiation*, *Totus totus factus erat Latinus, he was plainly Latinized all over*, as appears not only by this Epistle here set, wrote by him, 1662. but also by another which I have by me in MS. wrote to *Paisius* then Patriarch of *Alexandria*, in March 1671, in which he applauds this *Orthodox Confession*, and gives much the same account of it as he doth here; only I must take Notice of one thing in it, which shocks me a little; whether it was a failure in his Memory (he having wrote this Epistle in his old Age, and nine years after the other Epistle, and about seven or eight and Twenty years after *Parthenius* his Synod) or how it was I cannot tell, the matter is this. He in this last Epistle tells us, *that the two Patriarchs, Nicephorus of Alexandria, and Theophanes of Jerusalem, were then in Moldavia, and join'd with Melesius Syrigus and the rest in making this Orthodox Confession*, yet their Subscriptions are not to be found amongst the rest, either in the Synodical Decree or to the Synodical Epistle, 1642. And then to
- Labbe. t. conc. 15. p. 1720. *Parthenius* his Epistle 1643. there is the name of *Joannicius* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and not of *Nicephorus*, and of *Paisius* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and not *Theophanes*; so that the whole seems to me but a doubtfull or intricate and obscure Story at best. I do not indeed read in the Life of *Nectarius*, that he had ever been in *Italy* himself, but it is plain that he was an Intimate acquaintance and great admirer of those who had Studied there. That Book which goes under his name, *Περὶ ἀρχῆς τῆς πάπας, concerning the Pope's Supremacy*, was Composed by him, and *Hilarion Cygala* Arch Bishop of *Cyprus*, who had Studied and been brought up at *Venice*; and by his very Name I should think him to have been either himself an *Italian*, or at least descended from an *Italian* Family. Give me leave to give you one Passage in the Book, wherein they seem to me most plainly to have club'd their Skill, and jointly acted their parts. To vindicate the Greek Church from that assertion of Fryar *Peter* (their Antagonist,) *that there were no Miracles in it*; They bring in this wretched and trifling Story, which I think may very well be added to those of the like Nature above Noted, in his Country-Man *Agapius*. "A piece saith he, " of the *Pre-sanctified*, or Pre-consecrated, *Bread*, I know not by what mistake or carelessness, remain'd a great while set by in a Box. The Church in " which it was kept being in a moist place, it began to corrupt and grew black. " It was therefore afterwards taken out by *Nectarius*, and set in a dish upon " Coals, to be dryed upon the Altar, *μετὰ λαμπάδων καὶ θυμιαμάτων, with Lights and Perfumes*; Immediately flew from it an unknown but pleasant Smell, " which filled not only the Altar, but all the whole Church. Thus far *Nectarius* vouches; not only as by *Hear say*, but as being himself an Actor in it; it being done by him in his own Country of *Crete*. But before I go any farther, for my part I cannot wonder at all at this, either that it was an unknown or a pleasant Smell. The must of the putrified Bread, mixt with the other Odours, might well cause both these Effects; For we know that a due Proportion of *Asafetida* mixt with *Ambergreece* will exalt the Perfume
- Q. p. 124. ex-

extreamly, and many such other experiments I could produce to evince the like effect. But however there is a remarkable Application, and a most Mysterious use made of this strange Accident, and it is as followeth. *This Miracle, as I think, saith the Author, was made for a most manifest Proof of that great and Supernatural Mystery, to wit, that only the Accidents of the Sacred Bread are corrupted; but the Essence of the Bread being once changed, and by the Invocation of the most Holy Spirit Transubstantiated into the true Body of Christ, admits of no Corruption, but remains as the proper Body of Christ uncorrupt.* Truly this worthy Story, and *Transubstantiation*, are here very fitly and justly coupled together. The first part I verily believe is *Nectarius* his own; the latter part I take to be a meer Corolary of *Cygalas's*; He with *Melesius*, and the other late motly *Grec. Italian* Divines, holding the same *Græco Latinisme, the Greek Invocation with the Latine Doctrine of Accidents and Transubstantiation*. So that truly I fancy that this whole Paragraph, was brought in by good old *Nectarius* as a real Miracle, but cunning *Cygalas* by it hook't in the *Latins Transubstantiation*, to make it pass the better with them for a Truth. I am sure *Nectarius* understood nothing of the Latin Tongue, (and by consequence had read no School Divinity himself,) as is evident by many many Places in that Book against the *Pope's Supremacy*; which I had given me by *Dositheus* himself, and hath much more in it then that which is Printed at *Giasium*. I have many Years since Translated it, and fitted it with Notes for the Press; but my misfortunes (too great and too many to be here recounted) have made me for a while lay it by me; I have there given some farther account of these and some other matters, which may one day be more acceptable to the World. One thing more I must in the last place observe concerning this Orthodox Confession; *Parthenius* Licenced or Authorized only the *Greek Copy* of it; Now that having lain Dormant from 1643 to 1662, (that is, almost twenty Years,) and the miserable Greeks being constantly curb'd and Harressed by the Power of *Rome*, ever truckling under the Pope and his Crafty Emissaries, and thus being Perverted and Poison'd every day more and more by their Doctrines, how can we be assured that this Confession, now Printed, is in every thing the very same with that which *Parthenius* approved? Much less can we be certain that it perfectly agrees with the *Russe* Original, as hath been already said. Therefore these two Synods, and this Confession it self, (that I may freely speak my thoughts) seem to me to be a pregnant Instance of that deep Design and Contrivance of *Rome*, (long ago projected and constantly carried on, and managed by all the Arts and Subtilties of the Conclave at home, and the Emissaries abroad; and supported by all the Ministers and Powers of *France, Germany, Poland, Venice*, and other Popish Countries, who have Business and Concerns with the *Ottoman Port*) in *debauching and seducing, and any ways perverting the leading Men in the Greek Church*. Some being early misguided in their very Principles; some frighted into compliance by *Menaces* or the sad Examples of others. Some jolly unthinking Creatures go along with the Herd; some are wrought off by several Temptations and secret Inducements; many are promoted or gain'd by Money or Favours from the Pope and his Adherents; In short, Poverty and Ambition meeting together, even in Religious Men, betray them too too often to vile and shameful means of compassing their ends; and sloth, and meer love of Ease and sitting still and quiet in their Enjoyments, do as often bewitch them and others to the very same Practices for their own security. I could name several Men of good Note and Post amongst them (some of which, as I hear, are yet alive,) who have freely own'd almost as much to me; *Alas*, said they, *we are placed as it were between two Milstones, the Turk and the Pope, what would you have us do?* And truly considering how hardly things pass under Persecution, even in the Elder and purer times of Christianity, we must not much wonder at such miscarriages in our days, when it is so much settled upon its dregs both in the East and West; and Martyrdom is almost grown

T. p. 135.

T. p. 136.

T. p. 136. grown out of Fashion. I most heartily pity the present State of the oppressed Greeks, and if I have really guess amiss, I do as heartily beg their pardon; but this I think is an undeniable Truth, *that Money, at least with the Turks, doth all things*; and be sure it is not wanting with the Pope and his Complices.

I come now to the Famous Synod of *Dositheus* pretended to be made Anno 1672, whilst I was at *Constantinople*. It was first Printed 1676 under the Title of *Synodus Bethlemitica, A Synod at Bethlehem*, and Reprinted Anno 1678 with this Title, *Synodus Jerosolymitana, A Synod at Jerusalem*. Of which as likewise of *Dionysius*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, his Answer annexed to it (which you may if you please as well call a Synod at *Constantinople*) take this brief History. Monsieur Arnold had wrote a Treatise, called, *La perpetuité de la Foy de l'Eglise Catholique touchant l'Eucharistie, the perpetuity of the Faith of the Catholick Church concerning the Eucharist*, designing chiefly, as I have been often told, to have brought thereby a great Marshal of *France* over to the Church of *Rome*. The famous Monsieur *Claud* wrote against him; and at last, amongst other Points of Controversy between them, this was insisted on as a grand Question, whether the present Greek Church did own *Transubstantiation*, or not, Monsieur *Arnold* affirm'd that it did, Monsieur *Claud* as positively denied it. The Romish Emissaries, who had been a long time sowing this new Doctrine up and down amongst the Greeks (as is above noted) were immediately set on work to see now what Crop they might reap thereby, in order to support Mr. *Arnold's* assertion. In this effort they did not apply themselves so much to ordinary Priests or others of a lower Rank, as they aim'd at the chief and leading Men amongst them; having well known and every where practiced all along that saying, *smite the Shepherds and the Sheep will be Scatter'd*; if by any ways or means they could but pervert or secure the Great ones, the rest would not much trouble either Themselves or Them. The great Men however were very wary and cautious at first, and gave but very cold or insignificant Answers to either their private Letters or personal Demands; according to *Nectarius* his advice to *Paisius*, (in an Epistle which I have of his by me in MS.) who bad him *not give Fryar Lazarus* (who had solicited him for his Opinion concerning the Eucharist) *so much as the very Lord's Prayer in writing under his hand, for he and the rest of those Emissaries υπέρως προσέχονταυ ἡα διαούρωσι τὰ ἡμέτερα, come slyly and craftily to traduce and disturb our affairs*; and he told him there, *that the Pope himself desiring such a Confession could not get it*. Seeing therefore that no private Man by word of Mouth, or letter from any one could do any good in prosecuting this affair, it was at last concluded that the *Illustrious Marquis de Nointel*, (then the King of *France* his Ambassador at *Constantinople*) being a Man of Address, and great Devotion, and now in so Powerfull a Post, was the most proper, if not the only, Person to undertake and Effect this weighty Matter. He was very Courteous, Affable, and Obliging to every Body; and though I had far different Sentiments from him, yet I had the Honour of his Acquaintance and frequent Conversation; and I shall not blame him for shewing his Zeal for his Religion, for he would always candidly give me leave, civilly and freely to defend my own; besides he was a *Jansenist* in his own Opinion, and therefore had a peculiar respect for Mr. *Arnold* and as great a Favour for his Cause. He undertook it, and his first attempt was upon *Parthenius*, then Patriarch of *Constantinople* in June and July 1671. He got this Patriarch and some other Bishops to his House, and would have procured a Remonstrance or Confession about the Grand Point from them under their hands, but could not prevail; wherefore that Patriarch could expect no Favour from him. This *Parthenius* and his Party had bought out *Methodius*, who came and took Sanctuary in our Ambassador's House; and a contrary Party to *Parthenius*, which were countenanced by the *French* Ambassador, bought him out, and brought in *Dionysius*, Metropolitane of *Larissa*, Nov. 8. 1671. The *French* Ambassador and I were

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D. Martio. An-
no. 1671.

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My private
Notes 3. 5.
4. 3.

5. 11.

I were both together at his Instalment, and he was pleased to Invite me that day to Dinner, but I could not then wait upon him. My own Lord Sr. *Dan. Harvey*, and his Family went into the Country for some part of that Summer, and left *Methodius* in our Palace at *Pera*. The *French* Ambassador made use of this opportunity, and got *Methodius* from ours to his own Palace; *Methodius* sent an Epistle to my Lord, Sr. *Dan. Harvey*, (which I have still by me) wherein he civilly excuses himself for leaving his House so abruptly; telling him that he had many Spyes about him, and he fear'd he could not be safe there, whilst Sr. *Daniel* was abroad; and many inconveniences might follow, which he thought it was better to avoid. In *January* following, viz. 167 $\frac{1}{2}$. this *Dionysius*, then Patriarch, and several others of his Party subscribed that Declaration (which you have before) in a parchment alone by it self, and it was adorned and firmed with a Golden Seal, and the *French* Ambassador shew'd it me, (as I there tell you,) with a great deal of Joy and Pleasure; so that the owning of *Transubstantiation* was the main Point which he Coveted; and you have it now Printed word for word, amongst the other Points subscribed by this *Dionysius* and *Paisius*, and another *Dionysius*, and *Methodius* (who had all of them been Patriarchs before, but now were set aside) and about 40 more Bishops of that Party. All these were present at the Instalment of *Dionysius*, and all Anathematized *Parthenius* there publickly before us; and therefore being thus revived in *Dionysius* his Interest, they might be the sooner perswaded thus to gratify the *French* Ambassador, who had been such a Friend to *Dionysius* and to them; and so continued, for when *Gerasimus* had turn'd out *Dionysius*, and was made Patriarch in his place, (*July* the 30th. 1673.) *Dionysius* and several others of his Party, fled to his Palace for shelter. This Zealous Ambassador, in the beginning of the Year 1671 when he attackt *Parthenius*, (as is said,) had at the same time been treating with *Dositheus*, Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, from whom he had received this Declaration now called, *the Synod of Bethlehem or Jerusalem*, as he tells us himself in his letter Printed in *French* at the end of it. This is dated *March* 20th. 167 $\frac{1}{2}$. and it was drawn up in *October* going before, 1671. as I judge by those words, μετὰ τὴν ἐνδεκάτῃ τῷ Γαρόντι, δηλαδὴ τῷ Ὀκτωβρίῳ, μὲν, after the Eleventh of this Instant *October*; So that *Parthenius* and *Dositheus* seem to have been appli'd to much about the same time. There are put to this Piece the names of *Dositheus* and his Predecessor *Nectarius*; of but seven Metropolitans, Arch-Bishops, and Bishops more; of about 13, or 14 Priors or Governors of Monasteries; of 23 or 24 Officers of the Church and others of mean Degree, the Patriarch's Creatures or employ'd by him; of about 16 or 17 straggling Monks and Deacons, of which kind of Cattle they might then (as they did afterwards) rake together enough; nine or ten signed in *Arab*. And so of all sorts you have the names of Seventy; Indeed it is great Pity, as it is to me a great wonder, that that great Man *Dositheus* and his whole Patriarchat, especially at such a Festival, *the Dedication of the Church at Bethlehem* (when one would think that there must needs have been a vast concourse of Votaries, τῆς πανταχῇ γῆς, from all Parts of *Christiandom*) I say it is a wonder that he should not have muster'd up a far greater and more magnificent number of Confessors of the Oriental Faith. However this is the naked Story of these matters of Fact; of all which if I might have leave, I would here freely give my real Thoughts; If my Opinion might seem to any Man reasonable or any ways satisfactory, I should be glad; if not, let every one peaceably use his own, as I desire, till I am better informed, quietly to enjoy mine. Therefore in what I have said, or what I shall follow, I would not be thought as designing any thing in the least to derogate from the Honour or Integrity of those great Men, (to whom for their Courteousness, Familiarity and Friendship I must ever acknowledge my self most highly obliged) the Illustrious *Marquess de Nointel*, or the two most Reverend Patriarchs, *Dionysius* and *Dositheus*; but I would be understood to write (as the Learn-

T. p. 137.

p. 45. Q.

12. 6. and
19. 3.

T. p. 138.

p. 133.

p. 10.

T. p. 136. grown out of Fashion. I most heartily pity the present State of the oppressed Greeks, and if I have really guess amiss, I do as heartily beg their pardon; but this I think is an undeniable Truth, *that Money, at least with the Turks, doth all things*; and be sure it is not wanting with the Pope and his Complices.

I come now to the Famous Synod of *Dositheus* pretended to be made Anno 1672, whilst I was at *Constantinople*. It was first Printed 1676 under the Title of *Synodus Bethlemitica, A Synod at Bethlehem*, and Reprinted Anno 1678 with this Title, *Synodus Jerosolymitana, A Synod at Jerusalem*. Of which as likewise of *Dionysius*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, his Answer annexed to it (which you may if you please as well call a Synod at *Constantinople*) take this brief History. Monsieur Arnold had wrote a Treatise, called, *La perpetuité de la Foy de l'Eglise Catholique touchant l'Eucharistie, the perpetuity of the Faith of the Catholick Church concerning the Eucharist*, designing chiefly, as I have been often told, to have brought thereby a great Marshal of *France* over to the Church of *Rome*. The famous Monsieur *Claud* wrote against him; and at last, amongst other Points of Controversy between them, this was insisted on as a grand Question, whether the present Greek Church did own *Transubstantiation*, or not, Monsieur *Arnold* affirm'd that it did, Monsieur *Claud* as positively denied it. The Romish Emissaries, who had been a long time sowing this new Doctrine up and down amongst the Greeks (as is above noted) were immediately set on work to see now what Crop they might reap thereby, in order to support Mr. *Arnold's* assertion. In this effort they did not apply themselves so much to ordinary Priests or others of a lower Rank, as they aim'd at the chief and leading Men amongst them; having well known and every where practiced all along that saying, *smite the Shepherds and the Sheep will be Scatter'd*; if by any ways or means they could but pervert or secure the Great ones, the rest would not much trouble either Themselves or Them. The great Men however were very wary and cautious at first, and gave but very cold or insignificant Answers to either their private Letters or personal Demands; according to *Nectarius* his advice to *Paisius*, (in an Epistle which I have of his by me in MS.) who bad him *not give Fryar Lazarus* (who had solicited him for his Opinion concerning the Eucharist) *so much as the very Lord's Prayer in writing under his hand, for he and the rest of those Emissaries υπέλας προέβχονταυ ήα διασύρωσι τα ήμέλερα, come slyly and craftily to traduce and disturb our affairs*; and he told him there, *that the Pope himself desiring such a Confession could not get it*. Seeing therefore that no private Man by word of Mouth, or letter from any one could do any good in prosecuting this affair, it was at last concluded that the *Illustrious Marquis de Nointel*, (then the King of *France* his Ambassador at *Constantinople*) being a Man of Address, and great Devotion, and now in so Powerfull a Post, was the most proper, if not the only, Person to undertake and Effect this weighty Matter. He was very Courteous, Affable, and Obliging to every Body; and though I had far different Sentiments from him, yet I had the Honour of his Acquaintance and frequent Conversation; and I shall not blame him for shewing his Zeal for his Religion, for he would always candidly give me leave, civilly and freely to defend my own; besides he was a *Jansenist* in his own Opinion, and therefore had a peculiar respect for Mr. *Arnold* and as great a Favour for his Cause. He undertook it, and his first attempt was upon *Parthenius*, then Patriarch of *Constantinople* in June and July 1671. He got this Patriarch and some other Bishops to his House, and would have procured a Remonstrance or Confession about the Grand Point from them under their hands, but could not prevail; wherefore that Patriarch could expect no Favour from him. This *Parthenius* and his Party had bought out *Methodius*, who came and took Sanctuary in our Ambassador's House; and a contrary Party to *Parthenius*, which were countenanced by the *French* Ambassador, bought him out, and brought in *Dionysius*, Metropolitane of *Larissa*, Nov. 8. 1671. The *French* Ambassador and I were

Epist. p. 10.
D. Martio. An-
no. 1671.

T. p. 137

My private
Notes 3. 5.
4. 3.

5. 11.

I were both together at his Instalment, and he was pleased to Invite me that day to Dinner, but I could not then wait upon him. My own Lord Sr. *Dan. Harvey*, and his Family went into the Country for some part of that Summer, and left *Methodius* in our Palace at *Pera*. The *French* Ambassador made use of this opportunity, and got *Methodius* from ours to his own Palace; *Methodius* sent an Epistle to my Lord, Sr. *Dan. Harvey*, (which I have still by me) wherein he civilly excuses himself for leaving his House so abruptly; telling him that he had many Spyes about him, and he fear'd he could not be safe there, whilst Sr. *Daniel* was abroad; and many inconveniences might follow, which he thought it was better to avoid. In *January* following, viz. 1671. this *Dionysius*, then Patriarch, and several others of his Party subscribed that Declaration (which you have before) in a parchment alone by it self, and it was adorned and firmed with a Golden Seal, and the *French* Ambassador shew'd it me, (as I there tell you,) with a great deal of Joy and Pleasure; so that the owning of *Transubstantiation* was the main Point which he Covered; and you have it now Printed word for word, amongst the other Points subscribed by this *Dionysius* and *Paisius*, and another *Dionysius*, and *Methodius* (who had all of them been Patriarchs before, but now were set aside) and about 40 more Bishops of that Party. All these were present at the Instalment of *Dionysius*, and all Anathematized *Parthenius* there publickly before us; and therefore being thus revived in *Dionysius* his Interest, they might be the sooner perswaded thus to gratify the *French* Ambassador, who had been such a Friend to *Dionysius* and to them; and so continued, for when *Gerasimus* had turn'd out *Dionysius*, and was made Patriarch in his place, (*July* the 30th. 1673.) *Dionysius* and several others of his Party, fled to his Palace for shelter. This Zealous Ambassador, in the beginning of the Year 1671 when he attackt *Parthenius*, (as is said,) had at the same time been treating with *Dositheus*, Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, from whom he had received this Declaration now called, *the Synod of Bethlehem or Jerusalem*, as he tells us himself in his letter Printed in *French* at the end of it. This is dated *March* 20th. 1671. and it was drawn up in *October* going before, 1671. as I judge by those words, *μετὰ τὴν ἐνδεκάτην τῷ Γαρόντι*, δηλαδὴ τῷ Ὀκτωβρίῳ, μηνὶ, after the Eleventh of this Instant *October*; So that *Parthenius* and *Dositheus* seem to have been appli'd to much about the same time. There are put to this Piece the names of *Dositheus* and his Predecessor *Nectarius*; of but seven Metropolitans, Arch-Bishops, and Bishops more; of about 13, or 14 Priors or Governors of Monasteries; of 23 or 24 Officers of the Church and others of mean Degree, the Patriarch's Creatures or employ'd by him; of about 16 or 17 straggling Monks and Deacons, of which kind of Cattle they might then (as they did afterwards) rake together enough; nine or ten signed in *Arab*. And so of all sorts you have the names of Seventy; Indeed it is great Pity, as it is to me a great wonder, that that great Man *Dositheus* and his whole Patriarchat, especially at such a Festival, *the Dedication of the Church at Bethlehem* (when one would think that there must needs have been a vast concourse of Votaries, *τῆς πανταχῇ γῆς*, from all Parts of *Christiandom*) I say it is a wonder that he should not have muster'd up a far greater and more magnificent number of Confessors of the Oriental Faith. However this is the naked Story of these matters of Fact; of all which if I might have leave, I would here freely give my real Thoughts; If my Opinion might seem to any Man reasonable or any ways satisfactory, I should be glad; if not, let every one peaceably use his own, as I desire, till I am better informed, quietly to enjoy mine. Therefore in what I have said, or what I shall follow, I would not be thought as designing any thing in the least to derogate from the Honour or Integrity of those great Men, (to whom for their Courteousness, Familiarity and Friendship I must ever acknowledge my self most highly obliged) the Illustrious *Marquess de Nointel*, or the two most Reverend Patriarchs, *Dionysius* and *Dositheus*; but I would be understood to write (as the Learn-

T. p. 137.

p. 45. Q.

12. 6. and

19. 3.

T. p. 138.

p. 133.

p. 10.

T. p. 138.
p. 155. 164. b.
172. b. &c.

Q. p. 45. 46.
&c.

T. p. 139.

In Catechism.

ed *R. Simon* said he did in a like case,) rather, *Historicorum* more, *like an Historian*, that is, to give an honest and Impartial Account, to the best of my Knowledge, how matters passed in the Greek Church when I was there. Of this declaration of *Dionysius* I have spoken before, and shew'd that it is a good step nearer towards the Roman Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, than what those of the very forwardest Greeks at *Florence* advanced unto. Those *Florentine* Greeks own'd the Elements, *πλεῖστα* to be Consecrated by the words of Christ; but all the Change they seem to allow of, was a spiritual Change, *ἐν ἡμῖν*, in us, that the Bread and Wine (which still are called, and are plain Bread and Wine) might by the Holy Spirit be so changed, in us, into Christ's Body and Blood, as to be for the Purifying of the Soul, and for the Remission of Sins. Such a Consecration and such a Change as this may in a sound Sense be allow'd by Men who are far enough off from *Transubstantiation*. *Dionysius* comes a great deal nearer and says. *that the Elements are changed really, truly and properly into the proper Body and the living Blood of Christ; and that Christ is, without suffering any thing, entirely Eaten.* Yet even this is far short of the Latins *Transubstantiation*; for here is nothing of the Doctrine of Accidents, or of the utter vanishing of the Substance of the Elements, or of their Annihilation. It may be all thus Qualified, as being only a high Expression of the Real Presence; and in a spiritual Sense, the Church of England holds the same, *the Body and Blood of Christ are, ἀληθῶς καὶ πραγματικῶς*, Verily and indeed taken and received by the Faithfull in the Lord's Supper. The next Expression, *that Christ is intirely Eaten*, in a spiritual Sense, (that is, as to the whole Intent, the full End, the entire Effects and Benefits of all Christ's whole Oeconomy, the Faithful do receive Him entire in the Eucharist,) is what we allow; But that his very material Flesh which was Born of the Virgin and hang'd upon the Cross, and so forth, is entirely eaten by the Communicants, and grinded by their Teeth, without his suffering any thing, this piece of Roman Doctrine is by no means there fully express'd; neither can the very Latins themselves reconcile it to their other Doctrines; for if entire Christ is in the whole and in every the least Particle of the Bread and Wine, and every receiver thus receives Christ entire; How are they then Communicants of the same Material Body, when every one takes it All, entirely to himself? How are they Partakers of the Material Body of Christ, when every one himself takes the whole? This must surely to every thinking Greek seem as absurd, as that which the *Florentine* Greeks observed in the Latins Prayer, after the words of Christ, for an Angel to carry the Consecrated Gifts, (that is, according to the Latins, entire Christ himself) up to the Altar in Heaven. The compilers of which Prayers, as I have before observed, never thought of *Transubstantiation*; neither can the Modern Metuists ever reconcile that Prayer, or that part of the Mass to it. Besides, if the Latin Priest by the Words of Christ, brings down Christ's Material Body from Heaven (or Adduceth it (to use their word) it is no matter how or from whence) unto the Altar below, could he not as well send it, or let it go back again to Heaven, or to the place whence it came, without the Help of an Angel? When the Priest hath *Transubstantiated* the Bread, it can *Untransubstantiate* it self of its self, if a Dog or a Mouse catch it, or upon any such like occasion, without any Foreign assistance; and according to the *Metuists*, it can and must be of it self, in the very same Instant, *Materially* on the Altar in Heaven, as well as upon every Altar on Earth. But no more of this here; as to those other words, *that the Eucharist is a Sacrifice both for Quick and Dead*, I shall have occasion to speak bye and bye. It is plain that the unhappy Emperor and his Greeks, at the Council of *Florence*, labour'd under very great Difficulties and urgent Necessities; they were as it were Petitioners and humble Suiters to the Pope and his Latins, for their help and support against the Turks; so that what was own'd and concluded by them at that Council, was plainly extorted from them by Violence and Force; as sufficiently appears by *Syropulus* and

T. p. 140.

and even by the allowed Copy in *Labbe's Councils* it self. And as to the Point of the Eucharist, though four of the Leading Greeks (who all along betray'd their own, to Favour the Roman Cause) made that Declaration to gratify the Pope (as is above said;) yet we must justly call it their private Opinion, and not the Judgment of all the rest; and the Emperor, notwithstanding all the Exigencies that he lay under, would by no means suffer it to be put into the Definition. And what *Dionysius* and his *Partisans* did now, was to my knowledge done with an unwilling willingness; as he hath often suggested to me, for I frequently visited him, especially after he was turn'd out 1674. and whilst he was Sick and in Prison, where by God's help I recover'd him. In his Preface to that Declaration he seems to speak but meanly, or rather contemptibly, of those who had solicited him about it, ἐκ δὲ ὅπως φιλοπραγματεύειν πῶς πεί-
πνα τῶν κατ' ἡμᾶς κινθέντες, some, saith he, being moved I know not why, or how, to be busily and vainly meddling with our matters, have propounded questions, &c. He and his Party, as I have said, with the French Embassador's assistance had deposed *Parthenius*, and at this juncture they had no other Expedient to secure themselves and keep him out, but by this compliance with the Embassador's demands. The pressures which the Greeks lay under at *Florence* were National; but this of *Dionysius* was particular to himself and his Party; and what they subscribed, though it is in something a higher strain than that Declaration of the *Florentine* Greeks, (which this imitated,) yet truly it seems to me so cautiously and ambiguously drawn up, and set so directly against the Consecration by the words of Christ, as at the utmost I must call it but a sorry Scrap of the entire Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*; yet because it seem'd to the Latins to favour it, it was magnified so highly as to be Ingrossed by it self (as I have Noted) in Vellum, and all the other Points now Printed with it, were then neglected; for, that the Greeks own'd *Transubstantiation*, was the main Article which Monsieur *Arnold* wanted. And therefore to put the matter out of all doubt for the future, that Treatise, which we have under the name of *Dositheus his Synod*, was within a Month or two after procur'd; which hath settled that point as largely and fully to all their intents and purposes, as if not only *Bellarmino* and his whole pious Society, but all the *Trentine* Fathers themselves had been at the making of it. Because the Book is not in every ones hands, I will here give you the plain Sense of the Seventeenth Decree.

T. P. 140

p. 367.

" In the Celebration of the Eucharist, we believe that our Lord Jesus Christ is
 " Present, not by way of Type or Image; nor by extraordinary Grace as in
 " the other Sacraments; neither by a bare Presence only, as some of the
 " Fathers have spoken of Baptism; neither by Impanation (or *Inbreeding*)
 " so as that the Divinity of the Word is Hypostatically united to the Proposed
 " Bread of the Eucharist, as the Lutherans very ignorantly and wretchedly
 " maintain; but verily and indeed, so as that the Bread, after the Consecration
 " of it, and of the Wine, is Changed, Transubstantiated, Converted, Trans-
 " formed into that true Body of the Lord, which was Born in *Bethlehem* of
 " the Ever-Virgin, was baptized in *Jordan*, Suffered, was Buried, Rose again,
 " Ascended, sits at the right Hand of God the Father; is to come in the Clouds
 " of Heaven; and that the Wine is Converted and Transubstantiated into that
 " true Blood of the Lord, which, as he hang'd on the Cross, was shed for the
 " Life of the World.

p. 289.

T. P. 141.

" Also that after the Consecration of the Bread and Wine, the Substance of
 " the Bread and Wine do no longer remain, but the very Body and Blood of
 " our Lord in the Shape and Likeness of Bread and Wine; that is to say, un-
 " der the Accidents of Bread.

" Also that the most sincere Body and Blood of the Lord are distributed,
 " and go into the Mouth and Stomach of the Receivers, both of the Pious
 " and the Impious; but that they procure Remission of Sins, and Eternal Life
 " to the Pious and Worthy; and bring Damnation, and Eternal Punishment to
 " the Impious and Unworthy.

T. p. 141.

“ Also that the Body and Blood of the Lord are Cut and Divided, whether
 “ by the Hands or whether by the Teeth also, but only by Accident, or by
 “ the Accidents of the Bread and of the Wine, by which also they are acknow-
 “ ledged to be Visible and Tangible; but that in themselves they remain abso-
 “ lutely incapable of being Cut, and Indivisible; whence also the (Greek)

Q. p. 26.

“ Catholick Church saith, *the Lamb of God is divided*, &c. as above in their
 “ Liturgy.

“ Also that in every singular part, and in the least Crumb of the Bread, and
 “ Drop of the Wine being Changed, there is not a Part of the Body and Blood
 “ of the Lord, (for this is Blasphemy and Atheistical) but the whole Lord
 “ Christ entirely according to his Substance; to wit, with his Soul and Divi-
 “ nity, that is, perfect God, and perfect Man. So that though many Celebra-
 “ tions of the Eucharist are made up and down the World at one and the same
 “ hour, there are not many Christs, or many Bodies of Christ, but one and
 “ the same Christ, is present verily and indeed; and his Body and Blood is one
 “ in all the particular Churches of the Faithful; and this, not that the Lord’s
 “ Body, which is in Heaven, comes down upon the Altars, but that the Bread
 “ of Proposition, which is offer’d in every particular Church, being after Con-
 “ secration Converted and Transubstantiated, is made, and is, one and the same
 “ with that in Heaven; for but one Body of the Lord, and not many, is in
 “ many Places; and for this reason this Sacrament chiefly is, and is called,
 “ Wonderfull, and Comprehensible by Faith alone, not by the Subtilties of
 “ Human Wisdom, whose vain and wild Inquisitiveness into Divine matters
 “ our Holy way of Worship, which was delivered to us from God, utter-
 “ ly disclaims.

“ Also that the same Body and Blood of the Lord, which are in the Sacra-
 “ ment of the Eucharist, ought to be Honoured above Measure, and to be
 “ Worshipped in the highest manner; for the Adoration of the Holy Trinity
 “ and of the Body and Blood of the Lord is all one.

“ Also that it is a True and Propitiatory Sacrifice offer’d for all good Christi-
 “ ans both Quick and Dead, and for the Benefit of all; as it is expressly said
 “ in the Prayers of this Sacrament, deliver’d by the Apostles to the Church,
 “ according to what the Lord commanded them.

“ Also that what is kept in sacred Boxes for the Communion of such as lie
 “ a dying, immediately after Consecration, both before and after it is used, is
 “ the true Body of the Lord, and not in the least differing from Himself; so
 “ that after the Consecration, before it is used, and whilst it is used, and after
 “ it is used, it is altogether the true Body of the Lord.

T. p. 142.

“ Also we believe that by the Word Transubstantiation the manner, how the
 “ Bread and the Wine are converted into the Body and Blood of the Lord, is
 “ not explain’d; (for that is altogether Incomprehensible, and Impossible, un-
 “ less to God himself, and argues those, who believe, to be both Ignorant and
 “ Impious) but that the Bread and the Wine after the Consecration are changed
 “ into the Body and Blood of the Lord, not by way of Type, or Image; nor
 “ by extraordinary Grace; nor by the Communion or the Presence of only the
 “ Divinity of the only Begotten; neither is any Accident of the Bread and Wine
 “ turned into any Accident of the Body and Blood of Christ, by any Conver-
 “ sion or Alteration; but they are Verily and Indeed and Substantially made,
 “ to wit, the Bread the very true Body of the Lord, and the Wine the very
 “ Blood of the Lord, as is abovesaid.

“ Also that this Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist is not made by any other
 “ but only by a Holy Priest, and one who hath received his Priesthood from
 “ a Holy and Lawful Bishop, after the manner which the Eastern Church pre-
 “ scribes. This in brief is the Doctrine and true Confession and most Antient
 “ Tradition of the Catholick Church concerning this Sacrament, which ought
 “ not in any wise to be (Mangled or) Curtail’d by such who desire to be
 “ Religious, and who renounce the Novelties and Profane Babblings of Hereticks;
 “ but

" but the settled Tradition must necessarily be kept safe and unshaken; for T. p. 141
 " the Catholick Church of Christ disowns and Anathematizes those who
 " transgress.

If this had indeed been, *The most antient Tradition and Confession of the Catholick Church concerning this Sacrament*, both Latins and Greeks might have had good reason to boast themselves and Triumph over us; But I must still think that if *Dositheus*, and the rest of these Greeks, had but candidly examin'd their own old Liturgies; or would but have judged of this matter, by what they might have found in their own Antient Authors, they would have found sufficient Reason to have concluded the quite contrary. For besides the several Remarks which I have already made concerning this Point, if they will own *Chrysostom's* Epistle to *Cæsarius* to be Genuine (as I think now amongst the Learned there is no great doubt of it,) what can they say to that remarkable Passage in it. *The Bread before it is Sanctified, we name Bread, but Divine Grace sanctifying it by the Priest mediating, it is deliver'd from the Appellation of (or is no longer called) Bread, and is counted worthy of the Appellation of (or to be called) the Lord's Body, although the Nature of Bread remained in it, and it is called (or we declare it) not two Bodies but one Body of the Son.* Let the Divine Presence herein employed be what it will, it cannot consist with *Transubstantiation*; for the very Nature of the Bread still remains. And this exactly agrees with what before is noted out of *Irenæus* and *Justin Martyr*; *the Bread after Consecration is not common Bread; but Bread (still) Sanctified*; it hath now its own former *Earthly Nature* and with it a *Heavenly*. And though this alone seems to me no small argument that this Epistle of *Chrysostom* is Genuine, because it is so exactly conformable to the Doctrine of those Fathers before him, yet I cannot but here add also, as a better Argument to confirm the same thing, those most Noted and Famous passages in *Theodoret*, who was *Chrysostom's* Scholar; for they do most admirably and fully both confirm and also explain this Passage in his Master, having the very same Sense and almost the very same words. First, noting that our Saviour sometimes calls his Body Bread; sometimes Bread his Body; he gives this account of it, ἡ ἐκλήθη τῆς τῶν θεῶν μυστικῶν μεταλαγχάνοντες, he would have those who partake of the Divine Sacraments, not to Mind the Nature of the Things which are seen, but, by reason of this altering of Names, to believe the Change which is made by Grace; for he who call'd his Natural Body, Wheat, and Bread, and again named himself a Vine, he hath honoured the Visible Symbols with the Appellation (or Name) of Body and Blood, not Changing their Nature, but adding Grace to their Nature. And *St. Augustin* hath express'd himself in the very same Terms; *Hæc sunt Sacramenta in quibus non quid sint, sed quid ostendant semper attenditur, quoniam signa sunt rerum, aliud existentia & aliud significantia, These are Sacraments in which it is always minded, not what they are, but what they Represent, (or shew) for they are signs of Things (the signs being or) existing one Thing and signifying another.* The other Passage in *Theodoret* is in his second Dialogue. His Antagonist had said, τὰ σύμβολα τῷ δεσποτικῷ σώματι, *The Symbols of the Lord's Body and Blood are other things before the Invocation of the Priest, but after the Invocation they are Changed, and made other Things*; To which he Answers, ἐδὲ μετὰ τὸν ἁγασμὸν τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα, *The mystical Symbols after Consecration do not depart (or are not Changed) from their own Proper Nature; for they remain in their former Substance and Shape and Form, and they may be seen and touched, and are such things as they were before; but they are conceived by the Understanding to be what they are made and believed to be, and are Worshipped as if they were the Things which they are believed to be.* This great Master, *Chrysostom*, and his Scholar, so expressly and plainly contradict *Transubstantiation*, as if by a Prophetick Spirit they had foreseen that, *That Absurd and Monstrous Opinion* would one day be obtruded and craftily Imposed upon

T. p. 141

Bapt. edit. p. 22

Bapt. edit. p. 22

Q. p. 9, 10

In dialog. 1.

Joh. 12. 24.

Contr. Maxim. l. 3. c. 22. T. p. 143.

p. 38. 2.

- T. p. 143. upon their distressed Greeks; and therefore they endeavour'd to fore-arm them with this Solid and truly Primitive Doctrine, *that the very Nature and the very Substance of the Elements in the Eucharist, After the Consecration, remain'd as absolutely unchanged as their Shape and Form; and that they were the very same things still as they were before.* Give me leave here to add a remarkable passage out of the great *Athanasius*, which is lately come to light in *Monfaucon's* Collection. *Athanasius* all along in that Discourse distinguishes between the human Nature of Christ and that which was Divine; shewing that, τὰς ταπεινὰς λέξεις, the mean and ordinary expressions concerning Christ in Scripture, must be refer'd to his Humanity, ὅσα δὲ ἐνδοξα γράμματα, but the lofty or Glorious Texts must be apply'd to his Divinity.
- Sermo major. de fide. T. 2. p. 18. Amongst others he expounds those words, *he wash'd his Garments in Wine, and his Cloaths in the Blood of Grapes*, that they relate to the Body which Christ was to have; and saith before at large, that *Christ's Body is in Heaven*, and explains his sitting at the right hand of God, as meant of the very same Body which was born of the Virgin Mary; At last he saith, therefore let them be ashamed, ὀιδιόγοντες, who separate, or divide the Son from the Father, as the Vine from the Vine-dresser, being assured by the Holy Scriptures that the Parable is spoken of the Lord's Body, and not in Relation to his Divinity; For (Christ) performing the Holy Mystery, having Blessed it, said, *Drink you all of this, this is my Blood of the new Testament which is shed for you*, καίπερ ἔχ' αἷμα τῆ κυρίου ἐστὶν ὁ κύβητος, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀμπέλης, and yet the Wine is not the Blood of the Lord, but (the Blood) of the Vine. It is very strange that *Athanasius* here should so much as dream of Transubstantiation; or that he who before had so often said expressly, *that the Body of Christ is at the right Hand of God*, and confounds them that can think, *that the Son can be divided from the Father in Heaven*, could think that his very Body and Blood are in ten thousand places on Earth at once; and here say, that *when Christ had Blessed and said, this is my Blood, yet the Wine was* (Wine still) *not Christ's Blood but the Blood of the Vine.* Therefore the Greeks in this Decree of the pretended Synod of Jerusalem have Manifestly deserted their Antient and Primitive Fathers in their Theology; and I think it as plain, that they have as much abandon'd their old Philosophy. For I would fain know whence they had this new Doctrine of Accidents. As *R. Simon* truly saith, utterly unknown to the home bred Greeks. Or what Greek Author taught him to use the word, εἶδος, Kind, Form, Shape, Resemblance, for only Accidents without a Subject? Or Species in the Roman Sense. Their old Master *Aristotle* places the very Being of an Accident, in Being in some Subject; ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ δὲ λέγω, ὃ ἐν πᾶσι μὴ ὡς μέρος ὑπάρχον, ἀδύνατον χωρὶς εἶναι τῷ ἐν ᾧ ἐστίν, and he makes that to be in a Subject, which being in any Thing not as a part of it, cannot possibly be (or Exist) without (or Separated from) that, in which it is; or as *Porphyry* expresses it, an Accident αἰδέ ἐστιν ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ ὑφισταμένον, is always Subsisting in a Subject. And their beloved Father *Job. Damascen* in his Logick teach them the very same Doctrine, συμβεβηκός τὸ μὴ δύναμενον ἐν ἑαυτῷ εἶναι, an Accident is what cannot Exist by it self? It hath no Existence (ἰδίαν) of its own; It hath its being only whilst it is in a Subject; All Accidents are incorporeal and of themselves, ἀνόμαστα, have no Existence without a Subject. And therefore whatever *Damascen* may any where seem to say in Favour of the Schoolmen in this Point, if they will make him consist with himself, and expound it according to this his Logick, it must destroy their Transubstantiation quite. Therefore that an Accident can subsist without a Subject, is absolutely a new Chimærical Notion, hatcht in the Latins Schools; and nourish'd by the Jargon and Subtle Sophistry of *T. Aquinas*, and his Fellows. He tells us, the Accidents of the Bread and Wine, after Consecration, are not in the Substance of the Bread and Wine; nor in their Substantial Forms; nor in the Body and Blood of Christ; nor in the Air. For he saith, all these are Impossible. But seeing he is so bold and free with the

the Almighty's Power, I wonder why he should so positively limit it; why is it more possible for the Substances of the Elements *to be annihilated*, and the Accidents *to be without any Subject*, than for them to be in their own Substances or *Subjects* still, and so for the Elements and Christ's Body and Blood to be in one individual place? For why is it not as possible for two Bodies distinct, to be at one and the same time, in one and the same Place, as for one and the same Body (according to him) to be in ten thousand places at once? Nay, *their sublime Doctrine of Conconitancy*, makes two distinct Bodies, that is the entire Body of Christ, and all his Blood, to be always in the same place, and in the same individual Particle, be it of the Bread or of the Wine. Again, why is it not as possible for *the Substantial Forms* to remain as *Subjects* for their Accidents; as for the Accidents to remain without any Subject at all? Again, why is it not as possible for a *Human Body*, or *the Air*, to loose or change their *own Accidents*, and receive these new ones of Bread and Wine, as for these *Accidents* to loose their own *Subjects*, and have none at all in their stead? Again, why is it more Impossible, or more Inglorious, for *Christ's Glorious Body* to receive these harmless Accidents, then to be Cut and Divided, and to go into the Mouth and Stomach of the Receivers, both Bad and Good? Yet still he owns that piece of old Philosophy, that one and the same Numerical Accident cannot go from one Subject to another; but why is not this as Possible as that it should be, or subsist without a Subject? He does so Majesterially tell us *what can, or what cannot be done*, nay, so positively *what is done*; as if he had, not only been caught up above the third Heaven, but even sat in the divine Council it self. But to shew a very Sublime and refined piece of his Sophistry, he quarrels at the old Definitions of a Substance and an Accident. Non est Definitio Substantiæ, ens per se sine Subjecto nec Definitio Accidentis, ens in Subjecto; sed Quidditati seu Essentiæ Substantiæ competit habere esse non in Subjecto; Quidditati autem five Essentiæ Accidentis competit habere esse in Subjecto.—Et ideo non desinunt esse Accedentia, quia nec separatur ab eis Definitio Accidentis, quæ est Aptitudo ad Subjectum quæ semper manet in iis, non actualis Inhærentia. Nec competit eis Definitio Substantiæ. *It is not the Definition of a Substance, a Being by it self without a Subject; nor the Definition of an Accident, a Being in a Subject. But to the Quiddity (in as plain English as I can speak, to the Whatness) or Essence of a Substance belongs (or is applicable) to have to Be (or a Being) not in a Subject; but to the Whatness or Essence of an Accident belongs (or is applicable) to have to Be (or a Being) in a Subject.—And therefore they do not cease to be Accidents, because the Definition of an Accident is not separated from them; which is an Aptitude (or good Disposition) to a Subject, which always remains in them, not an actual Inherence. Neither do the Definition of a Substance belong (or is applicable) to them. If this be not Superexcellent, treble refin'd stuff, I know not what is.* He saith, ens non est genus an ens, or Being, is not the Genus of a Substance or of an Accident. Why then in both his Descriptions he defines a Nonentity or Nothing. If one ask, quid est Substantia, quid est Accidens, *what is a Substance, what is an Accident*, you must not answer, est Ens, Res, Aliquid, id quod, quod cunque. *It is a Being, a Thing, Something, that Thing which, whatsoever Thing, or the like; for all these are positive and imply somewhat actually existing; but it is (a whim wham) a Nothing, or an it may be, to whose Quiddity or Essence &c.* So that he hath wonderfully and most accurately tyed a Knot upon a Ray of Moonshine. I demand whether the Colour, Taste, Smell, Shape, or the Species (as they are pleased to call them) of the Elements after Consecration do verily Exist, as they then seem to our Senses; or are they all an Illusion or a meer Phantom? If they Exist, they are Entia or Beings. To say that they are only, Aptitudines ad Subjectum, *very nothing, but yet apt or disposed to a Subject*, is another piece of as wild Meraphysicks; I always thought *No-thing*

T. p. 143.

T. p. 144.

Supra. 29

- T. p. 144. *thing was Nothing, non entis nullæ sunt affectiones, and therefore cannot be said apt or disposed to this or that or any thing before it be supposed to Exist. Therefore to say, to the Quiddity or Essence of an Accident belongs to have its Being in a Subject, if it hath any meaning, it can be no more, nor no less than this, the Nature of an Accident requires a Subject to its actual Subsistence* Now let this be the Idea of an Accident in the Eternal Mind before the World was made. According to him these sensible Qualities of the Elements may now agree with this Idea, though they no more *Actually inhere* (that is indeed *no more actually Exist,*) now, then they did then in the Divine Mind, so that as he and his Brethren the Schoolmen, have quite Annihilated the Substance of the Elements, so they have quite shuffled away the actual Being of the Accidents too; though they appear indeed, *something* to our Senses, yet really they are now no more *actual Accidents*, then they were before the Creation it self. And thus both the Substances and the Accidents of the Elements, are both alike only *Metaphysical or Intellectual Ideas of Potential Things*, or of, *what may be*, but by no means *actual Beings or really existent Things*. He concludes with this Sentence, *neither do the Definition of a Substance belong to them, that is, to the Accidents*. But I must say, if the Accidents in the Eucharist do really Subsist or rather Exist, they are real Substances according to his own description of a Substance; *To the Quiddity, saith he, or Essence of a Substance belongs to have its being not in a Subject, or without a Subject; but according to Him, and the other School-men, the Accidents at the Sacrament, have not only this Aptitude to Be, but really are without a Subject; and if they are actually so, they must be actual Substances*. Again, he confesses justly above, (what may serve and is applicable to all the other Absurdities;) *Hoc non fiat miraculose virtute consecrationis, quia verba &c. That the Accidents remain without any Subject, cannot be done Miraculously by virtue of the Consecration; because the words of it, do not signify thus much; and the words effect no more then what they signify; And I think, the words of Christ signify altogether as little to warrant any other of the Scholastick frantick Inventions, as they do this; and therefore cannot by their Virtue effect them; but then he gives a general salvo for all; Though by the course of Nature these things cannot be, yet by a special gracious Privilege; by a special Reason according to the course of Grace; by a divine Power sustaining them; though not by the Force or Power of their Essence; Accidents may be without a Subject*. This was the plausible Evasion of *Lancfranc* of old, and hath been made the common Shift or Subterfuge of all the School-men ever since. But it can never stand against that solid Reply of the Learned *Chemnicus*; *Non quia Deus omnipotens est, ideo quicquid &c. Because God is Omnipotent, it doth not therefore follow that we, without the Testimony of his Word, should attribute to Him whatever we think fit. Turtullian saith, God could have made Man a flying Creature, but because he could have made him so, it doth not therefore follow that he hath made him so. Therefore the Scripture gives us this Rule. He made all things whatsoever he would; But the will of God in matters of Faith is to be Learned and Judged of from his Word; and when we are assured of the Will of God from his certain Word, then an Argument from his Omnipotency will be valid. Therefore the Angel speaks Significantly, when he affirms that every Word, that is, whatsoever he hath plainly exprest in his Word, with God is not Impossible. Therefore Transubstantiation must be clearly proved and shewed from the Words of Christ, and then by the help of the Holy Spirit, we will freely Captivate our Understanding in Obedience to Christ*. This I take to be an Irrefragable, and therefore a most satisfactory, Answer to all that *Aquinas* and the rest of the Crazy School-men have Invented to cover, not only his freakish Doctrine of Accidents, but all those other infinite Absurdities, which attend that monstrous Article of Transubstantiation. The whole Bread, or the whole Wafer, is made
- C.
1. 2. 3.
- c. 17. p. 242.
- c. 18. p. 244.
- Exam. conc.
- Trid. part. 2.
- pag. 76.
- Luke. 1. 37.

made the whole Body of Christ, and the least Crumb of it separated from the rest, is the same whole and entire Body still, part of the Bread equal to the whole. It is the Body of Christ in the Mouth of the Receiver, but Bread again in the Mouth of a Dog or a Mouse, or in the Bowels or Entrails of Men, before it is cast out into the draught. The Bread by Concomitancy is made both Body and Blood, and the Wine both Blood and Body. There may be (a Fraction or) a Breaking where nothing is Broken. The same Body may be in ten thousand places, nay, ten thousand thousand times over and over distinctly (as in every the least Crumb or Particle of the Bread and Wine) at the same time upon the Altars; and an Innumerable more such wild Dreams and extravagant Fancies, (for he that would go about to rummage the voluminous Schoolmen, and to mention all would be as mad as they) I say, all these are boldly and positively asserted, not only as Things possible, but as Things really and actually done every day by the Almighty Power. They have no Word or declared Will of God, for all this, the Words of Christ (or of the Consecration) confessedly signify, (and therefore by their Virtue can Effect,) no such Thing; what warrant then have they for ascribing all this incomprehensible stuff, to a special Privilege, to a singular Grace, appropriated to the Eucharist alone? They may better maintain, by such another Privilege, that old Ridiculous conceit, that ten thousand Angels may dance Booted and Spur'd upon the Point of an Needle; for it seems to be a more rational Object of the Divine Omnipotency. What is plainly Recorded as matter of Fact, in the Infallible word of God, I will believe as an Act of his Almighty Power; He said, *Let there be Light, and there was Light*, and so all the rest of his Works at the Creation, are plainly said to be wrought by his Command and Power; and if it had been as plainly set down in God's Word, that Christ at the Institution of the Eucharist had said, "*This is, no longer Bread, whatever it seems to you, but it is Transubstantiated into my very Body, my very Flesh, and my Bones; and This is, no longer Wine, but is Substantially converted into my very Blood, the Substance of both Bread and Wine being Annihilated, and only the sensible Accidents remaining; This that I gave you like Bread, is both my Body and Blood; And this like Wine, is both my Blood and Body entire; Both are I my Self, and in them I twice give you my very Self entire, in the whole, and in every particle of them; I say, if all this had been declared by the infallible Word as Actually done, the Metusasts might justly have pleaded the Divine Omnipotency for it; But if from the Divine Omnipotency only, they will without God's word argue matter of Fact, that all this was literally so, I will undertake by the very same Arguments, and the very same School-Sophistry, to maintain, that the Rock in the Wilderness was very Christ, Body, Blood, and Bones. The hardness of it, the Colour, Shape, bigness and the like outward Accidents, were only Species without a Subject; the Substance of the Rock was for a time Annihilated, and under the Species was the Substance of Christ's entire Body (though yet unborn;) and whether it was the whole Rock, or a piece of it, or the Water, that followed the Israelites; every Particle of the Rock and drop of the Water might be by Concomitancy entire Christ, though he was not yet upon Earth. And thus for a Conclusion I shall make bold to propound this Nice Paradox (which just now come into my Mind) to the Angelical and Irrefragable Doctors at the Schools; and I humbly beg that by their known Subtlety and Cunning in making Ropes of Sand, they would be pleased to make it out for me at their own good Pleasure and Convenience. All the Bloody Sacrifices, and many other Observances in Moses his Law, have been accounted by all, Types of Christ. Now if I should venture to say, that all the Oxen and Calves; The Sheep and Lambs; The Goats and Kids; the Pigeons, and all other Animals that were Sacrificed; nay, that the very Scape Goat, were every one of them verily, and indeed Christ Himself, (Body, Flesh, Bones, Blood,) only under the Accidents and Species of those Creatures. Help, Help, O Help me ye mighty Contrivers and Builders of new Babylon.*

Top. 146. law. The greater the Miracle, the greater the Power; and all this might be done by the Almighty, as a special Privilege, and a singular Grace or Favour, at that time to his Chosen and peculiar People.

Top. 147. T. p. 113; p. 225. p. 225. p. 360. But enough of this new Scholastick Metaphysics, of which the old Greeks knew no more then they did of the new Scholastick Theology. I will therefore now take a review of this Famous Jerusalem Synod. It seems to be drawn up by some one single person, by that expression, ἡ παύσομαι λέγειν, I will still say. And Dositheus is the reputed Author of it, and it bears his name; and he himself owns it as his Work. And the French Ambassador testifies that he receiv'd it from him, and that he then was assured by him, that it was, par luy redigé signé, by him thus modell'd, and signed, or subscribed, by himself as well as the rest. This might very well be; It is most Evident that

Ut supra. the Latins (the Jesuits and others then swarming about the French Court at Galata,) furnished the main Materials of this specious Fabrick, and it is possible enough that Dositheus might be prevailed with, and did undertake, redigere to reduce and Model them as we now have them. For first the French Ambassador in his Certificate saith thus expressly, Dosithee a present Patriarche de Jerusalem, Dositheus the present Patriarch of Jerusalem coming to Constantinople have declared to us, that he had fully satisfied that which we had desired of Him, following the advices which he had received by our Letters about it.

It is plain then the French Ambassador put him upon this design; and what those Advices were, I think no Man can be so Stupid as not to Imagine. They were, without all doubt, that the Greeks should particularly declare that all the Points, especially that of Transubstantiation, which were asserted by Monsieur Arnold, in the Controversy between him and Monsieur Claud, were Orthodox, or, according to the Doctrine of the Greek Church; and for what shall here follow, I cannot but think that these Points were specified, and many of them set down in words at length by the Latins, which were about the Ambassador, and sent to Dositheus by his order; for the Ambassador did not understand Greek himself, and therefore could not Treat with the Patriarch but by Interpreters. From whom, but from the French, had Dositheus those notices,

p. 9. (which are mention'd in the Preface) of the Heretical Books and Writings of Monsieur Claud? And that he was a Calvinist, Minister at Charenton? To my knowledge Dositheus, (with whom I have Converſed very frequently) knew then neither Latin nor French; whence come he then by all the School-divinity and Latin Notions which we meet withal in his Decrees? Of which more bye and bye; He by himself could know nothing of Mr. Claud; for he neither understood nor ever saw any of his Writings; and therefore those Scandalous, Malicious, and Scornful words, which we meet with towards the end, are certainly none of his; but were foisted into the given Advices (or perhaps since thrust into the Copy,) by some angry French-man or disgusted Arnoldian. The words are, προτιθησι δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ, ὁ ἐν Καραντονίᾳ προειρημένῳ φάμεν κλαυδίῳ, καὶ ἐπεὶ πῶς καθ' ἡμῶν γελοῖα καὶ μηδενὸς λόγου ἄξια, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα αὐτοῦ μύθους ἡγάμεθα, καὶ τῦτον αὐτὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ πᾶντι ἀμαθῇ γνωρίζομεν. A little whiffing fellow, one Claud, of Charenton, before mention'd, have added to what hath been said, some other Ridiculous things against us not worth any Remark; but we count all he hath said meer Fables, and proclaim even Him himself a meer poultry Juggler and one utterly void of all kind of Learning.

p. 9. And yet in the former place we are told that, this Claud (as little and pittyfull a fellow as they here make him) and his Calvinistical followers with their Heretical Books and Discourses, wherein they had misrepresented the Eastern Church, had so alarm'd the good Patriarch, as like a Man in a fright (half Thunder-struck) He was forced to betake himself to this Vindication; for this is made the plausible Ground and Preface to this mighty Work, σάλπιγξ γὰρ ἀγρίας ἡχαδέσις, καὶ πολέμου δυνάμεις βαρύνοντα βροντῶσι τὰ ἑνὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ Γαλτίας ἔλθοντα πρὸς ἡμᾶς μῦθοι. News, saith he, coming lately from France to us, Thunders more noisy,

noisy, then a fierce Trumpet, and more grievous then a dreadful War. So that we are here plainly told whence all this Contrivance and pretended Storm came, *It was from France.* Methinks if *Claud* had been such a poor *Illiterate wretch*, as they made him, whatever he had said against the Eastern Church would have signified very little, *his Tongue could have been no Slander*; Yet it is likely all their Emissaries thereabouts drove the same Nail, inculcating to all the better sort of Greeks who lent them an Ear, *that their Church was strangely Traduced by this Claud*; and Fryar *Lazarus* told the same Tale to Patriarch *Paisius*, where by mistake he calls him a *Lutheran*; and without Question they offer'd their assistance to help the Greeks out in all these Points, that is by this Trick to *Latinize them throughout*; and in this Treatise you have a most pregnant instance of it. As to this wonderful Noise, which this Reverend Patriarch tells us was made at *Jerusalem* about this same *Claud* and his Works; with that most venerable Prelate's leave, I shall here borrow a few of his own words, which he hath used about *Cyril Lucar's* Confession; It is possible that the Greeks, at and about *Jerusalem*, might have heard of it, T. p. 146.
T. p. 147.
Epist. Nestar. ad Pais. MS. supr.
p. 110. 112.
p. 110.
p. 148.
p. 346.

τῆς πολλῆς τῶν ἐναντιῶν διακατανήσεως, ἣν καυχόμενοι ποιεῖσι—ἵνα δηλαδὴ ἀπατῶσι τὴν ἀπλυστέρως. *The Latin Emissaries having there continually rung out their great Bell, clamouring loudly against Mr Claud's Calvinists, as their, Insolent, vaunting way is, only that they may cheat and deceive the more Simple or Ignorant People.* But I will positively assert that we had then no such noise about us at *Constantinople*. And I think it is pretty plain that *Dionysius* the then Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and the others, who with him subscribed his Declaration, knew nothing of it; other Methods were taken with them to bring them to sign what they did; and not one of their names is set to this *Jerusalem* Confession; and few of them, (to my own knowledge) would have been perswaded to have done it, if they had been acquainted with it. I must confess, our own Church of England have had the common fate of other Protestants, of being traduced up and down amongst the Greeks as *Lutherans*, and *Calvinists*, and I know not what kind of Mongrel *Christians*; but after I had shewn to all my Acquaintance amongst the Metropolitans and Bishops our Liturgy and Ordination in Greek, (whereof I dispers'd many many Copies amongst them, which I carried over with me,) I left all of them of quite another Opinion; but more of this afterwards. Wherefore I must freely and sincerely confess, that this seems to me a meer *French* project, cunningly imposed upon that *ill advised* Patriarch, who though he was indeed a very great Man, was yet but a Man. However it was, I wonder how this Discourse of *Dositheus* comes to be called by the Latin Editors, *a Synod*; or by him Himself, *an Apology composed by a Synod*. Let us examine it a little by his own Rule. Πᾶν πατριάρχικον, γράμμα συνδικὸν εἶναι βελέται, ὡς συνδικῇ σκέψῃ γράφόμενον, καὶ συνδικῶς, ἐξεταζόμενον καὶ ὑπογεγραμμένον, *Every Patriarchal Writing or Edict, should be Synodical, as penn'd by the Deliberation, Circumspection, or weighty Consideration of a Synod, and Synodically examin'd, or discusst, and subscribed.* This pretended Synod was Celebrated at the, *Ἑγκαίνια, Encenia, or Feast of Dedication* of the Church of *Bethlehem*, when without doubt the good Fathers would be very busy about performing the Ceremonies, and the compleat Celebration of that Festival. The Treatise is pretty long, and it would take at least a day or two only to read it over leisurely and distinctly; but to *Examine* and weigh every Paragraph and Point, would require a long time and several Sessions. Would any Man go about to make the World believe, that all these doughty Subscribers ever had read this Learned work over themselves, or had heard it read over to them? Did all of them, or indeed any of them, thoroughly understand the Latin Divinity that is scatter'd up and down in it? I shroudly suspect that those good Men who subscribed in *Arab*, were not much versed in either Greek or Latin, and so I suppose that they assisted at the Debates and in discussing the Points by an Interpreter. *Meletius* Embassador to the King of *Iberia*, had got it (I suppose regularly *Examin'd* and *Debated* first) past in a Synod there, and in the name of that Synod he

T. p. 148.
P. 350.
P. 354.

Not. in Gabr.
Sev. p. 111. b.
112. a.

T. p. 149.

p. 117. 129 30.

p. 118.

Subscribed it here; we must think the same of *Agapius Lydda*, and likewise of *Agapius Gazæorum* and their Synodical Brethren. All this must take up a great deal of time. As to the Religious Monks and Holy Deacons who subscribed, if they were of the same Form for Learning and Judgment with those which I have met withall at Mount *Athos*, and every where else, I must pronounce them very Miserable and most Lamentable Judges, for the *Discussing and Determining* such Points as these; and I am very well satisfied that the Officers and other inferior Clergy there, were much of the same Mould. But, numerous sumus, *we are a Company*, saith the Proverb; an Number usually sets a good Face on any matter. The Learned *R. Simon* again and again justly acknowledges the profound Ignorance of the Greeks and Easterlings; yet, if they can but, like *Parrots*, speak, *Μετωλοισ, Transubstantiation*, or, *Benè dixisti Thoma, well said Thomas Aquinas*; according to his dexterous Wit, he fairly offers to pass them all for Good, True, *Roman Catholicks*; (I have indeed met with great Numbers of just such special Catholicks, even amongst the Latins themselves;) and to this purpose amongst many other Passages in him I meet with this; *Tam Græcos quam reliquos Orientales, I think we ought to set the Greeks, as well as the rest of the Eastern Nations, in two Ranks, some are train'd in Philosophy, others not in the least; and these, (who truly, saith he, are for the greater number) talk of Eucharistical matters very Grossly; but those, especially if they have frequented the Latins Schools, hold the Roman Faith, in Word and Deed; but if they have not (been at those Schools) though they do not agree in the Words, yet they agree in the main.* I would now fain know how many of these good Fathers who Subscribed, were Men of the first Rank (according to him) *Men exercised in Philosophy? Or who had frequented the Latins Schools?* When I was in the Country, neither *Dositheus* nor *Nectarius* were reputed Men of that Number, or had the first then ever been in *Italy*; And for the rest, for the greatest Part, if not all of them, were certainly of the lower Form; and so they did not stand upon *Words and Terms of Art*, which came from the *Jesuits and Latins Schools* in the *Embassadors Letters of Advices*; neither did they understand them; but like Good, Quiet, and Obedient Children, *they said yea to the whole*, and Subscribed without more ado. It is plain that *Dositheus*, some way or other, was wrought upon and perswaded by the *French Ambassador to Model* and set out this Work; and his Authority and Example easily misled all the rest. It is possible, that amongst many other Motives which drew *Dositheus* to this undertaking, his Mind, by continual Applications of Latins and Latinized Agents made to him, might by degrees be inclined to many of their Modern Tenents and Opinions; and I am very willing to think thus, that he might then be changing his Mind, (as it is now plain that he hath fully done it in these Points, if those Books be really his which are since Printed under his name,) I say, I would rather think thus, then that he should have so egregiously *Prævaricated*, *ἀλλὰ μὲν ἔχων ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, ἀλλὰ δὲ ὑμολογῶν διὰ τὸματῶ, having one thing in his Mind, and Confessing another with his Mouth*, as he himself here exclaims in the case of *Cyril Lucar*; and yet even *That* hath been the deplorable case, of many and many great Men in the Church before now; even of *St. Peter* himself. Again if this was a real Synod, and Matters were, as they ought, day by day leisurely debated in it, I wonder how seventy Men durst come together so often, for several days at least, and set, and closely consult under that most Suspicious and Jealous Government; The *Turks*. who have always a very watchfull Eye over any such Meetings, would certainly have made an *Avania* upon them, and have severely pincht their Purses, or chastised their Carcases. It is more likely that this *Confession* or *Apology* lay ready drawn and finished, and so was produced at the Festival, and the good Fathers Subscribed it without any farther scrutiny. I find yet another Rule laid down by *Dositheus*, how we may judge of a Patriarchal and Synodical Confession, *there are required*, saith he, *to it, the Sentences and Subscriptions*

tions of all the other Patriarchs, and the most Common, or General, consent of all the Clergy, and of the rest who are Conspicuous for Piety and Wisdom; so that there should scarce be one of these left out to contradict it. Therefore this pretended *Synodical Apology* is very defective in this Point, for there are no Patriarchs names to it, but that of *Dositheus* himself, and that of old *Nectarius*, who was his Predecessor, but it seems was then alive. As for the other three Patriarchs, and the chief Men in their respective Provinces, you find not the name of one of them there; nay, I will positively say, that they never were privy to it, or Publickly acquainted with it. Therefore with me, what any Patriarch shall thus draw up (be it on what Occasion, or Project, or by what Methods soever procured and effected) and get a *Junto* of his Partisans, and Creatures, and other Illiterate wretches to subscribe, shall never pass for a *Synod*, or a *Synodical Apology* or Confession of the Greek, much less of the Oriental Church. *Cyril Lucar* had many Friends and Partisans amongst his Greeks, and without doubt could have procured Subscriptions enough to his Confession, and if so it would have been, as to that Point, as Authentick as this *Jerusalem Synod*; I must confess I should have counted their Authority much a like, that is, none at all. For in this thing I am perfectly of *Dositheus* his Mind, as it there immediately follows. *Η ανατολική Εκκλησία ὡς προσέχει, ὅτε παρὰ ἐνὶ πνι, ἢ, δυσὶν, ἢ καὶ πλείοσι λόγον μέγας ἔχουσι καὶ μὴ καθόλου, ἢ ἑτῷ διεξάγεται ὡς ἐκεῖνοι ἐθέλουσι (ὅποιοι ποτ', ἀν' ἑσσι, καὶ θεολογικώτατοι δηλαδὴ τυγχάνωσιν ὄντες, καὶ ἀγιότητι διαφέρουσιν ὥστε καὶ νεκροὺς ἀνίσταν) μὴ ὅπνε φιλάρετους, καὶ δολίους, καὶ λαθεύοντες, καὶ ἀγνοοῦντες πῶς ὡς ἴσον ἀρχῆς εὐχέσονται καταπεφλυαρηκόσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἄκρως συμφωνῶσιν.* The Oriental Church saith he, doth not depend upon, or confide in any one Man, or two, or more, who must be counted but part, and not the whole of it; that it should be so led, or traduced, as they please (be they what they will, whether they are the most Learned Divines, or Eminent for their Sanctity so as to raise the Dead) much less (is it to be led or traduced) by Ambitious and Crafty deceitfull Men, and by such who under-hand fool and trifle away their time, in contriving Bug-bear and Hob-gobbling Reasonings as weak as Cobwebs; But (the Oriental Church confide) in those who are exactly of one Mind, in all that is said; that is, in the Condition of a Patriarchal, or a Synodical Confession, as he there Immediately, and I here above, have set them down. Who *Dositheus* here meant by these trifling Bugbear-mongers, I leave to the Reader to judge; but were it left to me, I should certainly Reckon the *Metusiasts* free of that Company. However give me leave to take notice of some few Passages scatter'd up and down in this Apology, which seem more particularly to relate to the Point in hand. The Author to perswade us that the Greeks were always Orthodox, especially as to the Eucharist; refers us to a long Declaration which they make every year on the first Sunday after the eleventh of October; They call it, *συνδικόν*, A Synodical Definition of the Seventh general Council, (as they call the second Council of Nice;) though it is not thus to be found in any of our Printed Collections of Councils that I know of. It is in their *Triodion* at large, out of which the Author hath cull'd several *Anathema's*, whereof this is one, which I will give you here in the very words of the *Triodion*, for he hath set it down imperfectly.

Τοῖς ἀκέσσοι μὲν τῷ σωτῆρι περὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτῷ παραδοθείσης τῶν θείων μυστηρίων ἱερουργίας, λέγοντες, τὸ ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν, μὴ ἐκλαμβανομένοις δὲ ὁρθῶς τὴν ἀνάμνησιν, ἀλλὰ τολμῶτι λέγειν, ὅτι καὶνίζει φανταστικῶς καὶ εἰκονικῶς τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ πνίμει παρὰ τῷ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν προσαχθεῖσαν θυσίαν τῷ ἰδίῳ σώματός τε καὶ αἵματός εἰς κοινὸν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως λύτρον τε καὶ ἐξίλασμα ἢ καθ' ἐκάστην προσαγομένη θυσία παρὰ τῶν τὰ θεία ἱερουργούντων μυστήρια, καθὼς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ δεσπότης τῶν ὅλων παρέδωκε καὶ διὰ τὸ αὐτὸ εἰκα ταύτην παρὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῷ σωτῆρι πεπλεγμένην εἰσάγουσι, καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνην φανταστικῶς καὶ εἰκονικῶς ἀναφερομένην, ὡς καὶ τὸ τῆς φρικτῆς καὶ θείας ἱερουργίας μυστήριον, δι' ἃ τὸν τῆς μελλούσης ζωῆς ἀρεθῶνα λαμβάνομεν, καὶ ταῦτα τῷ θείῳ πατρί ἡμῶν Ἰωάννι τῷ χρυσῳρρήμονι διατεταγμένῳ τῆς θυσίας τὸ ἀπαργάλακτον, καὶ μίαν καὶ τὴν

T. p. 149.

p. 118.

T. p. 150.

Triod. p. 151.
Ed. ven. 1672.

p. 156.

- T. p. 150. τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι φάσκοντες ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν τῷ μεγάλῳ Παύλῳ ῥητῶν ἐξηγήσασιν. Ἀνάθημα τρίς. "To those who hear indeed our Saviour speaking of the Celebration of the Divine Mysteries which he himself delivered, *do this in Remembrance of Me*, but do not rightly understand this Remembrance, but are bold to say,
- T. p. 151. "that the Sacrifice which is daily brought, by those who Celebrate the Divine Mysteries, as our Saviour and Lord of all delivered, doth Fantastically (*or by way of Fancy*) or as by an Image renew the Sacrifice brought by our Saviour upon the honourable Cross of his own Body and Blood, for the common Ransom and Propitiation of human Nature; and by this do infer that this is another (or different) from that which at the beginning was Celebrated by our Saviour, and that this is refer'd to That Phantastically (*or by Imagination*) and by way of Image; to those who thus evacuate the Mystery of the Dreadful and Divine Office (or holy Ministry) by which (Mystery) we receive the Earnest of the Life to come; (and this is according to our Divine Father *John Chrysostom*, who clearly declares the Invariableness of the Sacrifice, and saith, that it is one and the same, in many of his Expositions of the great *St. Paul's* words) Anathema thrice. *Dositheus* expounds this thus, *All are Anathematized, who assert the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist after Consecration, to be by way of Image or similitude, εἰκονικῶς ἢ ὁμοιοματικῶς, or Tropically and Metaphorically, and not indeed and verily changed into the true Body and Blood of our Lord; that is, according to him, not Transubstantiated.* Bellarmine indeed makes this use of the second Council of Nice, and tells us, *that the Fathers in Copronymus his Synod, were the first who opposed Transubstantiation, by saying that there was but one Image of Christ Instituted by himself, to wit, the Bread and the Wine in the Eucharist, which represent the Body and Blood of Christ.* As if the old Greeks had always before acknowledged a real and substantial Change of the Elements in the Eucharist; and that *Copronymus* his Greeks were the first that ever thought of a *Typical* or Figurative Representation; and therefore they brought in this *as an Image*, to extirpate all others. And I Question not but that *Dositheus* had this quaint Scholastick observation, amongst the rest of the Jesuitical *Advices* sent him from the French Ambassador. But let any Man, who is perfectly free from prejudice, or never had Brains turn'd by the new School Frenzy of *Transubstantiation*, calmly peruse either this Greek *Synodicon*, or the second Council of Nice it self as we have it, and I dare engage that he will dream of no such thing from either of them. As to the Council it self, all I can find in it is this. *Copronymus* his Greeks exprest themselves thus, Ἐφρανήτωσαν καὶ ἀγαλλιάσωσαν. "Let them be transported with Joy and all freedom of Speech, who with a most sincere Soul make and desire, and Worship, and for the Salvation of Soul and Body offer τὴν ἀληθινὴν τῷ χριστῷ εἰκόνα, the true Image of Christ, which himself being a high Priest and God, entirely assuming our Mass, (*our Flesh*) in due time deliver'd to his Ministers for a Type and most evident Remembrance of his voluntary Passion. For being about to deliver up himself voluntarily to his Glorious and Enlivening Death, taking Bread, he Blessed (*it*) and having given Thanks he Break (*it*) and delivering (*it*) he said, take Eat, for the Remission of Sins, this is my Body. And in like manner delivering the Cup he said, this is my Blood, do this in Remembrance of me. As if no other Shew (*or Resemblance*) under Heaven had been chosen by him, or no other Type (*or Sign*) was able to Figure (*or represent*) his Incarnation. Behold the Image of his Enlivening Body, which is Pretiously and Honourably made (*it*) For what hath the All-wise God design'd by this? No other thing but to shew and manifestly declare to us Men the Mystery, which was wrought by him in his Dispensation. For as what he took of us, was the Matter only of Human Substance, perfect in all things, but not expressing (*by it self*) a peculiar Person Subsisting, least that any Addition of a Person might thereby happen to the Divinity; so also, he hath commanded an Image, to wit, the Substance of Bread, being a choice Matter, to be offered, not expressing human

Tom. 3. l. 1.
c. 1. c. de
Eucharist.

T. conc. 7.
Act. 6. p. 445.

T. p. 152.

"man Shape, least Idolatry should be *thence* introduced. As therefore Christ's
 "natural Body is Holy, as being Deified; so it is also plain that, *ἡ ἐκείνη*, Rela-
 "tively (or by Application) even his Image is holy, being, as by a certain San-
 "ctification, Deified by Grace. For the Lord Christ, as we have said, design'd
 "this, that as he hath Deified the Flesh, which he took, by his own natural
 "Sanctification, from the very Union; in like manner it hath pleased him,
 "that the Bread of the Eucharist, as a true Image of his natural Flesh,
 "should be made his Divine Body, (NB) being Sanctified by the Accession
 "of the Holy Spirit, and Mediation of a Priest, who changes the Offering,
 "(the Loaf) from what was common, into what is Holy. Therefore the
 "Flesh of the Lord, having naturally a Soul and Understanding, is by the Holy
 "Spirit anointed with Divinity. So also the Image, (deliver'd to us from God,) of
 "his Body, the divine Bread, is filled with the Holy Ghost, with the Cup of the
 "Enlivening Blood of his Side. This therefore is demonstrated to be, *αὐτὸ σῶμα καὶ αὐτὸ
 "αἷμα*, the True (or Faithfull) Image of Christ our God, as to his dispensa-
 "tion in the Flesh. To this the Nicene Fathers object, that none of the Apo-
 "stles or Fathers ever called the Sacrifice, which is made in Remembrance of
 "Christ's Passion, an Image of his Body; neither did our Lord teach them to
 "say so; for he did not say, Take, Eat the Image of my Body; neither hath
 "St. Paul recorded any such thing. Therefore Christ, and the Apostles and Fa-
 "thers never called that unbloody Sacrifice an Image, but, *αὐτὸ σῶμα καὶ αὐτὸ
 "αἷμα*, the very Body and the very Blood; some indeed of the Fathers have
 "called them Antitypes, before the Consecration was finished; as *Eustathius*
 "and *Basil*; But after the Consecration they are called, and are, and are be-
 "lieved to be the Body properly and Blood of Christ. But these brave Fellows
 "desiring to abolish the beholding, (or contemplating) of Venerable Images,
 "have brought in (bye the bye) another Image, which is not an Image but
 "the Body and Blood; and have (Wickedly and Sophistically) named this O-
 "blation to be made *ἡ ἐκείνη* Relatively. Now as to say this, is plain Madness,
 "so to call the Body and Blood of the Lord an Image, is full as Mad and more
 "Impious then unskilful. Then setting aside this lie, they hit a little upon the
 "Truth, saying, that it is made the Divine Body (NB.) But if it be the Image
 "of the Body, it cannot be the Divine Body it self. Therefore like Madmen,
 "*ἐπεὶ αὐτὸ ἐκείνῳ φανταζόμενοι*, they Fancy somethings for other things; some-
 "times calling our sacred Sacrifice an Image of Christ's Holy Body; sometimes
 "his Body Relatively, (or by Application,) but the meaning of all this is, as
 "we have said, *τὴν τῶν εἰκονικῶν ἀνατοπαμάτων ὅψιν*, to extirpate the seeing (or
 "beholding) of all Representations by Images out of the Church. And truly
 "this is all the whole and plain truth of the matter; *Copronymus* and his Greeks
 "had utterly destroyed all material Images, and in their Decree had said, that the
 "only Image of Christ which himself had allow'd and appointed was the Eu-
 "charist; The Nicene Greeks quarrell'd only at this Word, Image; because it
 "was brought in, as they here say, on purpose to cast out all other material
 "Images on which they so much doted; for as to the change of the Elements
 "both sides were plainly of one Mind, as *Baronius* himself confesseth, and
 "Monf. *Arnold* saith the same, only he would make their common Opinion to
 "have been a real presence, but that is far enough from Transubstantiation as it
 "is from plain Truth, as shall be shewn bye and bye. *Copronymus* his Greeks
 "declared, that it pleased Christ that the Bread of the Eucharist should be
 "made his Body, by the Invocation, and Accession, of the Holy Spirit, and
 "the Mediation of the Priest, who changeth it from being a Common, into a
 "Holy Thing. The Nicene Greeks, tho' they Rudely call this making of the Eu-
 "charist an Image, a lie, yet, as to what the others said of the change of the
 "Bread into Christ's Body, they own'd it and allow'd it as a Truth; For it is
 "neither more nor less then what *Irenaeus*, and *Justin Martyr*, and others had said
 "before them, the Bread was no longer common Bread, but now made the
 "Eucharist, or Body of Christ; so that I admire how any one can think, that
 "either

T. p. 152.

Annal. 787.

S. 34. p. 428.

Perpet. de la

Foy. part 3.

P. 324. 341.

Annal. 787.

S. 34. p. 428.

Perpet. de la

Foy. part 3.

P. 324. 341.

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S. 34. p. 428.

Perpet. de la

Foy. part 3.

P. 324. 341.

Annal. 787.

S. 34. p. 428.

Perpet. de la

Foy. part 3.

P. 324. 341.

Annal. 787.

S. 34. p. 428.

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Foy. part 3.

P. 324. 341.

T. p. 153. either of these parties then own'd, or thought any thing of *Transubstantiation*; He that desires more in this Point, I must, refer him to *Dalla* and *Hospinian*.
 de cult. Lat. l. 7. c. 43. Now as to the Greeks *Synodicon*, I must first Remark with what extravagant
 p. 1012. Fury and Malice the Nicene Fathers treated the Opposers of Images; calling
 Hist. Sacram. l. 3. c. 7. them again and again, *Samaritans*, *Jews*, *Sarracens*, *Manichæ's*, *Theopas-*
 p. 219. *chites*, *Phantasiasts*; ranking them with all the worst of Hereticks who ever had
 Bar. An. 787. exploded Images; and therefore I wonder not that this *Synodicon* upbraids them
 §. 33. Tom. with the word, *φανταστικῶς*, *Phantastically* here. Next this *Synodicon* blames
 con. 7. p. 348. them for calling the daily Sacrifice an Image of Christ's Passion, when at
 352. 361. &c. the same time they own'd that the Bread was made his Body; they cavill'd at
 p. 449. d. c. this (as the Council did) as inconsistent; as if it made two Sacrifices one
 by an Image, the other by really making the Bread Christ's Body; and there-
 fore they appeal to *Chrysostom*, who counted the Sacrifice but one. Yet
 p. 142. Q. *Chrysostom*, as is said above, owns as much; The Bread is still saith he,
 natural Bread and at the same time the Body of Christ, and yet not as
 two Bodies but one Body of the Son. Lastly, I have told you that this *Syno-*
dicon is no where found in the Printed Copies of the Seventh pretended Coun-
 cil; and, as it now stands in the *Triodion*, it was certainly made long after it;
 for it remembers many many of the latter Emperors quite down to *Joannes*
Cantacuzenus, who lived above 500 years after that Council. Therefore this
 must be but a very late piece, and hath been either forged, or at least at several
 times patcht up by some private Conventicles of the Greeks without the Latins;
 T. conc. 7. and I find by *Sirmondus* that there was of old such a Complaint, as if the
 p. 1055. a. Greeks had stolen such a private Council only among themselves, and call'd
 it *Oecumenical*. Now how *Bellarmino* or from him *Dositheus* could pick
 out of all this any thing which countenanced *Transubstantiation*, I cannot see.
 p. 449. b. It is plain the Council thought that the words *εἰκὼν* Image and *Ἀντίτυπον* *Anti-*
type signified the same thing. They say, none of the Fathers ever called the
 T. p. 154. unbloody Sacrifice an Image; yet some of them call it indeed, *Ἀντίτυπον*,
 an *Antitype*, but it is before it is Consecrated. Now *Dositheus* and the La-
 tins may, if they please, call this Council *Oecumenical*, but it is plain from
 hence, that it was not *Infallible*; For this is a most notorious and gross
 mistake. For first the very Words which they there quoted out of St. *Basil's*
 p. 57. Q. Liturgy, you have here above set down; and there you will find the Ele-
 ments called, *Ἀντίτυπα*, *Antitypes* a good while after the words of Christ,
this is my Body, this is my Blood. And in the Words which *R. Simon*
 Apol. p. 78. b. cites out of the Life of St. *Stephen*, concerning *Copronymus* his Synod, (though
 he ingenuously, after his way, endeavours to avoid their force) the Elements
 are plainly call'd *Antitypes* after Consecration, the *Antitypes* of Christ's
Body and Blood which we Adore and Kiss, & eorum perceptione sancti-
 tatem consequimur, and we are Sanctified by receiving of them. Now if
 the Fathers at this Council thought that the Consecration was not made by
 Christ's Words, (as the Latins now do) it is manifest that *Basil* called them
Antitypes after it, and the Fathers blunder most shamefully; but if they then
 thought that the Consecration was not made by Christ's words, but by the
 Prayers of the Priest which there follow, how can the Latins, (who contented
 there to this assertion) now justify their present Doctrine, that the Words of Christ
 immediately compleat the Consecration. But let the Consecration be made by the
 Words of Christ, or by the Priests Prayer, or (as the Learned *R. Simon* would have
 it) by both, the very Marginal note that is set by the side of the Printed Council
 by some more honest Greek, sufficiently shews the Fathers to have been mi-
 serably out in that bold assertion, that no antient Father had ever called
 the Elements *Antitypes* after Consecration. For *Nazianzen* is there quoted
 Orat. II. p. 187. against them; who, telling how his Sister *Gorgonia* being in a very ill ha-
 bit of Body mixt the Eucharist, which she had reserved (after Consecrati-
 on to be sure, (with her Tears and anointed her Body with it calls the
 Elements *Ἀντίτυπα σώματος & αἵματος*, the *Antitypes* of Christ's Body and
 Blood

Blood. Billius in his Notes there sweats hard to put a fair Gloss upon the words, but all to little purpose. Besides he owns that *Gorgonia* used the very Consecrated Elements, which she had reserved, as it was an antient Custom with many so to do, as you may see at large in *Morinus*. But if she did then believe that the Bread was Christ's very Body, and the Wine his Blood, (that is in the Latins Sense, perfect and entire Jesus Christ.) truly I think she used him very irreverently to make a kind of Cataplasme or Ointment of Him, and those, both Latins and Greeks, who of old out of a Stupid Devotion buried the Eucharist with the dead, if they thought then that it was Christ himself, were surely more Barbarous, as they were more Impious, then *Mezentius*, who is said to have tied the Living to the Dead. The next place of *Nazianzen* there noted, I have had occasion to mention before at large, where he likewise calls the Sacrifice an Antitype; and *Elias Crentensis* in his notes there hath made as sad a piece of work to solve that passage. To these, if you please, you may add yet another place in *Nazianzen*, where he calls the Eucharist, τὰς τύπας τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας, the Types of his Salvation; and the Commentator to mend the matter, saith *Tertullian* also used the word *Figura*, a Figure, and *Augustin*, *Signum*, a Sign, to the same purpose. Moreover the Marginal Note adds to the Testimonies of *Nazianzen*, *Cyril of Hierusalem*; who expounding the Greek Synaxis saith thus, γεύμενοι γὰρ ἔχουσιν ἃ καὶ οἱ οὐκ ἐκείνοι γεύονται, ἀλλὰ ἂντίτυπον σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ χριστοῦ. They who tast, are not commanded to tast the Bread and the Wine, but the Antitype of the Body and Blood of Christ, (as *Irenæus* and *Justin*, not common Bread, but the Eucharist, that is, the Antitype of Christ's Body. Here the Interpreter to avoid the force of the word *Antitype*, hath made both Nonsense and false Latin of it. *Cyril* there a little after teaching the Ecclesiastick Communicant how to take the Bread in both his hands (as the Priests and Deacons do to this day, and *Morinus* acknowledges the same;) he bids him take great care that he lets not the least crumb fall, out of Decency and Respect to this now Holy Thing; But had he believed that the Wine had then been Christ's very Blood or entire Christ himself (as the Metuists now say it is) he would not have advised him, to wipe off the Moisture that hang'd on his lips, and wet his Eyes and his Forehead and the other Organs of his Senses therewith, as I have noted before. I have here set down these Authors Testimonies at large, because the Marginal Note particularly names them, and tells us that there were others who also named the Eucharist Antitypes after Consecration; as at your leisure you may see *Theodoret*, *Macarius* and others, collected by *Suicer*. I shall only here put you in mind of what I have above noted out of *Dionysius*; that all along he speaks of the Eucharist only as a Figurative and Symbolical representation of Christ's Passion. And because this Nicene Council so bitterly exclaim'd against the making of the Eucharist an Image, I will add a passage or two out of this confessedly old Author, (be he the Genuine *Dionysius*, or spurious it is no matter) which as to this Point seem directly against their Decree. He describes the manner of the Priest's Consecrating and Distributing the Communion; and then immediately hath these words, μετὰ τὰς εἰκόνας ἐν τάξει καὶ ἱερώς, after these Images thus orderly and sacredly, disposed, according to (or after) the Godlike truth of their Originals, I will declare this thing for the Convenient information (or Instruction) of those who are in Orders, least the various and sacred Composition of the Symbols, as to their outward appearance only, might be altogether unprofitable to them. Here the Eucharist and all its Rites and Symbols, are plainly called Images; and *Maximus* in his *Scholia*, distinguishes these Symbols from Truth; and *Dionysius* there presently thus informs his Novice, the common and peacefull partaking of one and the same, both Loaf, and Cup, prescribes (to the Communicants) a Divine uniformity of Life, as being fellow Foster Children, and brings them to the Remembrance of the most Divine Supper, and that Primitive (or Principal) Symbol of these Mysteries.

T. p. 154.

T. p. 625. 3.

Comment. pars

3^a. exerc. 12.

c. 3. p. 177.

§ 1. 2. 3. &c.

Bona Liturgic.

l. 2. c. 17.

p. 854.

Orat. 1. p. 38.

b.

p. 43. Q.

Orat. 17.

p. 272. c.

Catech. mystag.

p. 244. c.

T. p. 155.

Non panem aut

vinum ut Gu.

stent jubentur;

sed quod sub

specie est (vide-

licet panis &

vinum) Cor-

pus & sangui-

nem Christi.

Comment part

3^a. exerc. 12.

p. 178. § 13.

p. 82. Q.

In Αντίτυπον.

p. 64. Q.

De Ecclesia.

hierarch. c. 3.

c. 3. art. 2.

art. 3. §. 1.

Digestas interp.

Corderio.

p. 306. art. 3.

§. 1.

T. p. 155. c. 3. art. 3. §. 6. p. 289. So speaking of the *Catechumens* and possessed and Impure Persons, who are debar'd from the Sacrament, he saith, ἔδὲ τὰς εἰκόνας ὁρῶν *neither are they permitted to see the Images*, that is, the Consecrated Elements and Rites then used. So relating the manner how the Priest distributes the Sacrament he saith, διαγράφει γὰρ ἐν ταῖς αἰσθητικαῖς, *for bringing Jesus Christ under our view, he in these things sensibly describes (or represents) as in Images our Intellectual Life*. And to say no more, declaring the *Synaxis* or Eucharist to signify but one principal Thing, to wit the Passion of Christ, express'd by variety of Symbols, he calls the whole performance, (μέχρι πόντος τῆς θεόχαινης εἰκονογραφίας) *one Divine principal Description (or Representation) by way of Image*. And according to this antient Author's sense in this Point, the last Reformers of the Greeks Liturgies have brought in all those odd Rites and Fancies which we find there, meerly to represent Christ's Oeconomy from his Birth to his Ascension; and *Jeremias*, (notwithstanding his shuffling,) could not but confess as much, as I have observed above; and he calls the whole Action by this very word, εἰκὼν, *an Image*, nay, (though perhaps *Dositheus* and his Synodicon may declare him, φανταστικὸν, *a Phantastick* for it) he expresseth it by the word, φαντασία, *Phansy*. Speaking of the spiritual Contemplation which we ought to have at the Eucharist, he saith, that This outward Performance of the Priest, sets all things in a manner before our Eyes, and offers the Contemplation of them, to our Soul, ἡ τῆς φαντασίας διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐναγυέστερον ἢ τῶν πνευμάτων, *and the Phansy being more clearly Typified in us from our Eyes*, (or heighten'd by this outward representation) it is impossible that we should forget such a Table. And the Church of Rome it self formerly called the Eucharist, *an Image* in that, (Post communio) Prayer after the Sacrament recorded by *Hospinian* out of *Bertram*. Pignus æternæ vitæ capientes, humiliter imploramus ut quod imagine contingimus Sacramenti, Manifestâ Participatione sumamus. *We receiving the Pledge of eternal Life, humbly beg, that what we obtain in the Image of the Sacrament, we may receive by a manifest participation*. It was also then, and is even to this day, called by them *Pignus*, *a Pledge*; and in the Synodicon it self above quoted, ἀρραβὼν, *an Earnest*; but these words signify another Thing which they are refer'd to, and not the Thing it self. And that other Prayer, there mention'd by *Hospinian*, is still retain'd in the *Missal*, Perficiant in nobis, Domine quæsumus, tua Sacramenta quod continent; ut quæ nunc Specie gerimus, rerum veritate capiamus. *We beseech thee O Lord, let thy Sacraments perfect in us what they contain, that we may in real Truth receive those Things, which we now do in Shew*. Therefore these words, *Type, Antitype, Image, Symbol, Pledge, Earnest, Shew* and the like, so commonly used, must bear the very same signification, and express the very same thing, to wit, a *Figurative representation* of Christ's Passion. And so *Walafrius Strabo* expounds it in *Charlemagnes's* time. The plain Argument then stands thus. *An Image of a Thing is not the very Thing it self of which it is an Image*. The ἄρτος, or Bread is the Image of Christ's Body, therefore it is not the very Body it self. Now let *Dositheus* make what he can of his Synodicon, and *Bellarmino* of his Council; though hand join in hand they can never Screw them up to that height to which they would tune them. For when all is done I must call the first a very obscure piece of Trumpery, God knows when or how contrived by private Greek Cabals; and the latter, that is, the Council it self, seems to be as meer a Juggle between Pope *Adrian* and *Irene* to settle Images. For the greatest part of the Bishops of that Council came in by *Simony*, as *Tarasius* plainly tells us; and he himself was, a *Neophytus*, from a Layman made Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and *Baronius* confesseth that Pope *Adrian* would never have approved of this his promotion, but upon this very condition, that he should set up Images; Next *Irene* with her Son of twelve years old taking the Government upon Her, was fearful of *Nicephorus* and his party; and altogether as Jealous of her Husband's

Husband's Brothers and Relations, and other Pretenders to the Crown; and therefore to strengthen her self, (an usual trick of the Greek Emperors in Distress) She courted the Pope by declaring for Images, and Charlemagne (the most Potent Foreign Prince,) by propounding a Match between her Son and his Daughter; and indeed what would not that ambitious Woman have done to secure her Empire, when at last she spared not her own Son, but most barbarously and unnaturally bored out his Eyes to get the Government in Her own hands. The next Argument which I meet withall in *Dositheus* to perswade us that his Church was always Orthodox, and that it was impossible that they should ever embrace Calvin's Doctrine, or indeed any other contrary to their Primitive Faith, is this in brief. *It must be meer Fear that could ever make them change; and that must be either the Fear of God, or the Fear of Man. It could not be the Fear of God, for that would never suffer them to prevaricate. And if it was the fear of Man, they must have been as wicked wretches as the Jews in Spain, who publicly profess one thing, and believe quite the contrary in their heart, but this Impiety is by no means the case of the Eastern People. Neither can they with their Mouth pretend to be of the Religion of their Governors (Turks or others) to avoid the hardships by which otherwise they might be prest; for the end of all such practices is Eternal Damnation. Again what should the Eastern Christians fear from their Emperors and Governors where they have free liberty of their Religion, and, ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀντικειμένων δοξαῖ ἐν εὐσεβίᾳ ἡδεσθαι, might safely believe and profess their Adversaries Doctrine, if they thought it was right. Again, though by degrees the Eastern Christians have been brought into Subjection and Slavery by Infidels, yet they are, ἕως ἀνθρώπων τῆ φύσεως καὶ τῶν ἀπειλῶν, so far above all Fear and Threatnings, as they shine every minute like Martyrs. This hath the Face of a very plausible Apology indeed; but if we minutely examine it, it will by no means account for this pretended Synod, or reach the present State of the Greek or Eastern Church. First it is very true, that no Man can be thought to profess by the fear of God a thing for a Truth, which he thinks, much less which he knows, to be false or a lie. But a Man by degrees may be so imposed upon, and so far wrought off from the Truth, as to think now that to be right, which before he thought to be wrong, or which he never thought of before; and so out of an Erroneous Conscience, or a mistaken or groundless fear of God, he may profess it, and Zealously maintain it. And truly I take this to be the very Case of this great Man *Dositheus*, as I have said before. He never had heard of Mr. *Claud*, nor ever had heard, or studied the Controversy, nor ever had read our Books, or knew any thing of these matters but by what the Latin Emissaries had instill'd into Him; and so having had only one side of the Controversy continually sounding in his Ears, and insinuated into him, τῇ κακείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν πανουργίᾳ πρὸς τὴν μεθοδεύειν τῆς πλάνης, by the sleight and cunning craftiness of Men whereby they lie in wait to deceive; He might verily think that he did God good service, in receiving and publishing this System of Doctrines as the Primitive Faith of the Eastern Church; because his Conscience thus misguided at last took all for manifest Truth. Next as to the fear of Man, I must do him that Justice as to declare that I always found him a Person, as of very great Prudence and wary Conduct, so of as great a Spirit and Courage; and this very Performance alone speaks him a Man of a daring Enterprize as well as Resolution. But by his favour, the Case of the Jews in Spain, and that of the Greeks under the Turks, is vastly and most extremely different. The Turk forces no Man to profess Mahometanism; Greeks, Armenians, Jews (both Karaims and Rabbanaims,) Papists, Protestants, all are tollerated, and may all with safety publicly own their own Profession; Nay, the Persians themselves, though they are not permitted to enter the Turkish Moschs, or join with them in their publick Devotions, yet may Travel up and down and Trade, and are known to be Persians without any Molestation. Whereas a Jew in Spain, if he be known to be a Jew*

T. p. 156.

388.

384.

395.

p. 138.

T. p. 157.

p. 142.

p. 146.

p. 149.

Eph. 4. 14.
Joh. 16. 2.

T. P. 157. he cannot escape the Inquisition. Therefore neither *Dositheus*, nor any one, either of his Greeks or of any other Persuasion, need fear any thing directly from the *Turk* as to his Religion; yet God knows there is not one of them free from Fear as to civil Accounts; for there are those amongst the *Turks* who would be glad of any Occasion, nay, some shall Study any likely, though false pretence, to oppress any of these poor People, and *Eat Money* (as the Phrase is) *out of them right or wrong*; and this is a dreadful calamity, which in General concerns them all alike. But there is a more dismal, a more abominable, more astonishing Fear than this spread, more or less, all over the East; Parties and Factions are oftentimes by their Father the Devil so desperately inflamed and exasperated against one another, as to make use of this very Scourge, the governing Power, to their mutual Ruin. Amongst the Jews the *Rabbanims* are far the Richer and more numerous Party; how often in my time did they make the poor *Karaims*, at *Haskioi* and elsewhere, a prey to the greedy *Turkish* Officers by their *Sycophantick* tricks, and Malicious informations, gilded over with a lusty bribe which they themselves could well spare; that is the devilish Nature of some malicious Men, to part with one of their own Eyes to put out both the Eyes of their Enemy. The same Methods Jews will take against Christians; and Christians (O horrid Scandal to the Name of Christ!) against one another. Who strangled the famous *Cyril Lucar*? Who cut off *Cyril* of *Berrbaa*? The *Turk* indeed did it, but it was not because they were not *Mahometans*, but because devilish and designing Men by force of Money purchased this *Bandog*, and let him thus loose upon them to devour them. And the same Barbarous and Unchristian practice hath been used in *Poland* to *Nicephorus*, who was *Protosyncellus* (as much as *Cardinal* at Rome or *Affessor* in the Conclave) to the famous Patriarch of *Constantinople* *Jeremias*. He was condemn'd to perpetual Imprisonment by *Sigismund the third*, and died in that miserable condition. *Arcudius* indeed endeavors to give the Story another turn, but meer Truth forced him to say at last expressly, *that it was done at the Instance and Accusation of the Prince of Moldavia, because he had began to disturb the Concord which was made betwixt the Russes and the Church of Rome*. That is, he had endeavor'd to reduce the *Russes* to their old Greek Religion and Communion, from which the *Jesuits* and *Latins* had perverted them. *Arcudius* yet minced the matter saying only, *miserè mortem obiit, he died miserably*; but *H. Hitarus* tells us plainly *that he was strangled*, and that *Cyril Lucar* even then, (upon the same account, and in the same place) very narrowly escaped the same most barbarous usage. Such malicious and revengefull treatment as these bloody Actions, must needs (in my Opinion) make all Inferior Greeks, (if not the brave *Dositheus* himself,) very fearful and very wary how they stir up a nest of *Romish Hornets*, by opposing their measures and designs in places where the Church Governors are by Birth and Education of their Party, or will be made so at any time by the Power of Money, or some other base and private Interest. And this made *Jeremias* so cautious as is abovesaid. And I will here positively affirm the present state of the Eastern (especially the Greek) Church to be this, the *Turk* and other Governors let them all alone in the free Profession and Practice of their Religion; But wealthy Rome and Her pestilent Emissaries will not; being in this point far more Inhuman and Barbarous than the *Mahometans* themselves. To say nothing more of the See of *Constantinople*. I think *Dositheus* his own Church affords me Instances enough of this Fear. What made his Predecessor *Nectarius* give over his care of that Church and put in a Deputy? What made him fly from *Jerusalem* when the French Ambassador was there? When some of the Greek Monks were knockt on the Head, and their blood spilt even before the Holy Sepulcher it self? How was it with his Predecessor *Sophronius* about the year 1590? He overcame the Latin Fryars, saith my Author, ἐν ὄπλοις ἢ σιδηρῇ πολεμικῇ ἀλλὰ χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ οὐ καὶ ἐν ἀντιπαλοῖ ἐχέματι, not fighting with Weapons and with Iron, but with Gold and Silver,

l. 4. c. 3.
P. 433.

Chron. p. 447.
Regenvolc. Syst.
Chron. l. 4. c. 2.
p. 470, 474.

In ejus vita.
MS. p. * 3. 4.

Nectarius de
primat. Pap.
MS. in Epilog.
p. 139. §. 4, 5, 6.

ver, which Weapons his adversaries had first made use of. And a little before he tells us the common naked truth, it was the Practice of the Latins, *δωροδοκίας* & *ἀφθονία χρημάτων* τὰς μεγάλαις & τὰς κατὰ τὰς *ἐκκλησίας*, by bribery, by secret Presents and vast Sums of Money, to gain the great Men and Governors, whenever they had any design upon the Greeks. What made Theophanes (successor to Sophronius) post away to the Grand Seigneur for his relief, when the Latins made an attempt against him? And Dosithens knows very well, that there was a time when he himself was not a little afraid (of which something more in another place) and his Fear was not over for a good while after I left Constantinople, as his Letters very well assure me. Thus the Greeks are above all Fear indeed from the Turk, unless the Jesuits and the Latins set him upon them; and they may take up what Opinions and Persuasions in Religion they like best when they please for all him; But there is yet a sufficient Terror which surrounds them; if their Doctrines thwart the Dictates of the Infalible Chair, they cannot easily forget Cyril Lucar's Fate, but must expect all the Mischiefs that Money and Malice can bring upon them. If then you have Money enough to wage War with the Conclave, and dare run the hazard of a bow-string, Courage noble Patriarchs, and manfully recover the antient Glory and Freedom of your Church, and the Truth of your Primitive Faith; and be no longer enslaved by your domineering Rival, Old Rome, nor Bewitch'd and Poisoned with her monstrous Abominations. But now to speak the very Truth, notwithstanding Dosithens his Rant, that his Greeks under all their Pressures and Calamities, *λάμπουν ὡς μάρτυρας*, do shine as Martyrs, amongst all the Metropolitans and Bishops of my acquaintance, I have found but very few who had Learning and Knowledge enough, none who had the Heart, to set about so great, and, as things now stand, so hazardous a Work. I have in my Travels found this our old Proverb as a settled Maxim, (indeed amongst topping Latins as well as Greeks,) *It is best sleeping in a whole Skin*; and were I so base a Villian as to betray any one who have used a Freedom in discourse with me, I could name several Men of note in both Churches whose Sentiments have been much to this purpose; *Let busy and designing Men make a Noise and Bustle about intricate Speculations and Notions which none can understand, nor themselves believe; I will never trouble my Head to maintain them or confute them; To believe as the Church, (the Rulers of it,) believe, hath been an old Rule; and it is followed, as far as I can perceive, as well in all Particular, as in National Christian Congregations; I have been born and bred and lived in this Church, and I cannot in Honour declare against it; I shall live an Honest and Quiet Life in it, and leave the rest to God Almighty.* Where this loose and careless Principle reigns, (especially if Fire and Faggot, or Dragooning and the Gallies or Banishment attends every one that dares but whisper any thing against the Enormities of Rome, as at home; and the bloody Hands of the Civil Governors may be bought, as in Turkey and all over the East;) matters will still go on at the old rate, from worse to worse. I really expect that in few Years, not only the Greeks, but all the East will be forced to own all that the Conclave shall dictate. Though perhaps the Latins, having made already so great a progress, may for a while rest content. For should they attempt to settle that chief Point, *the Pope's Supremacy*, in Turkey, as they have done it in the Church of Malabar (where the very same dreadful Methods have been taken,) I believe neither the known Pride of the Greeks, nor the grand Seigneur himself (who would be Jealous of such a Monarch) would ever bear it. Yet if I know any thing of the present Greeks, I take their Ignorance to be so general, and the Cowardice and Laziness, or the Carelessness and Love of Security and Ease, of the Grandees amongst them, to be so great and prevalent, as I cannot expect as yet any more Cyril Lucars, any Protestant Martyrs there. I shall now go on with Dosithens his Treatise, where I find the Decree of Cyril of Berrhae's Synod against Cyril Lucar, set down and own'd by him as

Authen-

T. p. 158.

S. 3.

T. p. 159.

p. 146.

p. 147.

T. p. 159.
P. 128. Q.
P. 170. Q.
T. p. 160.

Hist. conc. Nic.
T. conc. 2.
P. 233. d.
P. 103. d.

p. 226.

T. p. 161.

277.

Authentick. Though I have above given a sufficient account of this matter in general, yet I cannot but here add one remark upon what is there cited, as out of the first Council of Nice in favour of *Transubstantiation*; by which we may plainly see what wretched shifts they will make to support that monstrous Doctrine. First there are no such words in all that Authentick Council; but the words here quoted are taken out of *Gelasius Cyricenus*, whose Authority is not much to be valued, as the admonition to the Reader there tells us; where amongst other matters you have this general account of him. Non pauca in hac historia leguntur, *There are not a few things read in this History, which seem to convince it of Falsity, seeing they thwart the Opinions of better Writers.* Next the Words as they are cited by *Cyril of Berhæa* and *Dositheus*, are mangled and Shaped so as they might best suit with their purpose. The real words are these, Ἐπὶ τῆς θείας τραπέζης μὴ τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγῶ, *Let us not be lowly intent upon the Bread and the Cup proposed upon the Holy Table, but lifting up our Understanding, let us conceive by Faith that the Lamb of God, which takes away the Sin of the World, is laid upon that Sacred Table, Sacrificed by the Priests, not after the common way of Sacrifice; and that we, truly receiving his precious Body and Blood, do believe these things to be Symbols of our Resurrection.* This passage taken entirely, is so far from *Transubstantiation*, as it plainly destroys it. *The Bread is Bread still, and no more than a Symbol; and Christ is Sacrificed by the Priest, and received by the People Spiritually, (not Bodily) by Faith and the Understanding.* I will now pass on to *Dositheus* his own Synod, where he tells us, that we must believe the Scriptures, ὡς ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία ἡμῶν, *as the Catholick Church have delivered and expounded them.* I suppose he means, as to all the Articles of our Creed only, according to the constant Practice and primitive Discipline of it; for otherwise I know of no general Interpretation or Exposition of the whole Scripture authorized by the Catholick Church; but as to other Points all Learned Men have ever had, and still have, liberty to enquire into the true Sense and Meaning of it, without any breach of due respect to the Church, or of Charity towards one another. Let any one but cast his Eye, but upon Corn. a Lapid alone, and he shall again and again find Greeks differ from Greeks, and Latins from Latins, and those from these, about the same Texts; and he often leaving them all, shall close at last with a more Modern Exposition; and, where the primitive Faith and Practice of the Church are silent, I cannot see why I should not prefer even *John Calvin's* exposition of any Text, before that of the Conclave, if it hath more Reason to back it. *This is my Body*, saith Christ; shew me a plain Explication of this Text, authorized by the Primitive and True Catholick Church, and I will for ever abide by it; But since, in these latter Ages only, such a Monstrous Sense hath been by wicked and designing Men put upon it, as neither our fore-fathers have ever heard, nor we can bear, we must take so much Christian Liberty as thoroughly to examine it; and we must then absolutely close with that exposition which most clearly agrees, with the Tenor of the whole Scripture, with the plain expressions of the Primitive Fathers; and with the most solid Reasons; and by Consequence we must conclude, That to be the mind of Christ. We cannot believe *What and When we will*; and we cannot but believe, what we do now believe, until better Reason or Revelation change our Mind. This methinks alone should make those bloody minded Men seriously consider, what they have done; who have burned their Brethren, for not believing what they then could not believe, that is, for not doing what was then to them impossible. Next *Dositheus* recounting the eleven Mysteries or Sacraments, hath very odly patcht this Scholastick Article of the Latins, to the Greeks Notion of the Consecration of the Eucharist; *It, saith he, being Instituted, by God's Word, and Sanctified by the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, is perfected by the Subsistence, or Presence, of that which is signified, to wit, the Body and Blood of Christ; for its Perfection*

on

on necessarily proceeds its use; or it is necessarily compleated before it is used; and a little after, so that it hath its Perfection not from its being used, but before it is used; and afterwards yet more fully, (as I have above given it you,) Also that what is kept in sacred Boxes for the Communion &c. All this is plainly part of the *Advices* sent to him from the French Ambassador and his Latines; for he, as I have said before, could himself neither read *Bellarmino* nor understand him or any other Latin Author, where this Point is managed; And it is purely of Latin Original, and as it had its Rise with that Chimæra, *Transubstantiation*, so it must stand and fall with it. *Bellarmino* endeavors to maintain this assertion against the first Reformers, that the *Sacrament of the Eucharist*, is not the whole Action, but only the thing Consecrated, or the Species (the Accidents) containing the Lord's Body; So that according to him, so soon as the Bread is Consecrated, Christ's very Body is then actually there under the Accidents, and then the Sacrament is compleated, whether it be received or whether it be kept in a Box. *Nectarius*, and his friend *Cy gala*, in their Answer to *Peter the Spanish Fryar*, concerning the *Pope's Supremacy*, tells us a wretched Story of a piece of the *Præsanctificate* Bread, which by the carelessness of the Priest had been neglected and laid by till it was quite Putrified; but it was Purified over live Coals, and made a most fragrant Perfume; which, for the Honour of their Greek Church, they Instance in as one of their Miracles. I find the very same Case in *Pachymer*; and the Priests then had so little Reverence for it, as they threw it into, *χαυνότητιον*,) which they there call *ἱερὸν ἄγιον*) the common sink by the Altar, into which they cast all things that are defiled or putrified or no farther fit for use. *Nectarius* may boast what he pleases of his Miracle, but to my knowledge the Latins ridicule it as much as we can do. And as for the second Case, if those Priests then thought that it had been *Transubstantiated*, or that it was then Christ's real, entire Body, Flesh, Bones and Blood, they put a most Horrid and Damnable Indignity upon Him. Though much hath been said to shew the absurdity of this Assertion, yet I count my self obliged to add here something, which at least satisfies my self, and perhaps it may serve a little to clear this Point to others. I have at large spoken my thoughts concerning the first part of this Doctrine, that the Consecrated Bread is not *Transubstantiated*. I will now consider whether the Consecrated Elements of Bread and Wine, are, or can be properly called, the perfect and compleat Sacrament, whether they be received or not. The words *Eucharist* and *Sacrament*, are taken two several ways. The *Eucharist* is sometimes taken for the Consecrated Bread, as in *Irenæus*, the Bread when it receives the word of God (or is consecrated) is made the *Eucharist*. But properly it must be taken for the whole Solemnity of the Commemoration of Christ's Passion, by Consecrating the Symbols of his Body and Blood, according to his appointment and Example, and receiving them with Penitent and faithful Hearts and Prayers, and Praises, and particularly with giving of Thanks, from whence it most properly took its name; for without *Thanksgiving* it is improperly called the *Eucharist*. So I confess the consecrated Element alone is called, the *Sacrament*, by *St. Augustine*; But the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in its full Sense, must properly be taken for the whole Action, for according to *Aquinas* himself, when there are many Actions ordain'd to one Effect, (as Taking Blessing, Breaking, Distributing, and Eating the Eucharist) it is the last Action, (i.e. Eating, according to his Doctrine in a like Case) which must be Formal, and which infuse Grace, and gives the Effect, (i.e. Perfection) to the whole; and *R. Simon* will surely be inclined to allow all this, who, with other great Men of his Church, will have the whole Canon of the Mass together to consecrate the Eucharist, and neither Christ's words nor the Invocation to do it separately; so that the words *Eucharist*, and *Sacrament*, which properly are applicable only to the whole Performance, are sometimes improperly given to only this part of it. That this is so, I consider first in the

T. p. 161.

P. 294.
141. Q.De Euch. l. 4.
c. 1. F.c. 6. G.
c. 2. B.

p. 132. § 1.

Andronic. l. 1.
c. 28. p. 49. c.
p. supr. 14. §.suppl. q. 30.
1. 3.p. 177. 178.
181. &c.

- T. p. 161. *the Commemoration of our Lord's Passion, or in the Celebration of his last Supper, the proper meaning, or nature of a Supper; I always thought, a Supper properly and compleatly so called; did necessarily require these two Essentials amongst the rest, Food prepared, and then Eating and Drinking. Can only saying Grace, or Blessing the Table, or what is upon it after it is*
- T. p. 162 *blest, be properly called a compleat or perfect Supper? Or should the guests then say, see, here is a noble Supper, but then all depart without tasting one Crumb or Drop; I must think it would be by them very improperly called a Supper; for all this thus far is but the Preliminary part, or rather as a Preface to all that follows. So the Blessing or Consecrating of the Elements, at the Lord's Supper, or the Elements themselves so Consecrated, cannot properly be called, more then a preparatory part; a setting on, and Blessing or Sanctifying of, the Food on the Holy Table, in order to the Eating of this Supper of the Lord; by only this preparation it cannot be truly and properly called, a compleat or perfect Supper, or which is all one to me, a compleat or perfect Sacrament; for though there hath been much variance about the use of the word Sacrament, yet as to Baptism, and the Commemoration*
- Bellarmin. l. 1. c. 8. p. 17. b. c. *of Christ's Passion in the Lord's Supper, I think all agree that it signifies only, a Sacred, Solemn, Ceremonious Performance which Christ himself hath prescribed; in the first, to Initiate, or enter us into his Covenant of Grace; and in the other, to renew us and strengthen us in the same. Now if this Ceremonious Action of celebrating Christ's last Supper and Commemorating his Passion, be not performed exactly according to his own direction, (as to every part as well as in one,) it cannot be said to be perfect and compleat as to the outward Prescription; and unless we bring Faithful, Penitent, Charitable, Thankful, and well disposed Hearts, it cannot be said to be Perfect, and Compleat, as to the Inward Prescription of this solemn Feast; But the punctual observance of all parts of this outward and inward Prescription, to me, makes up the compleat and perfect Celebration of the Lord's*
- U. sup. l. 1. c. 7. *Supper, or the solemn Commemoration of his Passion; call it a Sacrament, or Religious Ceremony, or Sign, or what you please. Bellarmine's Sophistry by which he would shuffle off this plain and intelligible account of the matter,*
- l. 4. c. 2. p. 257. c. d. *would seem very ridiculous if thus apply'd to a common Supper. If I was a guest and was asked, when was the Supper perfected or compleated, I am sure I could not say, just when Grace was said; if I was asked again was it compleated at the first, or second, or third course; At the desert; At the Grace Cup; At latter Grace, &c. I must confess I am so simple as to think, the Supper was compleated and perfected when all was over, or when all was done, as we plain People say. This Ceremony of the Lord's Supper was plainly taken up and appointed in place of that of the Bread of Affliction and the Cup of Blessing amongst the Jews, as hath been abovesaid; and that in many things explain this, especially as to this, They being both*
- P. 7. Q. *Commemorations and Suppers. Now should I ask a Jew, when their Solemn Commemoration of their Affliction in Egypt is compleated and perfected? Would he answer me, it is just then when these words are said, this is the Bread of Affliction, which our Fathers did Eat, &c. Or would he tell me, that the whole continued Action made it Compleat and Perfect? Surely the case must be the same in our Commemoration as it was, and is, in theirs; and as they meant by this Phrase, this is the Bread of Affliction, this is in the Memory of it; so Christ by, this is my Body meant, this is in Remembrance of it. But Bellarmine, and his Metuists, must needs have,*
- l. 4. c. 3. b. *Rem permanentem, A permanent thing which may be called, and may be the Eucharist or Body of our Lord, or the Sacrament of his Body. And we say, that by the words of Consecration the Elements of Bread and Wine are compleatly and perfectly made the Symbols, or Signs, or Representations, or Tokens of Christ's Body and Blood, and that they Remain so during*
- hic sup. p. 5. *the whole Action; (as the Jews Cake are Remaining Symbols or Emblems of*
the

the Bread of Affliction to the end of their Ceremony;) if this will not satisfy the Meruists, let them prove the Elements to be *Transubstantiated*, or that nothing remain of the Elements, but the Accidents. Again all this (the consecrating the Symbols and the Symbols themselves) is but part of the whole Ceremony of the Lord's Supper; the Elements, or Holy Food, thus Consecrated and Prepared must be distributed and received, or else you cannot call this a *perfect and compleat Supper*; It must be eaten, as is plain from St. Paul, *when you come together this is not to Eat, (or you cannot Eat) the Lord's Supper*, and again he shews that without this *Eating and Drinking*, it is no Supper, no Commemoration; For as oft as ye Eat this Bread and Drink this Cup, ye do shew (or shew you) the Lord's Death till he come. This shewing the Lord's Death is certainly the Principal part of the Lord's Supper; How can the Consecrated Symbols alone express that part, when there is no Eating and Drinking. How will they obey Christ's words, *take Eat*? And the same, in St. Paul's writing, is far from, *take and keep it in a Box, or leathern Bag*. The Greeks indeed, by *stabbing the Loaf*, may wildly represent Christ's Death, but surely by it alone they do not *Compleat his Supper*. Again the Scripture calls this Commemoration of Christ's Passion properly *κoinωνία*, the communion; The Cup of Blessing which we Bless, is it not *κoinωνία*, the Communion (or Communication) of the Blood of Christ? The Bread which we Break, is it not the Communion (or Participation) of the Body of Christ? But if the Cup be only Blessed, and not Communicated; if the Bread be only Consecrated and Broken, and not Participated; I cannot see how this can be called Properly, the Communion, or Communication, or Participation, much less Compleatly and Perfectly. It is Impossible to reconcile their Private Masses with this Notion of Communion or Communication; what the Council of Trent say in defence of it, seems, I confess to me, far short of it; for thus we there read; "The holy Synod could wish that in every Mass the Faithful, standing by, would Communicate not only by a Spiritual Affection, but also by the Sacramental reception of the Eucharist; that greater Fruit of this most Holy Sacrifice might accrue to them thereby. Yet, if that may not always be done, it does not therefore condemn those Masses, in which the Priest only Communicates Sacramentally, as Private and Unlawful; but approves of them and thereby recommends them. For even those Masses ought to be counted truly Common, partly because the People in them may Communicate spiritually; and partly because they are Celebrated by a Publick Minister of the Church, not only for himself, but for all the Faithful who belong to the Body of Christ. First, this plainly makes the Spiritual Communion of the bystanders Sufficient to make every private Mass Common or Publick; and by consequence (though Bellarmine charges this as a flat lie upon Chemnitius) the Spiritual Communion of them must be thought to satisfy (at least in this case) Christ's Institution; else why do they approve of it and recommend it upon this very account? Next if the Priest being a publick Minister, and his Celebrating alone by himself, in behalf of all the Faithful, will make it a Common or Publick Mass, what need the Faithful themselves Communicate Sacramentally at all; The Priests Celebrating and their Spiritual Affection only, will be sufficient. However both these considerations will not (according to themselves) make the Communion perfect; private Masses must want something of Perfection, else why should the Synod wish that it was otherwise, and he in another Place acknowledges as much, the Mass is more Perfect and Legitimate, where there are Communicants. And if the Spiritual Affection of the People contribute so much to the Compleating of the private Mass, it cannot be Spiritual without Faith; and then Faith will have a great part also in making it Perfect. But the Consecrated Bread alone, saith Bellarmine, is truly and properly the Sacrament, though it be not received; if so, what need the Priest himself Eat it, it is, according to him, the Perfect and compleat Sacrament without it, Eating it being not

T. p. 163.

1 Cor. 11. 20.

& 26.

Supr. p. 14.

1 Cor. 10. 16.

Vulg. Lat.

Sess. 22. c. 6.

c. conc. 14.

p. 854. d.

T. p. 164.

De miss. l. 2.

c. 9. p. 353. b.

De missa. l. 2.

c. 10. p. 355. c.

De Euch. l. 4.

c. 2. p. 296. b.

De missa. l. 2.

c. 10. H.

T. p. 164. at all Essential to it. Now if the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and the Communion be all one (as for my part I ever thought they were) they are at this rate both *Perfect and Compleat*, before even the Priest himself Eateth, and so his Eating is superfluous. And truly since the Metuists have made their Mass, not so much a *Spiritual Sacrifice of Devotion, as a True and Real Sacrifice of Christ's very Body*, nay, of his whole Self, both of Body and Blood and Soul (and Divinity too by Concomitancy) I wonder they would trouble their Priests with Eating or Drinking at it at all. For according to them, the Priests Effectually and Compleatly make and offer this Bodily Sacrifice by only Consecrating the Elements, and so it is a daily Sacrifice offer'd for the Sins of the whole World, without the Peoples or the Priests partaking of it, and yet this contradicts what he saith in another place, *A true Sacrifice is only made when what is offer'd to God is consumed*; and so this cannot be properly a Sacrifice till it be Eaten. And Bellarmine seems directly to aim at this very thing; if we allow it, saith he, to be a Sacrifice, it is all one if many, or few, or none are present, or Communicate; since a Sacrifice is offer'd to God for the People; for the Priest can offer for the People, although the People neither are there nor Communicate. He might have added, that the Lord's Supper was appointed only to the Twelve Apostles, and their Successors Bishops and Priests, and the Lay People had nothing do with it. And thus we might lay aside the empty Names of Communion, and the Supper of the Lord. But what must we say then to those words of our Saviour, *do this in Remembrance of me*. What is meant by *do this*? Is it only, *give Thanks, or Bless the Bread*? Or is it, *do all the whole Action which you see me do, Take, Bless, Break, Distribute, Eat the Bread in Remembrance of me*. He shuffles this over, saying, *these words contain (only) the Use, not the Essence of the Sacrament*; where plainly he takes the word Sacrament (for only the Symbol) for only a Part of the whole ceremonious Performance, as hath been shewn. But this is most notoriously remarkable, that after all this stickling for private Masses, he should plainly confess, *that we can no where expressly read that the Sacrifice (of the Lord's Supper) was offer'd by the Antients without one or more Communicants besides the Priest*. One would think this a Sufficient Proof to shew that the present Practice of private Masses, in the Church of Rome, is a meer Novel Invention; But the Cardinal is so loath to part with it, as he flies to a Company of very pittiful Conjectures or Guesses of his own to support it. Some extravagant Priests had Consecrated the Elements without any Communicants, nay, some when they had Consecrated them did not themselves receive them, and all these, in the very Instances which he brings, were Reprehended and complain'd of for doing such extravagances; now can any honest Man guess or conclude from these, *that private Masses were the allow'd and constant Practice of old*; or rather the Contrary. That they crept into the Church by degrees with other gross Impieties, and now are fixt by the Council of Trent. He is as much out in the Application which he makes of that Custom of keeping the Holy Bread, and sending of it about after the Lord's Supper was over. We own indeed that this Custom was in Primitive Ages, but we say that this Holy Bread, by Consecration, was made only the Symbol of Christ's Body, and therefore called his Body, but not, as he would bear us down, Christ's very real Body it self. His instances of its being used by Sick, and Infirm, and distressed People or others, prove only that it was counted a Holy Thing; as, Sanctum Domini, the Sanctified Thing of the Lord; (according to St. Cyprian;) as a Holy Philactery, or Amulet, or Antidote, or Alexipharmick, as the present Greeks count and use the five Loaves at their Vespers, and the, Ἀνιδωρον, Andithero, and the, παρὰ γὰρ, Virgin Mary's Bread, as I have above noted; only they might of old have had some more respect to this Holy Bread, as having been solemnly made a Symbol of Christ's Body, but they could never count it his very Body, or Christ himself, because even Good and Pious

De missa. l. 1. c. 15. p. 330. D.

De missa. l. 2. c. 10. p. 353. d.

Mark 14. 17.
Luke 22. 14.
Mat. 26. 20.
T. p. 165.

De Euch. l. 4. c. 3. p. 259. a.

De missa. l. 2. c. 9. p. 353. d.

Ibid.

De Euch. l. 4. c. 4.

Ibid. p. 259. c.

p. 86. and p. 94. Q.

Pious People (as *Gorgonia*) used it to *so Mean* and often to *such vile Pur-* T. p. 165.
poses, as I have above noted; and in following times it was by all Sorts a- p. 154. 155. Q.
 bused to the greatest Superstitions and Impieties imaginable, as I could prove by
 an Antient and Curious MS. (which I have) of many little, but famous, Le-
 gends to that purpose, which shall vie for truth and strangeness with any in
Agapius. It is possible that in *Justin's* Times, the Absent (to whom it was Supr. 124.
 carried by the Deacons) might apprehend that they Communicated, with those
 who had been present, by taking part of *this Consecrated Bread or Symbol*,
in Remembrance of Christ's Passion; But I do not find, neither can I believe,
 that it was then carried with that *vain Pomp and Superstition* now used in T. p. 166.
 the Church of *Rome*; nay, every one of old took a piece of it with his own
 hands *at the Celebration*, and might Eat it all there, or carry part of it home
 with him, as the Greeks now do with their *Andithero*. And when it was
 mutually sent to one another as a *Sign or Token of mutual Peace, or Bro-* Bell. de Euch.
therly Love or Friendship, I do not find that it was done with more *Reve-* l. 4. c. 4.
rence or Ceremony, then was used in sending the common, *εὐλογία*, *Blessed Breads*, p. 259. c.
 above mention'd. Yet the Glorious Cardinal in commendation of *their present* p. 86. Q.
pompous Processions in carrying abroad the Holy Bread, (which he will still
 call the *Sacrament*) in contradistinction to the *Primitive Christian Simplicity*,
 hath this Rant; *That the outward Honour of the most Holy Sacrament* De Euch. l. 4.
should have increased, especially whilst inward Devotion was decreasing, can c. 4. p. 259. H.
displease none but the Enemies of Christ and Religion. Yet truly I must say, I can-
 not but think, that there is no Man, who sincerely loves Christ and his pure
 Religion, but must from his very Heart be grieved and sorely troubled, to see
 the *simple and plain Practice, and the true and fervent Devotion, of the*
first Christians in the Celebration of the Lord's Supper, turn'd into a meer out-
 ward *Theatrical shew and vain pompous Pageantry*. *Dositheus*, after he,
 according to his *French Advices*, had roundly asserted *Transubstantiation* and
 all its *absurd Consequences*, in as full Terms as the Latin School-men (the Fa-
 thers of it) had invented and display'd it, saith, *this Mystery (or Sacrament)* p. 243. Q. Hic.
chiefly is, and is called Wonderful, and is to be comprehended by Faith alone, p. 141.
not by the subtilties of Human Wisdom, whose vain and wild Inquisitive-
ness into divine Matters we utterly disclaim. Surely when he wrote this he
 was in a Dream; when he had so publicly espoused all those monstrous Tenents
 above mention'd, (which are the meer Product of *Human Wisdom*; and all the 141. 145. 146.
 Sophistry and cunning Craftiness, that the Schoolmens Wit can Devise, have been 109. Q.
 imploy'd to maintain them) could he be in good earnest when he tells us, *that*
he disclaims all such vain and wild Curiosity or Pragmaticalness? The Ac-
 count which I have plainly given of the Eucharist, as it was used in the Primi-
 tive times, is Obvious and Intelligible to every one. It is Evident that the
Eucharist was instituted in the place of the *Jewish memorial of the Bread of*
Affliction; so that this Phrase, *this is my Body*, must be explain'd by this,
this is the Bread of Affliction; and the Jews meant no more by it *Then*,
 (neither do they *Now*,) then this, *this is in Remembrance of the Bread of*
Affliction. And the Jew-Christians, and Apostles before them, who were
 used to that Hebrew Phrase, could neither think nor mean more by this, *this*
is my Body, then this, *this is in Remembrance of my Body*. I wonder that
 in all this Controversy betwixt the Metuists and the Reformed, this Remark-
 able and undeniable Truth was never insisted upon; for to me it clears all the
 Doubts and Difficulties, which the Pragmatical Schoolmen, or the Dreaming spe- T. p. 167.
 culators of latter Ages, have by their *Subtilties* or *Surmises* rais'd. The Primi- p. 105. Q.
 tive Christians, and those who follow'd till about the Tenth Century, (as I have
 noted) reverently received the *Eucharist in Memory of Christ's Passion*, and
 thence called it *his Body* without any other Reflection, upon it; as the Jews
 of old and to this day Eat their *Memorial Cake*, and thence call it, the
Bread of Affliction, without any farther Question about it; And thrice happy
 had been the Christian Church if the same simplicity had still continued in

T. p. 167. it. But about that Century, some doting or *Inquisitive* Head, being really ignorant of the Primitive use and meaning of that Hebrew phrase, *this is my Body*, through his little *human Understanding and Wisdom*, began to start *Questions*; *How is this his Body?* For it must be *his Body*, for Christ spake Truth. Does not this Expression, *this is my Body*, in the Mind of him that saith it, *imply Christ's Body Really present?* And many many more such idle Questions were multiply'd upon these; and so by degrees they gave occasion to all the Scholastick Trumpery which followed. Now a Primitive Christian, especially a Jewish Convert, would certainly have answer'd the first Question thus, *I Eat the Bread in Remembrance of Christ's Body, and Drink the Wine in Remembrance of his Blood*, and therefore call them, *his Body and Blood*, as the Jews (and as I my self when I was a Jew) did *Eat the Memorial Cake in Remembrance of the Bread of Affliction*, and therefore call'd it the *Bread of Affliction*; and this is, and is called, as properly *Christ's Body*, as that was, and was called the *Bread of Affliction*. And he would undoubtedly have answer'd much after the same manner to all such other vain and wild Inquisitions. I Reverently with my Brethren partake of the Bread and Wine, which are solemnly Bled by the Priest at the Communion, in Remembrance of Christ's Body and Blood, who died for me and all Mankind; and I verily believe, if I Communicate with his Sufferings, and imitate that Holy Conversation which he led here in the Flesh, that by this solemn Ceremony which he himself prescribed, I Eat his Flesh and Drink his Blood; and am a living Member of his Mystical Body, or a true Christian; (as the Jews by partaking of the Paschal Cake, in Remembrance of the Bread of Affliction, did count themselves true Sons of Israel;) without troubling our Heads or amusing our Selves or our Brethren with any such vain and wild enquiries. Next as to Christ's Presence, as the Jews believed that God was Present with them, so I believe that Christ is with us, as he promised, where two or three were met in his name, to be in the midst of them. As for any other Presence, *this is my Body*, implies no more, then this, as the Bread of Affliction did. I say therefore it is Impossible that any Apostle, even St. Paul himself, or any of the Jewish Converts, who had been accustomed to that Phrase, *this the Bread of Affliction*; should ever interpret or conceive this Phrase, *this is my Body*, in any other way or Sense then they had always done that; That is, the first, in Remembrance only of the Bread of Affliction, and the other, in Remembrance only of Christ's Body. And this plain and rational Sense of the words remain'd, I say, in the Catholic Church, till about the tenth Century; and Copronymus his Council, and the second Council of Nice, had both no other meaning of them, then, that the Bread was, and was believed, and was called the Body of Christ, as properly, as the Jews Cake was, and was believed, and was called by them the Bread of Affliction; the Controversy between them was only about the use of that new word, *Image*, which the Nicene Fathers condemn'd as an Innovation. We have an old saying in England, that one Fool may raise a Devil, which twenty Wise Men cannot lay again; I hope the candid Reader will Pardon me for mentioning this Course Proverb, since it is so exactly applicable to our present discourse. In the sad times of Ignorance and miserable blind Devotion about the tenth Century, Paschasius musing upon the bare Letter of that Text, *this is my Body*, and being altogether Ignorant that it was a meer Hebraism, and by consequence as Ignorant of the true and plain Sense in which the Primitive Christians took it; stumbled upon that extravagant conceit, that the Bread in the Sacrament after Consecration was no longer true Bread, but its Substance quite vanish'd away. How this new raised Imp by degrees bewitch'd a great part of the Christian Church, and how it yet domineers by the perverse zeal of its Votaries and Ministers, I have here above shewn at large. Many instances of the like Nature may be given, where good Christians have gone on quietly for a long time, in the plain Practice and Belief of some Points of

Bern. conc. 3.
in Psalm. 91.
p. 123. a. 519. g.

Mat. 18. 20.

T. p. 168.

Supr. p. 105. Q.

p. 105. 106.
6. Q.

of true Piety and Primitive Devotion; But if some conceited, busy, speculative Dreamer lights upon a wild, nice, impertinent, new Metaphysical Notion; and vents it and cherishes it as his Darling; immediately, *ὁ οὐκ ἔχων τὴν ἀλήθειαν*, the wrangling *Disputers of the Age* take the matter in hand; and leaving the honest Practice of a good Life to the Vulgar, they turn Religion into *meer Opinion and Speculation*, and ingross it only to themselves; and hence come Parties and Factions, and these are all Hereticks reciprocally one to another, but each one Orthodox to themselves; and that great word, *Orthodox*, commonly justifies each Man to his Party, and with them it often covers (especially in a Friend) *a multitude of Faults*. I will here take leave to mention but one such Instance more. All Christians throughout the World for many many Ages had stedfastly and piously believed *the Transfiguration of Christ*, and whenever they heard or read the Description of it, they Devoutly admired and magnified his unspeakable Glory. But about three or four hundred Years since a Parcel of crazy Monks, *seduced and cozened by the Devil* (*Dæmonis illusi præstigiis*) pretended to I know not what kind of Mystical visions; by bowing their Bodies, and distorting their Eyes, and holding their Breath, they saw an odd Light; (I suppose only as People, who have been half hang'd, or a little strangled, or have had a blow on their Eyes, tell us that they saw as it were sparkles of Light or Fire) *Greg. Palamas*, (another hot headed Monk and chief of the same Gang,) said, *the Light which shined about our Saviour, was God himself*. *Barloam*, just such another Enthusiastical meddling Fryar, fell upon him violently and would have the Light to be but a *meer Creature*. The Greeks had several Councils about this wild impertinent Controversy; and all Concluded in favour of *Palamas*, though the Latins count *Barloam* in the right. It is well that there was then a Schism between the Greeks and the Latins; for had they agreed to either of these Opinions, it certainly had been made as solemn an Article of Faith, as *Transubstantiation*; or Rome would have since made it so in the West, if it had turn'd them to as good an Account as the other; But the Controversy never coming before any pretended general Council, and remaining only as a disputable Point amongst the Airy, Inquisitive, trifling School Divines; God be Praised, it is now quite laid aside; and all good Christians firmly believe *the Transfiguration*, as of old, without any concern for these impertinent Niceties; nay, I dare say there is not one Christian of ten thousand, and very few even of the Clergy themselves, that ever heard, or at least ever seriously thought, of this vain Monkish Dispute. And had the Controversy about *Christ's Body in the Eucharist* been left undetermined, and Men had had the free Liberty of arguing that Point, as they had at first; that *Chimæra* of the Metusiasts had long before this been hoored out of the World and forgotten; But now *Infallibility* cannot part with it; they are so firmly riveted together as they are Inseparable; and therefore *all the Subtilties and Devices of human Wisdom*, which the Wit of Man can invent are daily employ'd to defend them both; and therefore this reverend Patriarch, who was never well informed of the other side of the Controversy, might easily be thus imposed upon by them. Next he tells us, *that the Elements being* (according to him) *after Consecration the Body and Blood of Christ, ought to be worshipped as the Trinity it self*; This is purely *Latin Doctrine*, for the Greeks Worship them before they are Consecrated, and are accounted Idolaters for it, but never after, as is above said. Next, he adds another Article of Latin Doctrine, *that the Eucharist is a true and Propitiatory Sacrifice for all the Faithfull both Quick and Dead, and for the profit of them all*. Which seems to me to be Inconsistent with what he hath said before, *that the Church, which is in Heaven, Triumphs, and is settled in its own Countrey, and hath received its Reward*. For if a *true Propitiatory Sacrifice*, according to the Council of Trent, is offer'd, *pro peccatis, pænis, satisfactionibus & aliis necessitatibus, for Sins, Punishments, Satisfactions and other needfull Things*; and its very end, according to *Bellarmino*, is, *propitiatio irati Dei & peccatorum Remissio, the Appeasing*

T. p. 168.

1 Cor. 1. 20.

Mat. 17. 2.

Mark 9. 3.

Petav. Dogm.

The. T. 1. l. 1.

C. 12. §. 2.

T. p. 169.

Labbe T. 11.

P. 1872. D.

Supr. p. 113. Q.

p. 294.

Goar. p. 132.

P. 198. 199. Q.

P. 294.

P. 249. Dec. 10.

Sess. 22. c. 3.

T. 14. p. 855.

De Miss. 1. 2.

c. 1. d.

T. p. 169. *peasing of an Angry God, and the forgiveness of Sins; How can those who now already Triumph in Heaven, and are at Home in their own Country, and have received their Rewards, stand in need of any such new Propitiation, or Appeasing of God every day, for He is already fully Reconciled to them?*

c. 8. b. c. 349. I know Bellarmine shuffles this off, by saying, *It is offer'd only in Honour of the Saints, and not for the Increase of Grace or Essential Glory, or for Remission of Guilt or Punishment, or Pardon of Sins; But how then can this be, at least for them, a propitiatory Sacrifice, the whole End of which*

T. p. 170. *is Remission of Sins and the appeasing of an Angry God.* Christ himself did offer such a propitiatory Sacrifice on the Cross, *he was really slain, and his Blood was there shed for the Sins of the whole World; and this was done but once for all; There need not, indeed there cannot, be any more repetitions of it. Neither can the Metuists verily think, that Christ, who sits in Heaven at God's right Hand, doth now every day die again at every Altar; or that he truly Suffers again, at those words, this is my Body, this is my Blood, or that it is really and properly done at the Greeks Invocation, they all call it an unbloody Sacrifice, there is no new shedding of Blood; how then they can truly make, or properly call their daily Sacrifice, Propitiatory, I cannot see; for without shedding of Blood there is no Remission, no Propitiation.* Therefore they cannot mean that it is verily and indeed, *as real and true a Sacrifice of Propitiation, as that was which Christ himself once offer'd, much less that it is the very same, for that was a Bloody one.* But the Cardinal hath an extraordinary fetch to solve all this; He tells us, *that the Catholick Doctrine was thus, in the Mass the Body and Blood of Christ are truly and properly offer'd to God under the Species, or Shew, of Bread and Wine; and to prove this he saith, Christ at his last Supper offer'd up, that is, Sacrificed, himself to God under the very same Species; and commanded his Apostles and Successors to do so likewise to the end of the World.* Before we go any farther, I would gladly know, whether any Action or Thing, when it is represented under a meer outward Shew, or Figure, or Sign, can truly and properly be said to be the very same, *as it is, or was, when plainly and really performed or exhibited in its own simple Original and Natural Form.* I remember in Turkey, that several Jews at their Feast of Purim would hang Haman in Effigie, in an Image, as some of our Zealots will burn the Pope under the Species of his Picture, or as I once saw it in Holland under a Fardal of Straw stuf't out and Fashion'd like one of our Scarecrows; Are these Actions and Things to be truly called the very real hanging of Haman, or the burning of the Pope? Or when the Metuists dig'd up the real Bodies of some of the first Reformers, and burnt them; or when Cromwell's or any other Rebels Bodies were hang'd at Tyburn, can those Martyrs be as truly said to be burn'd, or the Rebels as verily hang'd, as it would be if they had been so served indeed when they were alive? For my part I cannot see any greater Impropriety or Absurdity on one side then on the other; To say *the dead Body of a Martyr, (dig'd up after he was dead and buried,) may be as truly and properly said to be Burn'd, as if it had been done when it was Alive; and to say the very Body of Christ, at the very same time whilst it was Alive, (and did Eat and Drink with his Disciples) was (under any Species or Shape) as truly and properly Sacrificed, as when he really Died upon the Cross.*

But the Cardinal goes a long way about to prove his point, by urging Melchisedech's bringing forth Bread and Wine to Abraham; and tells us that they were first offer'd to God and Consecrated, and then Imparted to Abraham and his followers. This, though it will signify but very little to his purpose, is purely his own Invention or meer Surmise; for he cannot any ways make it out. It is the common Eastern Custom to this very day, amongst the Turks, to bring forth Bread (and Salt if there be nothing else to be had) and Water or Cahee or Sherbet; and to bring forth Bread and Wine amongst Christians

Christians or others who drink it; and thus they treat Passengers, and their Visitors or casual Guests; and I have been every where often so received myself. It is common for the poorest Subjects to make mean Presents to their great Men, even to the *Grand Seigneur* himself, as in the known story of the *Grapes and Figgs* and many more; and in the poor Peasant in *Ælian*, who presented only both his Hands full of Water to his Prince; Amongst Men of any Fashion (except Mahometans) the usual Entertainment of Visitors in the East is Bread and Wine, and therefore *Melchisedech* seems plainly to me only to have made the usual civil Reception of the Country to so great a Man as *Abraham*, and thereby to have Congratulated his Victory. It is a Poor shift to say that *Abraham* wanted neither Meat nor Drink to refresh him and his Men; this confirms me the more in my assertion, that his bringing forth Bread and Wine was no more then the common Compliment of the Country. Surely the Order of *Melchisedech* is not exprest in his bringing both of Bread and Wine to his Friend; which, though the very word in their vulgar Latin is no more then barely, Proferens, bringing forth, or as we say, setting it before him, yet he laboriously strains in vain to make it there be, Offerens, Offering, to hook in his pretended Sacrifice. He saith, we read of no other Sacrifice that *Melchisedech* made, therefore he made no other to God (at other times, I suppose, as well as now) but of Bread and Wine; a goodly proof indeed. The Order of *Melchisedech* is set at a far higher pitch by the Author to the Hebrews, he was Priest of the most high God, without Father, without Mother, without Pedigree, having neither beginning of Days nor end of Life, but made like unto the Son of God, abideth a Priest continually; who after the similitude of *Melchisedech* is made not after the Law of a carnal Commandment (to offer Bread and Wine) but after the Power of an endless Life; he continueth ever; he ever liveth to make Intercession for us; made higher than the Heavens. This is an Elevated Order indeed.

The Cardinal saith, That Christ's Sacrifice on the Cross, considered by itself, was neither according to the Order of Aaron, nor the Order of *Melchisedech*; for he did not offer himself on the Cross under the Form of Bread, nor under the Form of a Lamb or a Calf; but under his own Form. Doth he not thus make all his Present Mass Priests the only true Priests after the Order of *Melchisedech*? For only they offer a Sacrifice under the Form of Bread and Wine, which Christ himself never did; for it is plain he did it not upon the Cross, and he Offer'd himself but once for all; he did not Offer himself a Propitiation at the last Supper, for he was not then really slain, and therefore that Offering (whatever it was) could not be Propitiatory, being without Blood; or was he a *Melchisedechian* Priest only at the Supper, and another perfectly New singular Priest upon the Cross? Or did he offer himself twice to God in these two quite different Forms?

But we are told that Christ called, or commanded, both the Apostles and all those that afterwards should be rightly ordain'd by them, to offer this real Propitiatory Sacrifice the *Melchisedechian* way, (by the Species or Shew of Bread and Wine,) by those words, do this in Remembrance of me; What can the THIS here mean but THIS which you see I have now done? Take Bread, Bless it, or give Thanks, Brake it, and give it to the Disciples, or Brethren, and say Take Eat, this is my Body. Take the Cup, give Thanks, give it to them saying, Drink you all of this, or divide it amongst your selves; For this is my Blood. For as often as ye Eat this Bread and Drink this Cup ye do shew forth the Lord's Death till he comes. I cannot find in all this the least tittle or shadow of a Command to offer daily any real Propitiatory Sacrifice or to repeat it; There is a peremptory Injunction, by these several Circumstances and Rites, and the Narrative of Christ's Words and Actions, solemnly to Remember that only true Sacrifice, which he himself made on the Cross once for all; and we have the Reason and End of it given

T. p. 169. us by St. Paul, *it is to shew his Death*, and testify our Belief and Reliance upon it, and to repeat it again and again, *often*. And the latter Greeks have
 T. p. 170. ***. invented and added many many other Rites and outward Signs to bring it more particularly to our Remembrance, as the *stabbing and dividing Christ's Portion* and the like. The Cardinal saith, *his Mass is, Sacrificium Commemorativum*, a Commemorative Sacrifice, and he boasts that it is most expressive by reason of the Hostia, *real Sacrifice there made*; by his leave I must think that our Eucharistical Sacrifice is far more expressly Commemorative, being exactly according to Christ's positive Command, which he can no where shew for his. What trifling is it to say, as we no where read that Christ did
 l. 1. p. 336. Offer himself at the last Supper, so we no where read that he did not do it; Therefore it is possible, and seems some ways Probable that he did it. But will he hang so weighty a Matter as this upon so slender a pin as a meer empty Probability? Or doth he shew it in the least degree so probable as in his Instances, that Christ did Eat the Paschal Lamb, or that he did partake of the Elements at the Supper? Or will he prefer his faint Probability before Christ's absolute Command, which we insist upon? We read not expressly in Scripture the Mode or Manner of Christ's Presence at the Eucharist; that it is or is not, only Spiritual; by his Grace; by his Divinity; by Types; by Transubstantiation; Therefore probably it may seem this way or that; I must still think that the Metuists have pitcht upon absolutely the worst. He tells us, we ought not to deny the proper and simple literal Sense of the
 l. 1. p. 326. A. Scripture without a most urgent Reason; and I think we have that Reason most clearly on our side, so many monstrous Absurdities pressing that of the Metuists. He takes notice out of St. Augustine, of a Visible and an Invisible Sacrifice, and he owns that the Invisible is nobler and better than the Visible one; and that it pleaseth God without the Visible, But this do not please him without that. Our Sacrifice of Thanks, and Praise, and Prayers, is purely Invisible, being chiefly in the Heart; (for as he truly saith elsewhere, *the Eucharist is the food of the Mind and not of the Belly*;) yet it may be called some ways Visible too, in as much as we shew the inward Devotion and Affection of our Hearts by the outward Gestures of our Bodies; but he owns again and again, that Sacrifices may be called truly such, though they are not Propitiatory, and therefore our Sacrifice of Thanks and Praise and Prayers, are verily so likewise; and though it is ἀναιμακτον, not a Bloody one, yet he allows it to be, λατρευτικόν & σεβαστικόν a true one, a Sacrifice of Worship and Veneration. Take St. Paul's Character and Description of it. By
 l. 1. p. 308. b. Christ let us Offer the Sacrifice of Praise to God continually (it cannot be repeated too often) that is the Fruit (the Calves) of our Lips, giving
 Heb. 13. 15. Thanks to his Name, or Confessing (our Sins to him, and acknowledging his Mercies) by doing Good, and Communicating (all Brotherly and Charitable Offices) for with such Sacrifices God is well pleased; giving Thanks unto
 Hof. 14. 2. the Father which hath made us meet to be Partakers of the Inheritance of the Saints in Light; (by thus coming to their Communion) who hath delivered us from the Power of Darkness, and hath translated us into the Kingdom of his beloved Son, in whom we have Redemption through his Blood, even the Remission of Sins. We Sacrifice the Sacrifices of Thanksgiving, with Broken and Contrite Hearts, which Sacrifices O God thou wilt not despise. These Passages and indeed the whole Tenor of the Gospel and the universal Practice of the Catholick Church justify our Solemn, Humble, thankful Remembrance of that one Propitiation of our Lord, and the Remission of Sins made thereby, once for All. By this solemn Commemoration we are declared Free denizens of Heaven; we profess our selves fellow Citizens with the Church Militant and Triumphant; and therefore we call it most properly, the Communion; and from our hearty Thanksgivings it is rightly stiled the Eucharist.

We therefore by those Symbols and Circumstances which Christ himself hath ordained,

ordained, and by his Command, do piously at our Altars remember his Passion, T. p. 170. **** and his exceeding Love thus dying for us, and the innumerable benefits which by his precious Blood-shedding he hath obtained for us. The Cardinal contends that Christ must often offer himself, either by himself, or by his Ministers, not bloodily, but alio aliquo modo, by some other manner of way; By this our Commemoration and solemn Practice we shew him, first, the manner how his Ministers are bound to Offer and Sacrifice continually according to his express Command, which he can no where shew for his pretended Sacrifice of the Mass; Now, I shall shew him how Christ himself doth also Offer and that continually. Christ Offer'd himself upon the Cross once for all, and remains continually before God, the very same one Sacrifice, Priest, and Mediator, without Intermission; He endures for ever, first; That one and the same Sacrifice to take away all other Repetitions, for he is always at the right Heb. 8. 1, 2. hand of the Throne of the Majesty in the Heavens, *καταρχὸς τῶν ἁγίων*, A Minister of the Holy Things, and of the true Tabernacle. For he is not enter'd into the holy places made with hands, but into Heaven it self, now to appear in the Presence of God for us; not that he should offer himself often, (either He himself again on Earth, or He, by his Ministers there; for the Metuists make it still the very same He that indeed must do it,) for this Bell. de Miss. p. 344. c. p. 339. b. he did once to put away Sin by the Sacrifice of himself. So then he remains truly that one real standing Sacrifice always before God in Heaven. The Sacrifices of the Law served but for that one day only in which they were made, and therefore they were forced to be often repeated; but that of Christ remains for ever in its full Efficacy and Power one and the same, always present before the Majesty of Heaven. And therefore it must be the highest Affront and Reproach to Christ for any Priest on Earth to Intrude or Interpose himself, pretending really to Offer him again by Fits, or once a Day; That is, to Offer him here, who is already, and ever will be, present there. He there executes his Priestly Office presenting himself continually, the true Lamb of God which took away the Sin of the World; The only real propiatory Sacrifice for our Sins once made; He there continually sprinkles us with his own Blood, that speaketh better things then that of Abel. Heaven is already filled with the Glory and Honour and Power of this Immaculate Lamb, and the Saints Robes are washed and made white in his Blood; He by it there also Sanctifies us, and for ever perfects us. Christ is an everlasting Trophy standing continually before God and all the Host of Heaven, shewing that Sin and Death, and the Devil and Hell, are all by Him for ever swallowed up in Victory. When a General or Emperor, after some most signal Victory, hath solemnly set up a stately Monument of it; as suppose when a Trajan or Antonine at Rome, or an Arcadius at Constantinople, had Erected and Consecrated an Historical Pillar of all their Conquests, or stamp't them upon their current Money; it would be as ridiculous and impertinent, as it would be insufferably arrogant for his inferior Officers, without his express Order or Consent, in several places, after their own Fancies to imitate the same; especially if they should be so extravagantly bold as to vouch their imperfect Copies for Originals; as in like manner it would be Treason to counterfeit their Coin; Truly to me this seems much the very same Case though in a far higher Nature; when Christ himself remains for ever, in Heaven, one standing, continual Victim, before the Supreme God, as the only, *ἀντίλυτρον* Ransom for all, shall any Priests, without his express Warrant or Command, pretend every day here on Earth to Offer him again really, under a Typical shew, and vouch that to be verily and indeed the very same individual Victim which was made once upon the Cross, and is now for ever at God's right Hand in Heaven? The Sacrifice of Christ himself upon the Cross, is justly counted by them of infinite Value; doth not every one, even of their meanest Priests, by pretending really to Offer it again every day in their Mass, make it as Cheap and Ordinary or Common as those Sacrifices of the Law were? The Cardinal owns l. 2. c. 4. de Miss. p. 345. c. that

- T. p. 169.**** *That Christ's Sacrifice on the Cross was verè & propriè, truly and properly, Meritorious, Satisfactory, and Impetratory, because he then was Mortal,*
- ib. p. 342. F. *but the Sacrifice, saith he, of the Mass, is properly, solum Impetratorium, only Impetratory; And therefore it is Imperfect, and not the same, by his own Confession. And besides for him to say, the Mass is Propitiatory, and yet, only Impetratory, to me seems very like a Contradiction. Our solemn Commemoration of that one Bloody Sacrifice, done according to Christ's express Command; and our Sacrifice at it of Thanks and Praise, and of our giving of all Glory, and Honour, and Power, to Him that sitteth on the Throne and unto the Lamb for ever and ever, we are sure is acceptable, for it makes us true Communicants with all the Saints in Heaven. This seems plainly to me to have been counted the only Sacrifice at the Eucharist in Pet. Lombard's time, before the following Schoolmen had extravagantly Disguised and new Modelled the matter; for thus he plainly and solidly settles the Point. That, saith he, which is there Offer'd by the Priest is called a Sacrifice and an Oblation, because it is the Remembrance and Representation of the true Sacrifice, and the Holy Offering made on the Altar of the Cross; and Christ died once upon the Cross, and was there Sacrificed in Himself; but he is daily Sacrificed in the Sacrament, because in it there is a Remembrance of that which was once done. And he there to back his Assertion cites that of St. Augustin. Least we should forget what was once done, it is once every Year in our Memory at Easter. What then is Christ slain, or die, so often? But yet the yearly Remembrance represents what heretofore was done, and so causes us to be so moved as if we saw the Lord hanging upon the Cross. And amongst other words he cites these expressly to the same purpose; Although we daily Offer, it is done to the Memory of his Death. And again, Christ offer'd a Sacrifice, and we now offer the same, but what we do is the Remembrance of a Sacrifice. At last he makes this his Conclusion of all, Christ was once Offer'd, and is still daily, but it was otherwise then, and otherwise now; that is (according to the plain tendency of his Discourse) then really, now only by our Commemoration; And Bellarmine casually drops much such an Expression, Missa nihil ferme est aliud nisi continua commemoratio Crucis, the Mass it self is almost nothing at all but a Commemoration of the Cross.*
- Next Christ is continually a Mediator in Heaven, able to save them to the utmost, (or evermore, or without change,) that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth there *eis τὸ ἐντροχάενον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν*, ad interpellandum, (after the manner of Embassadors) constantly to sollicite or intercede for them, that they might receive the Promises (of the new Covenant) of Eternal Inheritance, making our Peace through the blood of the Cross; by Him, the Father, reconcile all things unto himself, whether they be things in Heaven, or things on the Earth. Christ is continually our Advocate with the Father, and the Propitiation not only for our Sins, but for the Sins of the whole World.
- Who then can condemn us, since we have continually before God in Heaven, such a Priest, such a Sacrifice, such a Mediator, Jesus Christ who died for us, yea rather who is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also there maketh Intercession for us? Since (to use their word) he is not, otiosus, Idle, but is himself continually the Minister, *τῶν ἁγίων*, of all these Holy Things for us in the true Tabernacle in Heaven.
- The Cardinal truly owns Christ not only to be our Priest, but also our only and eternal Master, and that he is also the only Shepherd; but from hence he draws this Argument. As there are many Doctors, Masters, Vicars, Suffragans and Ministers, and many under Shepherds over his Flock on Earth, that is, Preachers, Teachers, and deputy Governors, notwithstanding he is the only true Shepherd, Master, Teacher, and supreme Governor himself; So there must be many inferior Priests under him daily to offer his very true Body and Blood; that is, Christ himself who sits in Heaven; being us his Suffragans

on Earth to Offer that Sacrifice in his stead, which he himself once Offer'd T. p. ****.
in his own Person. Now for my part I can see no consequence at all in this.
For the Apostles had Christ's express Command, to Preach the Gospel to every Marc. 16. 15.
Creature, that is, to teach all the World the Doctrines which he had deliver'd
to them; and to make Disciples every where to do the same thing after them; Mat. 28. 19.
and he sent a Remembrancer, after his Ascension, to teach them all things, and Joh. 14. 26.
remind them of whatever he had said unto them. But, as I have said, I
can find nothing like such a Command, or like any warrant, for a Priest as his
Suffragan here on Earth to attempt any such propitiatory Sacrifice now. All
his Instances there mention'd out of St. Paul plainly shew the Duty of Christ's
Ministers on Earth to be only, to Exhort, to Preach, to Labour with God, in 1. Tim. 2. 1.
Planting and Propagating, and Teaching the Gospel; as Christ's Embassadors 2. Tim. 1. 10, 11.
to intreat Men to be reconciled to God; and particularly to tell them, that Christ 2. Cor. 5. 24.
was the only Mediator, and that he had given himself, ἀντίλυτρον, a Ransom 1. Tim. 2. 5, 6, 7.
for all, that he had abolished Death, and that he had brought Life and Im- 2. Tim. 1. 10.
mortality to Light; And by consequence, this Ransom being fully paid once
for all, that there need no more repetition of it. Could the Metuists as
plainly prove this, their pretended daily real Sacrifice of the Mass enjoin'd T. p. 6*
as the Priests Duty, as certainly as our part of it is proved, they would then
fully satisfy us; but for the Cardinal to say, That as Christ now cannot Visi- Ut supra.
bly and Personally Teach, but must necessarily have vicarious Teachers; so
as he cannot now Visibly and Personally Sacrifice himself on Earth, he must
have Suffragan Priests daily to do it in his stead, for otherwise, saith he,
he could not, verè dici Sacerdos in æternum, be truly called a Priest for ever
or to Eternity; I say this hath no consequence at all in it. For first Christ's
Teaching and Sacrificing on Earth are two things of a quite different Nature.
His Teaching may very rightly be supply'd, and his Doctrine repeated or carried
on by his Ministers now there, though he is in Heaven, as the Homilies or Ser-
mons of a Dead Man may be read, or the Sense taught again and again; but
to say that his Sacrifice made here once for all, is capable of being repeated
now, any real ways by his Priests, is as impossible as it would have been for
a Jew to Sacrifice the same individual Lamb to morrow, which he had done to
day. Our Ministers do rightly repeat the Beheading of John the Baptist, or
of Charles the Martyr, by a solemn and sorrowfull Commemoration of them
once a Year; but there can be no ways any more real beheading of them again.
Next in the very Nature of things, it seems to me most highly absurd to say,
a thing done once for all, ought yet to be done again and again, in sober
plain Sense and Reality. Lastly we have an absolute Command for Christ's Mi-
nisters to do all spiritual Offices, particularly that of Preaching the Gospel, nay,
there is a necessity laid upon them all, as well as upon St. Paul, so to do; But 1. Cor. 9. 16.
for the real repeating of the Sacrifice of Christ, there is not the least shadow
of such a Command; the Metuists have only wild conjectures and most un-
certain airy Inventions to support it. The Bread of Affliction was really
eaten only in Ægypt; and that saying of the Jews afterwards (from whence
Christ plainly took his Institution of the Eucharist) this is the Bread of Affli-
ction which our Fathers did Eat, never signified any more then plainly this,
this is now eaten in Remembrance of that; Now then his positive Conclu-
sion, that Christ cannot be truly called a Priest, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, in æternum, for
ever, unless he daily Sacrificeth by Suffragan Priests, is altogether vain; for
his pretended Sacrifice of the Mass must cease and have an end, and therefore
cannot make him a Priest for ever; but Christ is the same yesterday and Heb. 13. 8.
to day and for ever; as I have above declared, he is always that only one
permanent Victim, or Sacrifice for ever present before God in Heaven,
and is never to be Offer'd to him again on Earth. The Revelation of St.
John is a sufficient Witness of all this, where we have the Lamb, the Crucified
Jesus, again and again Mention'd, Own'd, Received, Honour'd and Magnified
by all the Host of Heaven, as that one, true, and Everlasting Sacrifice;

T. p. 6*
Rev. 5. 8, 9

Let that new Song alone Suffice, which was Sung by the four and twenty Elders falling down before Him; Thou art worthy to take the Book, and to open the Seals thereof, for thou wast slain, and hast redeem'd us to God by thy Blood, out of every Kindred, and Tongue, and People, and Nation. Shall any mortal Man pretend to Offer this very Lamb, the very same individual Crucified Jesus, Really and Personally here again to God at every Altar? To carry him about the Streets as a Shew? To keep him close in a Box, or hang him by in a musty Bag? who is thus ever Glorified in Heaven, continually before God, and ten Thousand times ten Thousand, and Thousand of Thousands of blessed Saints and Angels.

What a confused piece is that in their Mass just after their Consecration, if we compare it with their notion of their Sacrifice. In memory of the Passion and Resurrection and Ascension of Christ thy Son, we Offer unto thy renowned Majesty of thy Gifts and of what things are given us, a pure, holy, and immaculate Sacrifice, the Holy Bread of Eternal Life, and the Cup of perpetual Salvation; where they tell us they mean the very true Body and Blood of Christ, even him Himself; and yet they plainly immediately reckon them amongst, *Dona & data*, only Gods Gifts, in General; and therefore beseech him Propitiously and Graciously to look upon them and accept them, as he did, munera, the Offerings of Abel, Abraham, and Melchisedech; yet all their Offerings or Presents were but Finite Creatures. See what a shuffling turn is given to all this by their Champion; We do not, saith he, pray here for Christ's Reconciliation to his Father, but rather for our own Infirmities; for though Christ always pleases God, yet the Ministers and Communicants may not please him; and therefore we pray that their Offering of it may be kindly Respected. But first how often do they tell us that the wickedness of the Priest, if he do but Consecrate with a true Intention, hinders not the Sacrifice in the least; That is perfect though he that doth it and the standers by are all vile and most wretched Sinners; therefore saith he, this Prayer respect not the Sacrifice. Let us then see how it is made only for the Offerers. The words, *supra quæ*, upon which things cast a gracious Eye, must relate only to, Nos, us, included in, Offerimus, we Offer; But to my understanding of Grammer, the Antecedent to this Relative, *super quæ*, upon which things, must certainly be the Words immediately before going, the Host, or Sacrifice, the holy Bread and the Cup, which according to them is now very Christ himself. If it had been said, *supra quos Offerentes*, upon which Offerers look propitiously &c. The Offerers only had been plainly meant or included, and not the Host or Sacrifice. What he adds, that when the Jews prayed that God would respect their Sheep and Bulls, they did not pray to reconcile them to God, is meer trifling; The Jews plainly pray'd God to accept them as a pleasing Sacrifice, and always thought that he did so, as in all their Sacrifices of Atonement and the like. Then they humbly beg of the Almighty God, to Command, *hæc perferri*, that these things be carried by the hands of his Holy Angels unto his Altar on high, into the sight of his Divine Majesty; that is, this Host, or Immaculate Victim which is already there. For the Metaphysicians in those Words, *Jube hæc perferri*, command these Things to be carried, cannot by any Construction make that Article, *Hæc*, these things, signify only the Action or Performance of the Priest or Offerers; for the Antecedent Substantives to which these Things relate, must be the very same as they were before; to that, *supra quæ*, upon which Things; and therefore they can be no other then the Host or Victim, the Body and Blood of Christ, just mention'd before. We have as lame an Account of the Angels carrying them up. The Altar is not to be taken, saith he, Literally (it is well that he will sometimes, when he pleases, leave the Literal and allow a Spiritual meaning,) and by the Angels carrying up our Sacrifices to God, is meant only their helping us by their Intercession, and Recommending our Obedience and Worship to God; not carrying the Thing Sacrificed, but the desire of the Agent. Thus

De Miss. l. 2.
c. 24. p. 372. c.

T. p. 7*

Lev. 1. 4.
Deut. 33. 10, 11.

De Miss. ut sup.

Thus though *this Glorious Triumphant Victim* is continually in Heaven, yet the Metusiasts will have him really down here again every day upon every Altar on Earth, and croud him entire into every Mite of the Bread, and every drop of the Wine, and otherwise (as is said) spitefully use him; and then least *these two Prayers* upon their Notion should seem to dishonour him in recommending him to his Father, they tell us, that *not He himself but the Offerers* only are intended in them. But how they can make such a specious Gloss from *Hæc*, and, *Supra quæ, these Things*, and *upon these Things*, is past my understanding, and they with all their nice Distinctions and Sophistry will never be able to make it out. I cannot but think that their Case and that of the Greeks in these Matters have been much the same; Their Canon (as they call it) and the Greeks Synaxis, at first were very plain and coherent; But Popes, and Patriarchs and great Bishops (in the times of Ignorance of both Churches) according to their various Humors, have mangled them and patcht them, not minding that what they left would in many places not agree with their new Notions by degrees creeping in amongst them; so when the Reformers had lookt into them and examining them had discovered these abuses, they notwithstanding this, will not part with their old *Mumpsimus*, and therefore are put to all their shifts to make all good, and justify all their most manifest Absurdities, whereof, to me, this is a very singular one. We are told, *that Christ did not offer himself after his words of Consecration*, nay, *that he could not have time to do it; and that the Apostles themselves also made no such oblation at first*, by what Authority then can their Modern Priests pretend to offer him really in their Masses, when they have neither his Command nor his Example to do. *This* therefore must confessedly be an Arrogant Innovation, or a Sacrilegious Usurpation brought in, in latter times by some of their assuming Prelates or Doctors, whom they call *the Church*. There it is also own'd that Christ *did not use the same words, when he offer'd the Bread to be Consecrated, which their Priests use now*; and truly if a Man seriously considers all those preceeding words, and what follow in their Canon to the words of the Institution, he will find them hang so loosely together, as he may justly suspect that there hath been such chopping and changing in this very place; especially from the Later and Modern Saints foisted in by the Latins, (much more by the Greeks) in their preliminaries.

De Miss. l. 1.
c. 27. p. 340.
G.
ibid. A.

We are told *that the Sacrifice on the Cross was of Infinite Value, for it paid the Price, and obtain'd Remission for all Sins, past and to come; and therefore it was but one, and is never to be repeated again; but the value of the Sacrifice of the Mass is but Finite, and therefore it is often to be Repeated; and yet, It is positively there said to be one and the very same Sacrifice with that of the Cross*. Now for my part I cannot reconcile a plain Contradiction, as *Finite and not Finite, or Infinite in one and the very same Thing*. This difficulty is justly said there, *to make that great Author wonder*. But he Modestly gives his own Opinion and solves it thus. *In that Sacrifice of the Cross, Christ's, Naturale esse, Natural Being or Essence, as to his Humanity was destroyed; but in that of the Mass only his, esse Sacramentale, Sacramental Being is destroyed*. A goodly distinction indeed! I would gladly know what this *Sacramental Being* is; whether it is a *Real one* or only *Modal* or (as I may say) *Ceremonial*? If it be *Real*, can there be *two Real distinct Beings in one and the same single Thing*; as the Body of Christ is? If it be only *Modal*, how can it then be *one and the same Thing* with that which is *Real*? However the value of one being but *Finite*, must needs make it quite a different thing from that whose value is *Infinite*. This is much such another Jest as what I mention'd above. *Haman* was hang'd in Person on his own Gallows, and is every Year hang'd by the Jews in some deviled likeness; can I truly say, *it is very one and the same Haman and one and the same hanging, only in the first his natural Being was destroy'd, but in the second only his Sacramental or Ceremonial Being perished*. There are two other solutions

T. p. 8*
De Miss. l. 2.
c. 4. p. 345. F.

ibid. G. H.

T. p. 8* lutions offer'd, altogether as empty and frivolous; *Christ offer'd by himself on the Cross, but he offers by his Ministers in the Mass*; yet, that it is still one and the very same Sacrifice must be better proved than as yet it is done; It will not satisfy only to say, as he doth, *Christ would have it so, but why* (he should have added or where) it doth not belong to us to enquire.

I. i. p. 314. F. I cannot omit one passage more much of the same leaven. He tells us that the Apostle speaking of Melchisedech, and saying that he had many things to say which were hard to be uttered, omitted on purpose to speak of the Offering of Bread and Wine, least he should have been forced to explain the Mystery of the Eucharist, which was then too high a Point for them to apprehend. I cannot see how this would make any thing to his purpose, unless he can first prove that the Apostle himself understood that Mystery as they now have made it; next that their Sacrifice of the Mass was really one of those hard things there meant.

The Metusiasts cannot but allow of our solemn Commemoration of Christ's Passion, and they can as little blame our Application of it. Our Ministers there continually put the People in Mind of all God's Promises made in the new Covenant which was Sealed with Christ's most precious Blood, whereof that is mention'd by the Apostle as the chief; *I will put my Laws into their Mind, and write them upon their Hearts, and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a People; I will be Mercifull to their unrighteousness, and their Sins, and their Iniquities I will Remember no more.* God's part in this Covenant is, the Remission of Sins; the Conditions required on our part are, Repentance and Faith; through this Man, Christ, our Ministers by his Command, Preach unto the People forgiveness of Sins, for by him all that Believe are justified from all things from which they could not be justified by the Law of Moses; There are many grievous Sins for which there was no Atonement under the Law; but now, under the Gospel, we Joy in God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have received the Atonement for all our Sins. Wash you, make you clean, put away the Evil of your doings (this is the Language of our Ministers) and believe in Christ; though your Sins be as Scarlet, they shall be as White as Snow; though they be Red like Crimson, they shall be as Wool. Our Church in the Application of Christ's Passion at her Commemoration of it, may, assuredly vie with any other part of the whole Catholick Church of Christ. Nothing can be more pathetic and moving then the Preparatory Sermons of her able Divines, and the many many excellent Treatises and Directions to her Communicants in order to their due Performance of that most glorious Memorial. Only her publick Homily, and the three Exhortations in our Liturgy before the Celebration of it are sufficient Testimonies of this Truth. Therefore as to these matters controverted betwixt us, in this our Pilgrimage here on Earth, we of the English Church are like Travellers who carefully furnish themselves with true Gold and Silver, only currant Coin, for their Journies; But the Metusiasts are like such as credulously and heedlessly heap together great quantities of Ave-Mary Counters, and much such old falsified stuff with some little good Money; and then are angry with us, if in our Country they will not without Scruple all pass alike.

T. p. 170. Now as we truly make it a Sacrifice of Prayer, Supplications, Intercessions, of Praise and Thanksgiving; it is really Offer'd up for all Men, for the universal Church; for all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors; for all Bishops and Spiritual Pastors; for all God's People, and all who are Afflicted or Distressed; for the Saints departed, in Blessing God for them, and Praying for Grace, to follow their good Examples; And in our Litany, for all such as have erred and are deceived, and in general for Mercy upon all Men. And where Bellarmine speaks of offering a Sacrifice for those who are out of the Church, and would hook in his Propitiatory Sacrifice by nice distinctions, saying, it is done Indirectè, Implicitè, aliquo modo, Indirectly, Impli-

Prayer for the
state of Christ's
Church.

De Miss. l. 2.
c. 6. G. H.
& p. 347. B.C.

Implicitely, and after a Fashion; all his Quotations out of the Scripture and the Fathers (*as they are Interpreted by them*) signify the *Sacrifice of Prayer*; which he afterwards saith, *may be offer'd for Infidel, Pagan, Heathen Kings*, but not for Persons *Excommunicate* nor for *Hereticks*, but only *Intentionally*. Whereas, we publickly and solemnly *Pray for the Conversion of All, Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Hereticks*; and thus our Charity is greater, as our Devotion and Practice is more Apostolical then theirs. It is most manifest that the first Composers of the Greek Liturgy meant no more then a *Spiritual Sacrifice* by the Eucharist, as hath been sufficiently proved above. They offer up λογικὴν λατρείαν, *their rational Service, for the Prophets, Apostles, &c. and especially for the All-holy and Spotless Virgin Mary*; was this then meant a *propitiatory Sacrifice for their Sins*; Quo nihil infulsius, *then which nothing is more Senseless*, saith R. Simon;) or only, a *Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving to God by Commemorating all these Blessed Saints departed*. And they there offer up the same, λογικὴν λατρείαν, *rational Service for the whole World*, in Prayer and Supplications. But the Roman Church quite excludes us as *Hereticks and Excommunicated*. But now if the Greeks *rational Service*, there, *for the whole World*, must be expounded, a *propitiatory Sacrifice for their Sins*, it is the same Sacrifice word for word, which they Offer'd up for the Virgin Mary and the Saints; but if it be only a *spiritual Sacrifice for the Saints*, it must be so likewise *for the whole World*; that is, a *Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving for them*, but of *Supplications, Intercessions and Prayers for these according to their several necessities*. And though the latter Greeks have strongly patcht and jumbled their antient Liturgies, especially by introducing the *Vicarious Communion of the Saints*, by their, μερίδες, *Portions* above said; yet all along this only *Spiritual Sacrifice of Thanks, Praises, Prayers and Supplications* most manifestly remain apparent to any one that shall candidly and seriously read them. As to what follows in that seventeenth Decree about the *Eucharistical Bread kept in Boxes*, though I have largely spoken to it above, yet give me leave here to repeat a Reflection, which, on various occasions, I have often made. If the former Greeks had really believed, that the *Consecrated Bread* had been the *true Body of the Lord not in the least differing from Christ himself*, (as this great Man here tells us) surely they would not have treated him so scurvily, as to have *Imprison'd him in a rotten wormeaten Box*; much less (as I have again and again seen it, in almost every poor Country Church) *have hang'd him up in a mouldy fusty leathern Bag*; He does not deny this matter of Fact, but seems to answer it thus. *Christ is not honoured with Stones and Marbles, but with a pure Heart*. And yet immediately he tells us, *at Jerusalem this reserved Body is honour'd with no less then seven Lamps burning before it*. If it is not honoured by *Stones*, (I suppose he means *Jewels*) how is it honour'd by *Lamps*. The whole *Breads or Portions* reserv'd for the *Presanctificate, or for the Sick*, when they are first Consecrated are moisten'd just upon the *Crossed side* with some of the *Consecrated Wine and Water*, taken out of the Chalice with a Spoon; so that the *Bread thus Moisten'd or dipt in the Wine*, may make the *Communion in both kinds*. Now if these *Bits of Bread* thus moisten'd with the *Water as well as the Wine*, are not very well and carefully dried, or if afterwards they be hang'd in a moist place (*as the Sacristies or Chancels* in most Country Churches are,) they may well mould and Corrupt, as that of *Nectarius* did, which I told you of before. When the Priest administers this reserved Bread to the Sick, he Sops it in fresh unconsecrated Wine, but I never knew nor heard yet, that the Greeks, or Armenians ever carried it or administer'd it, with any *Pomp or Train, or the least outward Respect or Reverence paid to it by either Priest or People*; which still perswades me that the old Greeks had quite another Notion of the Eucharist from what *Dositheus* hath now taken up; yet without doubt the *Conclave* in time may introduce their *gaudy Procession*, in carrying about the *Eucharist*

T. p. 170.

1 Tim. 2. 1.

1 Aedr. 6. 31.

2 Maccab. 3.

31. 33. 35.

P. 347. B.

On Good Fry-

day.

p. 37. 43. 67.

73.

p. 24.

p. 254. bi.

p. 294. & here

p. 141.

p. 161.

p. 334.

p. 134.

T P. 171.

- T. p. 171. *rist* amongst them, (when they shall think it fitting,) by the same Methods by which they have managed them in all the rest. What follows in *Dositheus* is wonderfull indeed; he saith, *that, ὁ τρόπος, the Mode or manner how the Bread and Wine are converted into the Body and Blood of Christ*, or, as he said before in the beginning of this Decree, *How Christ is present at the Eucharist*, (which with him is all one) *is Incomprehensible and Impossible to any but God himself; and that the word Transubstantiation does not explain it; and yet immediately he makes that the very Mode or Manner, and rejects all others. After Consecration, saith he, our Lord is Present, and the Bread and Wine are Changed into his Body and Blood, not by way of Type or Image,* (Though I have at large produced enough of his own Greek Author's who thought and expressly called the Elements but meer *Types, Antitypes, Symbols, Images*, and such like Representations) *not by extraordinary Grace as in other Sacraments*, (though all Christians agree that *extraordinary Grace* is here also convey'd to every faithfull Receiver, by which he is made a *living Member of Christ's Body*, which must be present here in the same manner as he is a Member of it) *nor by the Communion or the Presence of his Divinity only*, (though we are Infallibly sure that he is thus Present with us from his own words, and the Fathers own no other Presence in Baptism, why then any other Presence in the Eucharist?) *But the Bread and Wine are verily and indeed Transubstantiated into the true Body and Blood of Christ; That is, the Substance of the Bread and of the Wine quite vanish, or is Anihilated; and the very Substance of Christ's true Body and Blood remain only under their Accidents; and this is the true and only real Mode or manner of his being Present in the Eucharist. Though Chrysostom and Theodoret and others expressly tell us, that the Nature and Substance and Form of the Bread and Wine still remain unchanged, and are the very same after Consecration, as they were before it. This truly amazes me, that he should quite explode those Modes of Christ's Presence, which so many Fathers have allow'd as Rational; and of which we are all very well assured; and he himself cannot deny; (for he must Confess Christ is present by Symbols; and by his Grace; and by his Divinity; though he may deny him to be Present only so;) and then so positively to assert, a most Absurd, a most Obscure, a most Unlikely, meerly new Invented, Mode; which the Primitive Christians, and the Antient Fathers never heard or dream'd of. But I perceive it is even his Misfortune, as I have above noted it to have been the common Fate of the first Inventers and Promoters of this wild Conceit, of all Modes or Manners to choose the worst. Therefore I would fain know in the Eucharist what State and Condition of Christ's Body he would choose; whether is it now just as it was, when it was Born, or Baptized; or as it was Transfigured; or as it suffered, or as it was buried; or as it rose, or as it ascended; or as it sits in Heaven, or as it shall come to Judgment, or as the Question was put in Alexius Comnetius his time, is it Corruptible or Incorruptible. And whether his Blood is, as it was in his Veins, or as it was shed and spilt upon his Cloaths, on the Cross, on the Spear, on the Ground. If we say that his Body and Blood were always the same in Substance, (though Philosophers will hardly allow that,) yet they were not always the same in Condition and Quality. Jesus grew, and increased in Stature or Age; and his dead Body on the Cross, differ'd from his living Body after the Resurrection; and if the Bread was Christ's real Body at the last Supper, he and his Apostles did Eat his Mortal Body; But all who have eaten the Eucharist since he sat on the right hand of God, must have Eaten his Glorified and Immortal Body, and by Consequence have thereby received a greater Honour than the Apostles themselves. I therefore desire to know under which of all those different Qualities, or States, or Conditions, (which he hath reckon'd up) the Bread is now made Christ's very Body; for it cannot be in his Sense under them all; but according to our Primitive way, his Body is Received under*
- p. 297. & supr. 141. *rist*
- p. 289. supr. 140. *rist*
- p. 289. p. 297. *rist*
- p. 154, 155, 156. *rist*
- Mat. 18. 20. *rist*
- supr. 142, 143. *rist*
- p. 113, 116. *rist*
- Nicet. in Alex. 1.3. §.3. p.333. *rist*
- Luk. 2.40. 52. *rist*
- p. 289. *rist*

under all the *Qualities, States and Conditions* which ever befell it. We thankfully commemorate his *Birth, Baptism, Transfiguration, Passion, Burial, Resurrection, Ascension, Glory, and coming again*; and thus the *Bread is, and is called Christ's very Body, as the Jews Cake is the very Bread of Affliction*; which their Fathers did Eat all along in *Aegypt*, under all those various Pressures and severe dispensations which they there met withall. The learned *R. Simon* fairly confesseth that *the Faith of the Primitive Christians was most simple and plain, and that in following and worser Ages, Men started and disputed many Things, of which not the least shadow is to be found amongst them. But, saith he, if we shall think this any Argument against those later Opinions, because they were not Primitive; we may as easily doubt of, or question the chief Mysteries of the Christian Religion.* But, cum pace illius viri, with this great Man's leave, I cannot count any thing a Mystery in our Religion, which will not bear the Test of *Primitive Antiquity*; for I am perfectly of *Vincentius Lirinensis* his mind, that all *Articles of Faith* ought to be *Catholick, as well for the universality of Time, or Antiquity, as for that of Place, and of Persons*; and where that judicious Author honestly cautions us against admitting meer Innovations in the Faith, under the pretence of Traditions, he candidly quotes and applauds this very Rule with me. Now breaking of Bread and Eating of it, and drinking of Wine, after a Sacred and Solemn way, in Remembrance of *Christ's Passion, and in Imitation of the last Supper*, was ever from the very Beginning piously observ'd as a most *Holy and Religious Rite, instituted by Christ himself*; call it as you please, a *Mystery or a Sacrament*; But all the prodigious stuff which *Rome* in these latter days have Invented about it, and have craftily or violently imposed upon the Christian World, shall never be accounted a Mystery by me, unless it be a *Mystery of Iniquity*. However to give Transubstantiation some Antiquity amongst the Greeks I find this made by several an Argument for it; That they certainly own'd it in *Mich. Cerularius* his time, about the year 1054. who was Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and so fierce an Antagonist against the Latins, that if the Greeks, say they, had not then allow'd it, they would infallibly have quarrell'd as much at that Doctrine of the Latins, as they did at their use of their *unleavened Bread* at the Eucharist. And I find the same great Man, above noted, not only of this Opinion, but he quotes *Nicetas Pectoratus* to confirm it, whom the learned *Claud* had cited to confute it. You have *Nicetas* his little piece against the use of *unleaven'd Bread* in *Baronius*; out of it, these expressions are urged in favour of the Latin Opinion. Qui in lumine ambulant, *they who walk in the Light eat the Bread of Grace, which is the Body of Christ, and Drink his spotless Blood*; then having said that *unleavened Bread is Uncompounded, Imperfect, and wanting the fulness of the Leaven, whereas true Bread is quite otherwise*, he bids them (*Attendite*.) consider that *unleaven'd Bread hath no living Virtue in it, but is a meer dead Lump*; In pane autem, hoc est Corpore Christi, but in the Bread, that is, in the Body of Christ, are three things which live, and give Life to those who eat them worthily, *Spirit, Water, and Blood*; for thus he misapplies those words of *St. John*, tres sunt qui testimonium dant, *there are three which give witness, the Spirit, the Water and the Blood, & hi tres in uno sunt, videlicet in corpore Christi, and these three are in One, to wit, in the Body of Christ*; which thing was declared at the time of the Lord's Crucifixion, when *Water and Blood flow'd out of his spotless Side, his Flesh being pierced by the Lance*; But the Holy and enlivening Spirit remain'd, In deificata carne ejus, quam comedentes in Pane, qui immutatus est per Spiritum & effectus corpus Christi, in his Deified Flesh; which (*Deified Flesh*) we eating the Bread which is changed by the Spirit, and made the Body of Christ, we live in him, as it were, eating his Living and Deified Flesh; and in like manner drinking his living and warm Blood &c. Now *R. Simon* to these Passages gives this clever turn. *Nicetas*, saith he, all along speaks only of the Matter which is fit, or Prayer, for the Sacrifice,

T. p. 172.

In Apolog.
P. 131.

c. 3.

p. 248.

In Apolog.
p. 92.Annal. T. 11.
P. 790.

John 5. 8.

Apud Baron.
& apud Simon
Perperam u-
num.

T. p. 173.

- T. p. 173. *and not at all of the Symbols already Consecrated; and if after Consecration the Name, Bread, is used, it is not absolutely but by the bye,)* (as we say) *in Relation to the matter of the Sacrifice; nay, Nicetas to shew that the Bread had cast off its Nature, used this Expression on purpose, the Bread, which is the Body of Christ; and again, In the Bread, that is, In the Body of Christ; by which words he means, that the Name, Bread, after Consecration, is retain'd only in conformity to the Argument, but yet that it hath really past into Christ's Body. So that according to him, Nicetas and the rest of the Greeks believed, or at least found no fault with Transubstantiation. But because Nicetas without doubt knew his own Mind best, see how*
- Supr. p. 119. Q. *farther he expresseth himself. He saith, the Deified Flesh (which Jeremias the Patriarch called the Deified Body) of Christ is eaten in the Bread; he must needs mean, in the Bread which only Represents it; for otherwise it would be an odd piece of Sense to say, the very Flesh or Body of Christ is eaten in the very Flesh or Body of Christ; yet he must have said so, if he had thought that what he called the Bread, was then the very Flesh or Body of Christ; Bread and Body, (or Flesh) according to the Latins, being now (after Consecration) one and the same thing. But R. Simon urgeth that Nicetas saith plainly, that the Bread is changed by the Spirit and made the Body of Christ, and again, In the Bread, that is, in the Body of Christ. All this we grant; 'tis true, in a Spiritual or in a Figurative Sense; and it is most evident that Nicetas meant it no otherwise. He calls the Bread, which, he saith, the Illuminated Eat and is the Body of Christ, Panem Gratiae, the Bread of Grace, that is, Spiritual Bread; He calls it Figuram vivae carnis, the Figure of (Christ's) living Flesh, and saith it is, what the Latins offer'd to God, and what they Eat, only they do it in Unleavened, the Greeks in Leaven'd Bread. He calls it Effigiem carnis Christi, the Resemblance of Christ's*
- P. 790. *Flesh. And again, repeating his former conceit, Water, and Meal, and Fire, representing Spirit, and Water, and Blood; These three, saith he, in uno sunt, are in One, to wit, the Body of Christ, which we Eating are united to Christ, who was incarnate and Sacrificed for us; being Incorporated with him, we are velut Caro ipsius, as it were Flesh of his Flesh, and Bone of his Bones; surely this must be all understood alike Spiritually, we are Embod'd with Christ and are Flesh of his Flesh, in the same Sense as we Eat his Flesh. And without doubt Nicetas thought that the Latins then believed no other then a Spiritual and Figurative Communion, and therefore he used these*
- P. 791. *and many more such expressions to them. So again, ut in Figura ipsius faciatis Azymum, that ye may make unleaven'd Bread in Figure of it. And just after that, carne Crucifixus tradidit nobis, being Crucified in the Flesh, he order'd us to Eat his Flesh, per panem, by Bread; (which (Flesh) in the Holy Spirit we thus call Living,) take Eat, this is my Body; Once more, si sicut dicitis, if, as you say, the Apostle received unleavened Bread from the Lord, and they again delivered this to you, In Figuram, for a Figure of Christ's Body; &c. Are all these Expressions meer words of Course, or in conformity to the Argument only, as is above said? Or do they not rather evidently declare Nicetas, (and by consequence the Greeks) to have understood, this is my Body, Figuratively and Spiritually? And that seems to me a very*
- T. p. 173. *poor Objection of some, that if the Latins had then, when they brought in the unleaven'd Wafer, first broacht the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, Nicetas and Cerularius and other Greeks, who were so bitter Enemies to them, and quarrell'd with them for the other Innovations, would certainly not have slipt this*
- P. 105. *grand Absurdity. But this wild Doctrine (as is above said) was then at most but a private Opinion, and that of a very few; It made no noise until Berengarius opposed it. And Cerularius the Patriarch, who was the chief manager of the Controversy, about unleaven'd Bread, was dead before Berengarius was*
- Baron. T. 11. 1058. 18. *centur'd. And therefore this Doctrine which was in his time but in the Bud,*
- Mat. 13. 25. *or rather, as Tares new cast into the ground, might not as yet come to the know-*

knowledge of the Greeks. If *Cerularius*, who was Patriarch of *Constantinople*, knew not what was done then in the three other Patriarchates, which were near and under his Inspection, (as *Peter of Antioch* his Letter plainly tells us) he might well be Ignorant of what was then covertly agitated at Rome. The practice and use of *unleaven'd Bread*, or the *Wafer*, there, was visible and known to every Communicant, but the Portentous Opinion, the *hidden Mystery of Transubstantiation*, which secretly crept in, and by degrees went along with it, was then known but to very few of the Latins themselves, and that very imperfectly. Therefore the Greeks, who had all by hearsay from Travellers, might have heard much of the use of the *Wafer*, but nothing of the Monster, which then was hatching under it, and did not come to its full Growth till *Pope Innocent* the third's time, as is above said, that is, about 150 years after. However that great Man, *R. Simon* again and again intimates unto us, that the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* is, and ever was, *Dogma Catholicum*, the *Universal belief of all the East*. Yet the Eastern Liturgies (as most say also again and again) which he hath kindly and learnedly furnished us withal, rather assert only a *Spiritual Eucharist* or Commemoration of Christ's Passion, then any ways favour the Latins Tenet; as the Universal use of the *Invocation of the Holy Spirit*, and the *Prayers annext to it*, seem plainly to evince. So that all the late Declarations of *Gabr. Severus*, *Parthenius*, *Dionysius*, and *Dositheus* himself, and of all the rest of the Modern Easterlings, make nothing to the Metuists purpose. And now to that common Question in him, and in many others, *Quâ arte Latinorum, by what trick of the Latins, and when and where did this Opinion first prevail in the East?* Give me leave to add one or two more; *When were the $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, Portions first brought into the Greek Church? When were the Maronites Constitutions made? When were all the other Eastern Liturgies Copied or Reformed (as he saith) from that of the Greeks? When and by whom were all their Liturgies thus patcht and jumbled together, and thus most shamefully made meer confused stuff?* The answer to all these and many more of the like nature is very plain, whilst Men slept an Enemy hath done this. I think it is very evident that for many Ages before the Western Reformation, both Churches, East and West were sufficiently a sleep; (the Serpent for a time did bruise the Womans ofsprings Heel) and it is as evident what Rome and her accomplices have been doing ever since *Berengarius* his time, especially since the Latin Council. As to the Eastern People, particularly the Greeks amongst whom I lived, (to my own knowledge) *R. Simon* gives us a very just account of them; *There are, saith he, some very few (and those are commonly such as have frequented the Latin Schools) who understand something of (Aristotle's) Philosophy; there are others, (who are far the greater number) who understand not one jot of it; and these, de rebus Eucharisticis admodum crasse loquuntur, discourse about all the Matters of the Eucharist most grossly, or coarsely or blockishly.* Now from hence it must be plain to any impartial Eye, that the crafty Latin Emissaries, and the few Greeks who have been train'd up in the College and Latin Schools at Rome, or elsewhere, have palmed, as we say, or cleverly obtruded upon the other Ideots and dull Philosophers what those good Men did not understand; and some of those out of an Ambition to appear something more Learned than the vulgar, greedily swallow, and pride themselves in any amusing Scholastick or Metaphysical fancy. *Niceph. Gregoras*, gives us an exact Account or Character of all these kind of Men, (for matters went much at the same rate then in the Greek Church as it doth now,) relating how some Latins under *Andronicus junior*, were sent from Rome to Constantinople to dispute, and unite both Churches. *The Patriarch*, saith he, *was not able to Discourse, and most of the Bishops his Companions were as Ignorant as himself.* The Latins, as the present Emissaries, were impudent boasters, bragging most shamefully, and in all their talk were as fond of Syllogisms as beasts are greedy of Grass; and they that are in a doubt, or know not what

T. p. 173.

Baron. T. 11.
1054. 39.Nicetas in Baron. T. 11.
p. 789. E.p. 114.
Apol. p. 118. a.
173. a. 218.
&c.
p. 104. 105.

118. a

Mat. 13. 25.
28.

Gen. 3. 15.

111. 112. &
Pref. i. ii. iii.

T. p. 174.

p. 228. 235.
236.

T. p. 74. *they should rightly believe, or what it is which they say they believe, are impudently filling all places wherever they come with their Divinity. But the greatest bulk of the common People, and even of the Clergy themselves, especially the ordinary Monks and Parish Priests, (not one of those, and very few of those ever reading any learned Books) resolve at all Adventures to believe as the Church believe, that is, to take all as the Great and Leading Men tell them, without troubling their Heads with what either this or that means, or how can this or that be? or the like. So they still worship the *μειδς*. Portions in the Procession, it is no matter why; They reverently Eat the bits of Bread, or take the *Margaritæ*, little Crumbs with a drop or two of Wine, at the Eucharist, without puzzling their Brains with either the hard new word or the harder thing, of *μετεσώσις*, Transubstantiation; and never minding whether Christ's very Flesh and Bones are Present or Absent; or whether the Saints Portions are Consecrated as well as that of Christ; or what else the pretenders to Learning Dispute about; As there are Thousands and Thousands in both Churches who mumble over their Creeds without concerning themselves with, or thinking of, the Unitarian and Trinitarian Controversy. This therefore being the very present Condition of the ignorant Easterlings, the Latins by corrupting some of the leading Men amongst them, and by awing all of them by the Power of the Governing secular Princes, (which Money can always procure to their side;) may in a little time make Transubstantiation, the Dogma Catholicum, the Catholick Doctrine of the East, by the same Methods as they did it for a Time in the West, till the Reformation; However to me it shall be always a sufficient ground to suspect that side in a Religious Controversy, which will not stand to the plain Dint of Reason and Scripture, but calls in, the Arm of Flesh, Force and Violence to support it. The primitive Fathers (as Mons. Arnold himself truly confesses) were of a more pious and truly Christian Spirit, they did not, saith he, amuse either themselves or others with speculative Difficulties, nor trouble themselves to explain them to the People; but made it more their business and aim to promote true Piety, than to satisfy Curiosity. I wish with all my Soul, that Christians who believed that the Elements at the Eucharist by consecration were made the Body and Blood of Christ, had rested there; I fear we may justly attribute one great Cause of the General decay of Piety, (which since hath by degrees overspread the Christian World,) to the Vain, Insolent, and Frantick Disquisitions and Opinions which afterwards follow'd about these matters. And from hence good Reasons may be given, why Mahometism hath made and does daily make, such large progress amongst the Heathen, whilst Popery, unless by Force or Trick, makes not the least advance; the absurdities of the latter, being far more gross and numerous than those of the former. Had Transubstantiation been declared by the primitive Christians as their avowed Doctrine, the Heathens then, as the Turks have done since, would certainly have upbraided them, that they first make Bread their God, and then devour him. We have a very pregnant Instance of all this in L. Surinus, he tells us that P. Innocent the fourth in the year 1246, sent some Religious Persons out of the Council of Lions to Bati, King of the Tartars, to exhort him to the Worship of the One living and true God, and of his only Son Jesus Christ. When these Embassadors were gone, came others from the Saracens, at whose persuasions Bati and his People embraced the Mahometan Religion. He gives us these two Reasons for it; He calls it, *tanquam plausibilem*, that is, it was more plausible or rational than Popery; for the Mahometans own, the one true God, as well as the Papists; and they confess, that Christ was a true Prophet sent from God, though not God of God; so that thus far they are something like King Agrippa, half Christians; there wants little more to compleat them than the Doctrine of the Trinity; But he calls it in the next place, *voluptariam*, a Voluptuous Religion, and *Impurissimam Superstitionem*, a most Impure Superstition; as if it had been Impurity and Voluptuousness which*

Refut. part 1.
p. 143.

Comment.
An. 1501.
p. 25.

Act. 26, 28.

which chiefly prevail'd with the Tartars. As to what we may truly call Superstition, I believe a right or rank Papist may vie with any Man living; and as to Libertinism, I dare say that true Popery, especially your Jesuits Morals, allow and encourage a licentious Life, beyond any thing in the Alcoran. For the greatest Sins and Lewdness, will find at Rome either *Salvo's* to palliate them, or *Indulgences and Pardons* from the *Inexhaustible Treasure* of the Church. And a Papist, if Rich, hath the Advantage of any Man living besides; His wealth will maintain him in the full swing of all his Debaucheries here, and will purchase Masses enough, when he dies, to secure him from all harm hereafter. So that if *Voluptuousness*, or Licentious living, was the main motive to the *Tartars* for turning *Mahometans*, the good Fathers from the Pope might have freely and fully open'd to them the *Immense Treasures* of their Church, (which now for Modesty they did not do,) and so might have outbidden the *Saracens* ten to one. Therefore without doubt there was something more in this Story than what *Surius* makes of it; the *Saracens* were not so ignorant of the absurd Doctrines and Idolatrous Practices of the Popish Religion, but they were able to tell the *Tartars* enough of it to make them loath it. If the good Fathers, the *Jesuits*, as *Cl. Berengar* tells us, when the King of China seeing a Crucifix askt who that was upon the Cross, were afraid to call him, *Deum Christianorum*, the God of the Christians; but said only that he was a Holy Man, who was put to a shameful Death for the Salvation of his People; How durst they have told him, that when they pleased they could make Him alive, (with very Body, Blood, and Bones,) of a piece of Bread, and Eat Him when they have done? It is well known that *Mahomet*, who took *Constantinople*, was at one time a well-wisher to Christianity, and he desired from *Gennadius* the Patriarch to know what the Christians believed; If the Patriarch in his answer had as largely and fully declared for *Transubstantiation* as he did for the *Trinity*, what wonderful Persuasion had he added, to have made the *Sultan* a perfect Christian? But there is not one word of it there, which to me is an infallible Argument, that *Gennadius* then either did not believe it himself, or was absolutely ashamed to own it.

T. p. 175.

Circul. Pisan.
part 3. c. 3.
p. 236.In MSto. meo
et apud Cras.
Turcogv.

p. 338.

Notwithstanding all this, *Dositheus* for a concluding Stroke to this his Apology, or weighty Synod, solemnly declares as an Oracle, *τα εἰρηνικά καὶ σώφρονος ἀντιλογίας ἐληπτὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων*, that all things which he hath said in this great Work, came without all Contradiction directly from the Apostles themselves, the Fathers having handed them down to us by written Oral Tradition; (we must not expect so much as the very Doctrine of Accidents;) and a little before (what is more amazing) he is pleased in the front of other Authorities, (which he only Mentions in general,) to recommend several Modern Latinized Writers to support this his assertion; as *Coresius*, *Gabriel Severus*, *Jeremias* the Patriarch, *Meletius Syrius*, and others; and we could match them with a full Squadron of another Opinion, but we want no such Auxiliaries. *Coresius* was indeed a learned Man and wrote much; but he was a *Chioite* and his Latin and Doctrine came both from the same School; and it is well known how changable and wavering he was under the several dispensations of his Fortune; as for the rest I have here already taken notice of most of them, and shall now add no more, but that of the Poet with some little Alteration.

Continuo crassum ridebat Claudius ingens,

Et centum Græcos curto contusse licetur

Great *Claudius* laugh'd at these late Scribes of Greece,

And thinks a Hundred scarce worth pence a piece.

LIBER II.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Greeks seven Mysteries or Sacraments.

T. p. 176.

HAVING thus largely considered *Transubstantiation*, it being the main drift of the Latins in procuring this famous Apology of *Dositheus*, I should have now past by all the rest; but finding there also many other Doctrines, which are purely and entirely of a Latin Original and Contrivance, and yet positively set down and vouched as the *Antient and Catholick belief* of the Greek Church, I cannot but take some notice at least of one or two of them, which to me seem of the greatest Importance.

Decret. xv.
p. 270.

The first is about the *Evangelical Mysteries*, or (as the Latins call them) *Sacraments*. This pretended Synod herein purely mimicking the Latins tells us, that they are neither more nor less than just seven; and so besides the two which we own, *Dositheus* reckons up five more. 1. Τὸ ἅγιον μῦρον, the Holy Unguent, or what is also called (by them as well as us) *βεβαίωσις*, Confirmation. 2. Orders. 3. Matrimony. 4. Confession and Penance. 5. Ἐυχέλαιον, The Holy Oyl, or Oyl blessed with Prayers, which the Latins will have to answer their *extream Unction*.

Bellarm. de Sa-
crum. l. 1. c. 7.
8.T. conc. 1.
p. 640. d.

p. 618.

As for the Words, *μυστήριον*, *Mystery* and, *Sacramentum*, *Sacrament*, I shall not trouble my self or the Reader here with recounting the several Senses, in which they are used by the Greek and Latin Authors both Sacred and Prophane; or take any notice how some of the first Reformers boggled at the use of the Latin word, which is many times for only some great Rite or Solemn Ceremony; as Pope Fabian (if his Epistles be Genuine) calls the Making and not the Using of the Ungent, or Chrisme, *Sacramentum*, and saith, it ought to be done every Year in Coena Domini, upon Holy Thursday, because Christ when he wash'd the Disciples Feet, taught them how to make this Chrism or Unguent. See much the same in Goar, where in the Patriarch's Prayer at the making of the, *μῦρον*, Chrism, it is called *ζωοποιῶν μυστήριον* an enlivening Mystery. The Heathens, from whom the word *μυστήριον*, *Mystery*, is borrowed, meant by it not a thing Incomprehensible or Unintelligible, but a thing whose meaning was not known to the Vulgar. Take that alone in *Lucian* for a sufficient Instance. "Momus was inveighing against the monstrous Gods and extravagant Observations of the Egyptians and other Heathen Priests; Jupiter told him, that most of these things were, ἀνύμματα, Riddles, or dark hidden Notions, which ἀμύητος, a Man not Initiated or Instructed in their hidden meaning ought not to laugh at. Truly, saith Momus, πάντες γὰρ μυστήριον δεῖ ἡμῖν, we have very great need of Mysteries to understand these Gods to be Gods, as Statues of Men with Dogs heads to be Dogs-headed Gods. It is plain here, that by Mystery was meant something under an outward appearance, or visible Sign, which the Contrivers well understood, but they concealed the meaning from the Vulgar, that they might be the more amused at it. And this I take to be the very same Case in all their Hieroglyphicks, and uncouth Figures and Images. But I will briefly consider what both Latins and Greeks allow to be, the Thing it self, which they call by these names, a *Sacrament*, saith the Council of Trent, is a Thing subject to our Senses, which from God's Institution hath the Power both of signifying and effecting Holiness and Righteousness. A Mystery, say the Greeks, is a certain Rite which under some visible Species, or Sign, is a Cause, and bring to the Soul of the Faithfull, the invisible Grace of God, which (Mystery) hath been ordered, or appointed, by our Lord,

Catech. part 2.
c. 1. §. 11.
Ὁρθόδοξ. ὁμολ.
p. 151.

by which every one of the Faithful receive the Divine Grace. And Greg. Hieromon; (one of their late Champions) defines a Mystery thus, *ἐνα εἷς θεὸς καὶ ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον*, It is a Divine and Holy Invention, which is made by the Mediation of a Priest; which by certain Material, and Bodily, and sensible Things, declares and shews forth an Immaterial Grace, which God Communicates to us by means of it, when we worthily receive it. And presently after he adds, *λέγεται θεὸν εὐαγγέλιον*, It is called a Divine Invention, because not Mans, *ῥῆς*, Wit, or Understanding, but the Infinite Wisdom and Power of God, even our Lord Christ invented it. So that in both Churches the grand Characteristick of what is truly to be called a Mystery or Sacrament, is this, it must necessarily be the Institution and Invention, not of Man, but of God or Christ himself. Now if we should bring these five above named Rites to this single Touch-stone alone, I fear we should find not one of them able to bear the Tryal. I will begin with the first as I find them set down in *Dositheus*.

The Institution of Confirmation, or a Command for it, as Bellarmine truly confesseth; is no where expressly to be found in Scripture; and all that he brings for it from thence is, that the Holy Ghost was given by the Apostles laying on of their Hands; and from thence he argues, that they must needs have had a particular Command for so doing; But if the Apostles had such a Command, and such an extraordinary Power annexed to it, for the beginning and propagating of the Gospel; how can he prove that this descends to us, and that we have still the same Command and Privilege? And how far is this from the, *ἅγιον μύρον*, holy Unguent, instituting Confirmation to be performed by it? He saith indeed confidently enough, that Imposition of hands was constantly join'd with Anointing and with the Sign of the Cross, in the Apostles times; and he vainly goes a great way about to little purpose, to prove it. The Greeks for its Institution cite from the Latins only Christ's Promise, in St. Luke; and that (general inward,) Sanctification of the Spirit, mention'd by St. Paul. But their Confession is more Free and Ingenuous; *τὸ μύρον τῷ χρίσματι* *ἡ χρίσις*, Confirmation, say they, began when the Holy Ghost came down upon the Apostles;—As then, *ἐχύσεν εἰς αὐτοὺς τὰ χρίσματα τῷ*, He shed upon them his Gifts (contrary to Bellarmine) so now in like manner his Gifts (not He himself) are shed upon the Baptized. Again, *ἡ χρίσις αὐτῇ τῷ μύρῳ*, *τὸ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν ἢ ἐνεργεῖν*, this anointing of the Unguent, or rather we may say this Efficacy, or Power, of it, was done in the Apostles times by the Imposition of hands; afterwards it was done, *μὲν τῇ χρίσει τῷ μύρῳ*, with the Anointing of the Unguent, as Dionysius the Areopagite witnesseth. Now it is plain that they here own, that the Institution and use of this Unguent, at Confirmation, was but a later Human Invention; for Morinus hath sufficiently proved that the pretended Dionysius his Book was wrote at least after the first Council of Nice.

As for the Matter of this pretended Sacrament, it is wonderful to see what a large Recipe the Greeks had of old for making this Unguent; many of the Drugs are now utterly unknown; and Goar and his friend, Doctor Corefius, could not with all their skill so much as guess at several of them; one of their Fancies seem very ridiculous, they expound, *μυτζόκοκκα*, (*visci grand.*) Mistletoeberries; of which Bird-lime hath been made of old, but never did they enter into any fragrant Ointment; if I may give my guess, I would say the words was *μυγδοκόκκα*, Myrtle berries; which have a good Scent and are plentifully to be had; it would be too trifling here to mention any of the rest, these Drugs were so numerous at first, and many so very scarce and dear, as by degrees many were left out and quite forgotten; and it is plain, that they did not stick to any one Prescription, by the several Forms in Goar; and the manner of making of it was so nice and tedious as it lasted many whole days, as there you may likewise see; and so at last that way also ceased. It had been of old challenged by the Patriarch of Constantinople as his peculiar Right to make this Unguent, and distribute it to others; and without doubt this trick well

T. p. 176.
Συνεφ. τῶν δόγ.
p. 74.

De Effect. Sacr.
l. 2. c. 24.
p. 83. G.
Act. 8. 17.
c. 19. 6.

Ibid. H.

T. p. 177.
l. 2. ac. Conf.
firm. c. 9.
p. 144. F.
Greg. Hierom.
p. 83. Dosithe.
273. Oeod. opus.
p. 120.

De Sacr. con-
firm. l. 2. c. 2.
p. 136. E.

Comment. part
2. c. 6.

Euch. p. 284.
Goar. 637.

638. 640.

639. 643. 1. a.
643. 1. b.

T. p. 177. well managed might bring him in a good Revenue, for every Parish Priest must use it in Baptism; but afterwards it is likely that every Patriarch, or Metropolitane, or Bishop made it his own way, as I suppose they do now; some to my knowledge used *Meccha Balsome* mixt with some few fragrant Drugs; and
 632. *Goar* gives us a very short *Recipe* from *Coresius*, used by the Patriarch in those days. *Musk and Opobalsamum and Amber well mixt with some good Rose Water.* And to reconcile all these various ways of making this *Unguent* amongst the Greeks with the usage of the Latin Church, he saith positively, *that it is the Sacred sentence of the Catholick Church* (he means surely that of Rome) *that the true Matter of this Chrism, or Unguent, is Oyl mixt with Balsom; And therefore if these two Ingredients be in it, all the rest signify nothing at all; they may either be added or quite left out.* So he makes the Greeks in this Point, *ne latum unguem a Latinis recedere, as thoroughly Orthodox as Heart can wish.* Yet why only *Oyl and Balsom* should be thus necessary I cannot see; and he himself argues that *μῆγερ an Unguent* employs a full Composition of many Simples together; nay, he insinuates out of *St. Basil*, as if a larger *Recipe* for it was handed down from the *Apostles* (as they would have all things else) by a *secret tradition*; If it was so the Greeks *Materia* or large Composition is more Apostolical, then that (*e duobus*) of the Latins. But besides all this, how can those two Traditions consist. Amongst the Latins only a Bishop can make the Chrism, and only a Bishop can use it and Confirm; Amongst the Greeks only a Bishop indeed can make the *Unguent*, but every common Priest useth it in Baptism. Nay in one of *Goar's* Forms when the Bishop *Baptizes*, the Priest *Confirms*. If the *Apostles*, (or rather *Christ's*) *Institution* was only for a Bishop both to make and use the *Unguent*, how could the Greeks mangle this Sacrament, and give the better part of it to the Priest? At least herein they must be Schismatics from the Church of Rome. Again, the Greeks always *Anoint*, or Confirm, *παρεοὺς immediatly* after Baptism, all that are Baptised; But the Latins only those of riper Years.

As to the *Form*, as they call it, of this pretended Sacrament, you will find as little proof for the *Institution* of that; And the Greeks and Latins are far enough off from ever reconciling their differing ways of *Anointing*; or their different words. The Greek Priest with the *Unguent* makes the Sign of the Cross, upon the Forehead, the Eyes, the Nostrils, the Mouth, the two Ears, the Breast, the Hands, and the Feet, saying, *Σφραγὶς δωρεὰς πνεύματος ἁγίου, ἀμὴν.* The Seal of the Gift of the Holy Ghost. Amen. The Latin Bishop with his right Thumb dipt in the Chrism makes the Sign of the Cross only upon the Forehead of those which he Confirms, saying, *I Sign thee with the Sign of the Cross. and Confirm thee with the Chrism of Salvation; In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost Amen. And then* (as a token of Love, I suppose) *he hits the Person a little tick on the Cheek, saying, Peace be with you.* Now letting all the Ceremonious part here pass; which of these two Forms of Words (in which according to them the very *Essential Form* of this Sacrament must consist) shall I say is the true Christian or Apostolical Tradition? For methinks both could not come from one and the same *Institution*. *Greg. Hieromonach.* is for neither of them; and saith positively that the Words which the Priest saith, are not the *Form* of it, but the *Grace* which comes from God; for the *Form*, saith he, must always remain, but the *Priest's Words* do not remain; therefore it becomes us rather to say, that the *Grace* is the *Form* of this *Mystery*. And if it be so, *Grace* must needs be (as indeed it is) the true and only *Form* of all Sacraments; And what then will become of all the Trumpery of the Schools? But the Roman Carechism carefully resolves, all this into the Authority of the Catholick Church, of whose dictates, it saith, we cannot any thing doubt; and if this would do without any Authority or Commission from Christ, we might have *Mysteries* or *Sacraments* enough. There are, especially in the Greek Church,

Church, plenty of Rites solemnly prescribed, wherein there is, *an outward visible Sign; an inward spiritual Grace signified; and the Operation of a Priest*; now though there wants for these a *Commission or Institution from above*, yet at this rate if the Church pleases they may be, nay, they are as *perfect Sacraments* as any of these five above named. Passing by many many more Instances which I could give of this matter, give me leave but to take a short view of only the Rites and Ceremonies used about a Child from its Birth to its Confirmation.

The Greeks solemnly name their Children the eighth Day after they are Born, *Euchol. p. 106.* if they live so long; then the Priest Signs them with the Sign of the Cross, on their Forehead, Mouth, and Breast. And Prays, *let the Light of thy Countenance be sign'd upon this thy Servant. N. N. Let the Cross of thy only begotten Son be Sign'd in his Heart and in his Thoughts. — Grant O Lord that thy Holy Name may rest upon Him never to be denied.* Goar calls these their Petitions, the three Graces which answer the three several Signs of the Cross. *323. 4.*

Again, when the Woman is Church'd (as we call it) forty days after Child-bearing; The Child if alive and able, is then brought to Church likewise, *Euchol. 108.* and the Priest Crossing of it again, Prays, *O Almighty Lord, bless it and increase it, to every work that is good and well-pleasing unto thee; chasing away from it all Adversary Power, by this Signing of the Type of thy Cross. &c.* And in the next Prayer he desires God to Bless it, that it may live to be Baptized, &c. Then signing again a Cross, with the Child it self before the doors of the Church, by various Forms of Words there, and within the Church, and all about it within, he declares it to be admitted or received into the Church. *Goar 325. T. p. 170.*

In the making of a Catechumen, or one to be Catechised before Baptism. The Priest thrice breaths upon his Face; and thrice Crosses him on the Forehead, and on the Breast; and lays his Hand upon his Head, saying, *In thy Name O Lord God of Truth, and of thy only begotten Son, and of thy Holy Ghost, I lay my Hand upon thy Servant, N. N. — Remove from him that old Error* (perhaps they may mean Original Sin, or his natural Condition, or the old Man) *and fill him with Faith in Thee, and with Hope and Charity; — Grant that he may walk in all thy Commandments; — Write him in the Boook of thy Life; &c.* Then follow several Exorcisms to conjure the Devil and all that belongs to Him out of him. Then the Priest breaths on his Mouth, his Forehead, and his Breast, saying thrice, *drive out of him every Evil and unclean Spirit, hid and nestling in his Heart.* Then he Names several of them, the Spirit of Error, of Wickedness, of Idolatry, of Covetousness, of Lying, of Uncleaness; — And make him a Rational Sheep of the Holy Flock, (or Fold,) of thy Christ; &c. Then follows a Solemn Stipulation between the Priest and the Catechumen; first, towards the West; *Dost thou renounce the Devil, &c. This is said thrice.* Then the Catechumen; or, (if he be a Barbarian or a Child,) his God-Father, Answers, *I renounce him;* and this Answer is thrice also made. Then the Priest bids him puff at him and spit at him; which accordingly is done. Then turning to the East; Question, *Art thou join'd to Christ?* Answer, *I am join'd;* this is also done thrice. *Dost thou believe in Him?* Answer, *I believe,* and so he repeats the whole Nicene Creed; This is done thrice, &c. At last the Priest Prays, — *Fill him with the Power of thy Holy Spirit to the Union of thy Christ.* Many remain'd Catechumens a great while before they were Baptized; and then the Office, by which they were made, I believe of old ended just after their Exorcism; for in an old MS. of mine, and in those mention'd by Goar, there is before the Prayer there following this Rubrick; *Εὐχὴ μετὰ τὸ ποιεῖν κατεχόμενον, A prayer after a Catechumen is made and is just that hour Baptized.* So that this Prayer and all that Stipulation following was to be made at the Baptism; and my MS. makes it out from *Euch. 116. G. 337. MS. F. 183. b. 339. c.*

T. p. 179. hence one continued Office to the end of the Anointing or Confirmation.

Euch. 118. G. 350. Their Baptism is briefly thus. Amongst the Suffrages this is one; *That this Water may be Sanctified by the Power and Activity of the Holy Spirit, and its descent upon it.* Then after a Prayer or two, he crosses the Water thrice, and Breaths upon it thrice; adding another Prayer against the Devil and all his Illusions, &c. Then he Breaths into the Vessel of Oyl thrice, and Crosses it thrice, and adds a Prayer to Bless and Sanctify it. Then

MS. F. 190. taking some of the Oyl out (with his Finger) he makes the sign of the Cross on the Person (to be Baptized) his Forehead, his Breast, and his

MS. F. 190. Back between his shoulders, (and on both his Ears,) saying, the Servant of God, N.N. is Anointed with the Oyl of Gladness, In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, and to Ages of Ages. Amen. Crossing the Breast he saith, for the Cure of Soul and Body; the Ears, for the hearing of Faith; the Feet, to walk in thy steps, or ways; the Hands, thy Hands have made me, and fashioned me.

MS. F. 190. All this shew that there was no set rule for the number of parts which were to be Anointed. (Then all his body is Anointed) or, when all his Body is A-

Euch. 122. nointed, the Priest holding him right up looking to the East, saith, the Servant of God N. N. is Baptized in the Name of the Father, Amen, and of

MS. F. 190. b. the Son, Amen, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen; My MS. leaves out all these Amens, and end the Form here; but the Euchologion adds, Now and for ever, and to Ages of Ages, Amen. After every Persons name in the Trinity, the Priest dives the Baptized Person in the Water and brings him up again; or as I have often seen it done, he sets the naked Child in a deep Dish, or Vessel of warm Water; and with his left hand holding it from falling a-

MS. F. 190. b. long, with his right Hand he pours or dashes the Water upon his Head thrice, saying, the same Form. (Then the Holy Unguent is set forth) afterwards the Baptized Person is dressed, and the Priest putting on him his out-

T. p. 180. ward Garments, say, the Servant of God N. N. is clothed with the Coat of Righteousness. Then a Prayer is made that God would bestow upon him, the Seal of the Gift of the Holy Ghost, and the partaking of the Holy Body and Precious Blood of Christ. For the better understanding of this, you must know that the Greeks give the Eucharist to sucking Children, after they are Baptized and Anointed, or Confirmed; either by giving them in a little Spoon some few of the Consecrated Crumbs (reserved for the Sick) moistened with a drop or two of Wine; or some of the Margaritæ out of the Cha-

Morin. Comm. P. 257. lice at the Synaxis, and thus hath been practised in the Latine Church. After this Prayer the Priest Anoints the Baptized with the Holy Chrism or Unguent, making the Sign of the Cross upon the Fore-head, the Eyes, the No-

MS. F. 191. strils, the Mouth, the two Ears, the Breast, the Hands, and the Feet, saying, the Seal of the Gift of the Holy Ghost, Amen. My MS. hath only this, and the Priest Anoints the Baptized crosswise every where, saying, the Seal, &c. And it is plain by this and the several Forms set down in Goar, that there was no set or constant Rule for the using of this Holy Unguent. The last

362. Form there is very remarkable. The Patriarch or Bishop goes out, and the Priest Anointeth the Baptized with the Holy Unguent, making the sign of the Cross first upon his Forehead, saying, the Seal of the Gift of the Holy Ghost; upon his Eyes, saying, the Anointing of the Gift of the Holy Ghost; upon the Nostrils, saying, the Anointing of the Earnest of the Holy Ghost; upon the Ears, saying, the Anointing of the Participation of Life Eternal; upon the Palms of the Hands, saying, the Anointing of the Holy Christ of God, and a Seal that cannot be counterfeit; upon the Heart, the completing of the Gift of the Holy Ghost, and the breast Plate of Faith and Truth.

MS. F. Give me leave but to add one Rite more, which follows in my MS. as part
Euch. 124. G. of this Office foregoing. Seven days after Baptism, the Person Baptized is
371. brought

brought to Church again to be washed; where, after two or three Prayers and some Ceremonies, the Priest sprinkles him with Water, saying, thou hast been Justified and Illuminated; And taking a new Sponge, he with Water wipes, or rather Washes, his Face, and his Head, and his Breast, and the rest, saying, thou hast been Baptized, Illuminated, Anointed with the Unguent, Sanctified and Wash'd, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, now and for ever and to Ages of Ages, Amen. T. p. 180.

Now if an express Command or Institution of Christ, be not absolutely necessary to the making of a true Evangelical Mystery or Sacrament; but that the sole Authority of even the whole Church, (that is of the chief Governors of it) nay, the meer Constitution of one particular Church (whether Eastern or Western) is sufficient to Create and Establish it, a Christian amongst the Greeks, must pass through many new Sacraments from his Birth to the end of his Washing after Baptism. At the giving to a Child his name there are three Signs of the Cross upon the three Principal parts of the Body, and there are three Correspondent Graces. The like is at his being brought again to the Church with his Mother; the Sign of the Cross (amongst other Graces,) quite drives away the Devil. But what shall we say of the making a Catechumen; there is plenty of Crossing; there is solemn Imposition of hands, In the name of the Trinity; there are the three Heavenly Graces particularly express'd, Faith, Hope, and Charity; there are several Powerfull Exorcisms made to deliver him from the Power of the Devil and from his Kingdom of Darknes. Now if that Office of old had ended there, (as is noted,) what is wanting in it to make it a Perfect Sacrament, but Christ's Institution? But if we take in what comes next, the Priests, breathing upon him, and the solemn Stipulation which follows, this makes it a plain Federal contract, and had it but the express Sanction of Christ upon it, it would be as true and compleat a Sacrament as Baptism it self. But if you make all this but only a Part, or as a Preface to the whole Office of Baptism, why may not this Part coming before, be more truly and properly called a Sacrament by it self, then the Unguent or pretended Confirmation which follows after it, without any such pompous Ceremonies or Religious Contract? The like must needs be said of the Anointing the several Parts with Oyl before Baptism, there is as solemn a Form of words in the name of the Trinity, as there is at the following Baptism; and the Grace is expressed with it, the Oyl of Gladness; and in Anointing and Crossing every Particular Part or Member, a particular Grace is also Signified. What shall I say of the Priest his putting on the (White) Garment upon the new Baptized Person, with this Grace there Signified, the Coat (or Cloathing) of Righteousness. T. p. 181.

But now let us consider the Form of Words by which this Confirming Sacrament or Mystery is pretended by the Greeks to be made. Anointing with Oyl and with Balsom too, was without all doubt a very antient Custom in the East upon many Occasions both Sacred and Prophane; But that it was a prescribed Rite by Christ, or any Apostolical or Divine Authority, I can no where find. And as for the Words now used by the Greeks, I first meet with them in the second general Council, that is, that at Constantinople, and the very same words are again repeated in the Council in Trullo. When Arians and some other sorts of Hereticks there mention'd, being rightly Baptized, return'd to the true Faith, the Council order'd them, not to be Rebaptized, but that they should be Anointed, τῷ ἁγίῳ μύρῳ, or with the Holy Unguent, (but said not whether it should be a Bishop or a Priest that should do it) on the Forehead, the Eyes, the Nostrils, the Mouth, and the Ears; And that they who Sign'd them, or Crossed them, should say, the Seal of the Gift of the Holy Ghost. This use, I suppose all Men must own, to be here a meer Ecclesiastical Rite, or Order of the Church; How came it then afterwards to be used to every one that was newly Baptized, but by only the same Authority? If it was truly a Sacrament before to be used Immediately after Baptism, How could the Church order it here to be done so long after it, and that to those whom they thought

Pf. 132. 9.

Can. 7.
Can. 95.

T. p. 181.

rightly Baptized; and by consequence who had received *this Sacrament* before, at their Baptism, according to this supposed *Evangelical Institution*? If it was not a *Sacrament* before, how came they afterwards to make that a *new Sacrament*, (always to attend *Immediately* on Baptism,) which was now only prescribed as a set Ceremony for the reception of those converted Hereticks? But how came we by so many *Forms of Words* at the Anointing of every particular Part? *The Seal of the Gift; The Anointing of the Gift; Of the Earnest of the Holy Ghost; Of the Participation of Life Eternal; Of the Holy Christ of God; &c.* Were all these *Forms* Instituted by Christ or Divine Authority? Goar confidently tells us, *that they are all the same thing in reallity*. But also, when he that is Baptized, is really Confirmed by the first Form, why should they repeat the *very same* again and again to confirm him over and over? The Greeks make *three Immersions* of the Baptized, but say the common Form but once; nay, Goar makes *all these Forms* the same even with the Latin Form, *I Sign thee with the Sign of the Cross &c. because, saith he, they have all the very same Sense and the very same Effect*; and quotes for it the *Mystical anointing* mention'd by St. Paul. Indeed for my part I could not before believe that the Church could so vary and multiply the *Form* or words of a *true Sacrament*; or that the Greeks might chuse one or more, and the Latins quite another Form, and other Churches others. At this rate, *I plunge thee over Head and Ears in the Water; I douse you from Head to Foot with Water; I thrust you Head-long into the Water; and any thing else like this in Sense, will serve (if Holy Church please) for as good a Form of Baptism, as, I Baptize thee &c. or, the Servant of God is Baptized &c. and repeating thrice would do as well or better, I plunge thee in the name of the Father; I plunge thee again in the name of the Son; and again in the name of the Holy Ghost.*

T. p. 181.
2 Cor. i. 21, 22.

The Latins to make out the Number of *Sacraments* amongst the Greeks just seven, pitcht upon *this Anointing* (because it is done after Baptism) and made it *Confirmation*; If I had been at their Consult, I would rather have said, *that the washing of the Baptized after the seventh day, was it; For there the whole Initiation of a Christian is compleated and finished by his Washing. He is Justified, Baptized, Illuminated, Anointed, Sanctified, and (in Confirmation of all these) Washed.*

366. 28. 368.
31.

Goar, when all is done, freely confesseth, *that some even Catholick Doctors, have in a manner rob'd the Greeks of this Sacrament, or have own'd rather that the Greeks have deprived themselves of it; and he hath muster'd up a-bundance of Authors both Antient and Modern, who have mention'd a Holy Unguent, and the Holy Effects which are said to follow it; but how doth this prove it to have been Instituted as a Sacrament, or Foederal Rite by Divine Authority? Nay, if I allow, that perhaps very Antiently this very Ceremony of Anointing with an Unguent was added to the Office of Baptism, (as the Stipulation and Anointing with Oyl, and the putting on of the White Coat, and the like were added likewise;) All this made it no more a distinct Sacrament, then it made those others so; and a Man might easily hook in, and plausibly expound places of Scripture, in behalf of those as well as of this.*

368.

It is pleasant to find Goar after all to content himself with what is said of the Metropolitane of Mitylene at the Council of Florence, *that he then fully satisfied the Latins and answer'd all their Objections about this Matter, κανονικως & νομιμως, Canonically, and according to Law; but what that Answer was, or could be, he fairly Confesseth with me, Ignoramus, we cannot tell; or we know nothing of it. For it is plain that this Anointing with the Unguent was first made by the Greeks only, as an appendent Rite to Baptism, and could add no more to the Baptized then the other Ceremonies above mention'd did; whereas the Confirmation, which is Practis'd in our Church, where little Babes and Infants are Baptized, (who enter into Christ's Covenant, by their*
Sureties,

Sureties, as the Jews did by Circumcision) is a most rational and convenient, as well as it is a most Antient, Ordinance to be observed, to the end that Children being now come to Years of Discretion might themselves, (as our Office declares,) with their own Mouth openly Ratify and Confirm, what at their Baptism was Stipulated and Promised by others in their Name; and might thereupon be blessed by the Bishop, and by his Prayers, and by the laying on of his Hands, be certified of God's Favour, and gracious Goodness towards them. This is far enough from being any new Evangelical Sacrament, It is only the Ratifying and Confirming now in Person, what was done before by Proxy; as a King by bedding his Bride when she is brought over to him, Confirms her being Married and Bedded before by his Ambassador; and this very thing the Latins, if Holy Church will but put a new Form of Words and Ceremonies to it, might make as good a New Matrimonial (and so a Sacramental) Confirmation, as they make the other a Baptismal one.

The next Mystery in *Dositheus* is *ἱερωσύνη*, Priesthood; taken in a large Sense, (according to *Gabr. Philadelph.* his Definition and his Distribution into seven several Degrees,) and including 1. Doorkeepers. 2. Exorcists. 3. Lectors or Readers. 4. Subdeacons. 5. Deacons. 6. Presbyters. 7. Bishops. About this there is such strange Variety and Confusion amongst both Greeks and Latins, as neither the one nor the other know what positively to determine about it. Those differ sufficiently from these, and both those and these differ as much amongst themselves. We hear nothing of the just seven Degrees of it amongst either of them, till *P. Lombard's* time, and he makes them just so many to answer the sevenfold Grace of the Spirit. *Greg. Hieromon.* a late Greek Author, saith, they were formerly seven, but the *πυλῶν*, *Ostiarj*, Doorkeepers, and the Exorcists, were quite laid aside by the Greek Church; and he (as all other Greeks do) leave out the *Acolythus*, and instead of it, makes the Bishop one of the other five now retained by them. But *Marinus* proves plainly that these three reputed inferior Orders were never owned or heard of by the Greeks as being Holy orders, (much less as Sacraments) even from the Apostles to this day. But before I go any farther, I cannot but wonder, that the Greeks should leave out (if ever they had them) the three last, *Ostiarj*, *Exorcista*, *Acolythus*, which the Latins keep in still; for if they were Sacraments, the Greek Church cannot answer their abolishing of them; if they are not Sacraments, the Latins cannot answer their keeping of them still in as such.

Priesthood, properly taken, is chiefly, if not solely insisted on, (by the Greeks especially) when Holy Orders are named as a Mystery. *Dositheus* cites for this, *Do this in Remembrance of me*; and, whose Sins ye remit or retain, they are remitted or retained; intimating the two Offices or Powers which belong only to a Priest, viz. Celebrating the Eucharist, and Censuring and Absolving Offenders. *Jeremias* the Patriarch, though he calls it indeed *ἡγιασμός*, Designation, or Imposition of hands, (as many other Greeks do) and seems at first to extend it *τοῖς ἀγιασμένοις τῷ θεῷ*, to all who are Consecrated to God by Designation, or Imposition of Hands, thereby including all the lower Orders retained, or not retained by the Greeks, where Stretching out, or Imposition of Hands is, or may be used; yet he afterwards plainly appropriates it to the Priesthood properly taken, and saith, nothing is Holy without a Priest, for the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven were given to the Apostles and their Successors being made Priests.

The Greeks late Confession in like manner makes only, *ἱερωσύνη*, Priesthood, properly taken, this Mystery or Sacrament; citing for it, Binding and Loosing, Preaching the Gospel and Baptizing, laying on of hands and giving the Holy Ghost, separating Barnabas and Saul; and like places relating only to the Apostolick and Priestly office, and concluding with, how shall they Preach except they be sent. These Greeks by this seem at once to exclude all other Degrees

T. p. 183.

Morin. Sacr. ord. part 2. p. 163, 164.

l. 4. dist. 24. A.

p. 137.

part 2. p. 205. 150. part 3. p. 188, 189.

p. 273. Luk. 22. 19. Joh. 20. 23.

Resp. 1. c. 7. p. 77.

p. 78. §. 3.

T. p. 184.

Ostod. 8. p. 128.

Mat. 18. 18.

19.

Act. 8. 17.

c. 13. 2.

Rom. 10. 15.

grees

T. p. 184. grees under *Priesthood* (or at least under *Deaconship*) from being included in this *Mystery*, or being any real *Mysteries* at all.

Next their *Euchologion* now in use, and their *Pontificals*, have no Forms prescribed for Creating of an *Ostiarus*, *Exorcista*, *Acolythus*; or do any where make them any Parts, or *Species* of this *Mystery*; and therefore it is most Evident that *Rome* and *Greece* are quite different in their accounts of these Degrees, especially about these Inferior ones. And the *Euchologion* plainly distinguishes between *Ἀναγνώστης* the *Reader*, and *ψάλτης* the *Singer*, and makes them two separate Offices; as P. Lombard, makes the *Singer* threefold, *Præcentor*, *Succentor*, *Concentor*; The Latins in their Pontifical jumble put both the *Reader* and *Singer* into one office in their *Exhortation*, but in the *Creation* take Notice of, and authorize only the *Reader*.

Next the Greeks constitute the *Reader* by *Imposition of Hands*, the Latins without it, and therefore the making of the *Latin Reader* is not, according to their Schools, a *Sacrament of Order*; for *Imposition of Hands* is made by them the very *Essential Matter* of it. And if only the *Book*, which is given to the *Reader* by the Latins, be the *Material cause*, of that *Sacrament*, it will justify that Party amongst them, who are for making the *delivery of the sensible Instruments* the only *Matter* of all these *Orders*, and not *Imposition of*

De Sac. Ord. l. 1. c. 9. p. 495. E. hands; For Bellarmine owns that the Latins cannot agree about this Point, what is the *Material or sensible Sign* in this *Sacrament*, whether *Imposition of Hands*, or the *delivery of the Instruments*; and at last approves of that Opinion as best, which makes *Imposition of Hands* the *Essential Matter* of this *Sacrament*, which is plainly contrary to P. Eugenius his Decree in the Council of Florence. Greg. Hierom. (a Modern well-wisher to the Latin Super-

T. 13. p. 538. E. Εὐνοφ. δογμ. ελθ. 139. p. 190. stitutions) saith expressly, that the *Material Cause* of this *Sacrament*, is not the *Holy Bread*, (delivered) or the *Instruments or Signs* of the Office, but, ἡ λογικὴ ψυχὴ τῷ χειροτονούμενῳ, the *Rational Soul* of him that is Ordain'd, for it is that which receives the *Divine Grace*, which is the *formal Cause*; or as he saith a little farther, the *sensible Sign* is, ὁ χειροτονούμενος, the *Person himself* who is Ordain'd; and yet this Greek Author is applauded by G. Coresius as a most Orthodox defender of the Truth.

T. 12. 1152. E. Again, Joan. de Ragusio at the Council of Basil confesseth freely, that about the *Sacrament of Orders* the later Church hath made her additions; for the *Primitive one* had but only two *Orders*, that of *Deacon*, and that of *Priest*. And the Master of the Sentences saith the very same thing, and positively asserts that the *Subdeacon* and *Acolythus* were meer Ecclesiastical con-

l. 4. dist. 24. § 1. T. p. 185. De Sac. Ord. l. 1. c. 5. De Clericis l. 1. c. 14. stitutions of later date; and so by the same reason were all the other pretended inferior Degrees. And Bellarmine reckons up seven *Holy Orders* besides the *Bishop*, and makes a *Priest* two-fold; the *Greater*, which is the *Bishop*; and the *Lesser*, which is the *plain Priest*; and yet afterwards he is forced to own, that a *Bishop* is not only a distinct, but a much superior Order, though he was very loath thereby to break the *Mystical number* of Seven, and make it Eight. He saith, he made them one Order in respect of that wonderfull Privilege, of *Consecrating the Host* in the *Sacrament* of the Lord's Supper; but he vindicates the *Bishop* strenuously as to his sole *Power of Ordination*, and his *Jurisdiction* which gives him a far Superior *Excellency*, *Authority*, and *Degree* (for otherwise the *Pope himself* might have been levelled with a common *Priest*) and therefore at last he quietly drops the Dispute whether *Episcopacy* and *Presbytery* are one Order or *Sacrament*, or two.

Ibid. H. c. 4. T. 2. p. 1200. Again, the Roman Pontifical (out of the fourth Council of Carthage) plainly makes a *Deacon* only but a meer *Ministerial function*, and not any lower Degree of *Priesthood*, (much less a *Sacrament*) The *Bishop*, saith he, alone lays his hand upon every *Deacon* (at his *Creation*) quia non ad Sacerdotium sed ad Ministerium consecratur, because he is not *Consecrated to Priesthood*, but to *Minister*, or *Serve*; and therefore the *Deaconship* cannot be τὰς τῆς ἱερωσύνης

ἱερωσύνη, an inferior Degree of the Greeks Priesthood strictly spoken, but rather the Deacon is but as a Servant to the Priest. T. p. 185.

Again the Duty of Preaching or Teaching is undoubtedly as much the Office of a Priest, as the Celebrating of the Eucharist is; and yet in the Roman Pontifical the Priest hath no such Power or Authority given him to Preach. And at that Form where he is authorized to say Mass, there is no Imposition of Hands, but only the delivery of the Chalice with Wine and Water, and the Patine with the Host; and at the Form for Binding and Loosing, there is only Imposition of Hands, no delivery of any thing; and a Casack or Garment is afterwards put on him; so that here are either two Sacraments in one Order, the first by delivering the Instruments, the next by Imposition of Hands; or one Sacrament by halves or by piecemeal, if both these jointly are the Material Cause of it. Mat. 28. 19.

Again, Goar, who is Zealous enough and desirous every where to make the Greeks and Latins in all things appear both of one Mind, is forced by plain Truth to declare as to this Point, that although the Greeks might perhaps of old have had such inferior Offices amongst them, as the Ostiarius, Exorcist, Acolythus, as well as many others, yet none can defend or prove that they were lookt upon by them either as Sacraments or Orders Instituted by Christ; And he there largely defends this. His Opinion, though (as his manner is) he would fain shuffle it off, and palliate it at last by what he saith two Reverend Greeks of his acquaintance told him; That the Greek Church hath still the very same number of Orders as the Latins have, because the Ostiarius, and Exorcist, and Acolythus, are all included in their Ἀναγνώστης, or Reader, by Accumulation; for so saith he, he is indeed at once Ordain'd all these four Officers together, which thus are now in one. P. 238. 239. T. p. 186.

ἱερωσύνη in a large Sense, as is said, may signify all that are Dedicated to sacred Offices, as I have noted much the same of *χρηστία*, Designation (by lifting up or stretching out the hands) or Imposition of Hands. And the Greeks late Confession makes not only the Reader, and Singer, and Subdeacon, but *λαμπάδριοι*, Him, that take care of the Lamps, (as also others, who take care of the Utensels, and Ornaments of the Church,) Inferior Degrees. They might as well have added, *δρακόντες*, the Vergers, *κηροφόροι*, the taper bearers in Processions; for making of which there is a set Form set down in Goar and Morinus. Their Lamps are flat open Glass Vials in which they fix, (with Wiers and a little piece of Cork,) the Snuff so as it will burn a long time together safely; these are hang'd up in several places, especially before the Virgin Mary, and other Saints Pictures, in Monasteries and Churches; and the *Lampadarius* his Office is to look after them; there are also *καυδολάπται* Lighters and Trimmers of the Candles, and many many more such low Officers, (as well as higher, mention'd by Morinus,) which may as well be called Holy Orders as the rest above mention'd; and Goar gives us this one short Form for making of them all; (and the very same words are used in making a Deacon, and Priest, as will appear bye and bye;) The Grace of the Holy Spirit Promotes or Constitutes thee, this or that Officer; and a little after he tells us a great Truth, that (as the Latins wrangle about the delivery of the Instruments, and Imposition of Hands, so) the Greeks as eagerly dispute, whether the signing of the Cross upon him that is Ordain'd, or the Imposition of Hands with them is the Material Cause of each respective Order; and he gives us an account of the Arguments of both sides. 237. Comment. part 2. p. 66. 95. Vid. hic p. 348. 130. 131. part 3. p. 193. 240. a. Vid. inf. p. 197. 242. d.

But he that desires more of this confused Scholastical stuff, and the various Conceits and Speculations of vain Men about these Orders, may consult the elaborate Morinus, who will acquaint him largely with the several Disputes and different Opinions of the Schoolmen about them, and their fruitless Attempts to reconcile the Greeks Rituals and Ordinations to the present Roman Pontificate. I will here add no more but what the great Bellarmine saith himself; reckoning up his seven Orders, Doorkeepers, Readers, Exorcists, Acolythy, Sub. De Sacr. Ord. l. i. c. 5.

T. p. 186. *Subdeacons, Deacons, Priests*, (which, as is said, he makes twofold; and
 Ut sup. c. 2. thence, as *Morinus* tells us, some Schoolmen make eight Orders; others ad-
 §. 7. ding *meer Clerks*, (for those who are first initiated by shaving *the Crown*)
 do so make them nine; Others add *the Singers*, and thus make them ten;
 Ex his, convenit inter omnes, Catholicos, ordinem Presbyterorum, esse verè
 ac propriè Sacramentum; de aliis non omnino convenit; Of these it
 is agreed by all Catholics that the Order of Priests is truly and pro-
 perly a Sacrament; about the others they do not at all agree. Therefore
 let us now see whether Priesthood it self be a true Sacrament or Mystery
 or only a sacred Evangelical Office, or Ministration.

First the Definitions of a Sacrament or Mystery, above given both by
 P. 176. Q. Greeks and Latins, plainly exclude Priesthood from being such a one; be-
 cause it wants the grand Characteristick, God's own Institution of any out-
 ward visible Sign, or sensible Thing; as also his expresse Promise of any
 peculiar saving Grace annexed unto it, for the Schoolmen (as in *Morinus*)
 T. p. 187. and *Bellarmino* himself truly confesses, that they cannot shew any external
 part 3. p. 5. Symbol of Orders appointed in Scripture, or that Christ any where ex-
 §. 11. p. 7. pressly commanded that Ministers should be Ordain'd by Imposition of Hands.
 De Sacr. Ord. Neither can it be any way proved that he himself Ordain'd either the Apo-
 l. i. c. 2. p. 491. c. c. 9. stles, or the Seventy, by laying his hands upon them. He breathed upon his
 p. 495. b. Apostles indeed, as the Maronites do still, but neither Greeks nor Latins ever
 Mat. 10. used that Rite, neither are they any where commanded so to do; for his ex-
 Luke 10. ample in this without his command, have been hitherto counted no warrant
 John 20. to them to do the like. And as there is in Ordination no outward Symbol in-
 Morin. part 2. stituted or commanded by Christ, so there is no particular saving Grace any
 P. 343. 350. where expressly promised to it.

Bellarmino endeavouring to Collect and Evince the Contrary from Scripture,
 De Sacr. Ord. depends entirely upon those words of St. Paul to Timothy; Neglect not the
 l. i. c. 2. p. 491. c. 1 Tim. 4. 14. (χάρισμα donum, vulg. lat. Gratia) Gift, or Grace or Office, that is in thee,
 2. Tim. 1. 6. which was given thee by Prophecy, with the laying on of the Hands of the
 Presbytery; and again, stir up the Gifts, or Grace or Office, of God which
 is in thee, by the putting on of my Hands; here is, saith he, Grace, or a
 Gift, plainly tied to Imposition of Hands; but no Man can tie Grace to a
 Sign of meer human, or Mans, Invention; therefore Imposition of Hands,
 though not expressly commanded by Christ, is certainly imply'd as Ordain'd
 by him, for an outward Symbol, and Grace is also tied to it by him.

To clear this Point I must note, that in Ordaining of Bishops Priests and Dea-
 cons according to St. Paul's own Instructions there ought to be first, ἐπίσκεψις,
 1 Tim. 3. a strict Examination, and carefull Enquiry made, and due Consideration
 had of the Qualifications of the Person to be Ordained; and that Hands
 1 Tim. 5. 22. should be laid suddenly on no Man; that no Novice (or one that was not well
 known and approved) should be Ordain'd. Next there is to be an expresse Mis-
 sion, or manifest Authority given him, which Gift is his Ordination; for every
 one that hath the Qualifications of a Minister or Teacher or Pastor, must have
 also Authority to Preach or Minister either immediately from God (as the Pro-
 phets and Christ himself had,) or mediately from him, by such Men who have
 received such Authority (and Power of Communicating it to others) from him,
 according to his own appointment. How shall they Preach, saith the
 Rom. 10. 15. Apostle, except they be sent? And the Jews with good reason asked
 Mat. 21. 23. Christ, as he was Teaching in the Temple, by what Authority he did
 those things.

Now Timothy's Qualifications were sufficiently known to St. Paul before he
 Ordain'd him; Timothy had known the Holy Scriptures from a Child; and
 2 Tim. 3. 14. 15. had been St. Paul's Scholar, who also knew the unfeigned Faith that was in
 12 Tim. 5. him before his Ordination; for it was the very same which dwelt in his Grand-
 mother Lois, and in his Mother Eunice; And it was revealed to him by
 Prophecies which went before of Timothy, that he should have, τὰς τῶν
 πατρ-

παράγγελίαν, *this charge or command committed to him* (there is the χάρισμα, *Gift or Commission*;) *that according to the Prophecies which went before of him, he should War a good Warfare; that is, he should be made a Commission Officer, (as we speak,) or a chief Commander in Christ's Army, which is his Church. And therefore for Timothy's Mission, there is no doubt but St. Paul had either the Gift of Discerning of Spirits, or such an Inspiration or Impulse of the Spirit to make him give it him, as those had who separated Him and Barnabas; and therefore the putting of Paul's hands, and the laying of the Hands of the Presbytery upon Timothy, added no new Grace properly so called, but only gave him Commission and Authority to exercise and employ those Extraordinary Graces, which he had so signally and plentifully before to capacitate him for this Ministry.*

St. Paul himself teaches us this Interpretation most plainly in what he saith to the Romans; *Having then Gifts (χάρισματα vulg. lat. Donationes,) Offices, Employments, Functions, differing according to (χάρις) the Grace that is given us; according to our several spiritual Abilities and Qualifications.* He manifestly distinguishes between χάρισμα and χάρις *Gift and Grace; making the first the Office or Charge, and the next the Inward Qualification or Capacity to execute it, as there we have many Instances; The (χάρισμα) Office of a Prophet or expounder of the Scripture; of a Deacon or Minister; of a Doctor or Teacher; of an Exhorter or Practical Perswader; of a Distributer of the Churches Money or an Almoner; of a Ruler or Governor, or rather (προϊστάμενος) a Bishop; of an Overseer for the Poor or Afflicted. All these are (χάρισματα) several Offices or Charges, and they were to be executed (κατὰ τὴν χάρις) according to the peculiar Grace or Ability, which God had severally given to every one of them.*

Therefore the meaning of these words, *neglect not the Gift or Grace, that is in Thee; stir up the Gift of God which is in Thee, by the Imposition of Hands; is no more but this, (as the following verses in both places explain them) be diligent in the Office and Charge which I have committed to Thee; Meditate, constantly think of it; make it your whole business; stir up that Authority which God, by me and by the Presbytery, hath given Thee; take Courage and manfully execute it; For God hath not given us the Spirit of Fear, or Cowardice; but of Power and Authority; Therefore be not ashamed of bearing Witness to the Lord by thy Ministry; Or as it is in another place, thou, O Man of God, now made a Bishop or Christian Champion in chief, Fight the good Fight of Faith, play the good Prize; in all your Christian Combats and Contests, quit your self like a Man of God; be Hardy and Stout as a good Soldier of Jesus Christ.*

And this Encouragement was very proper and very necessary when St. Paul Ordain'd him, considering that Timothy was but a young Man, and what a weighty and difficult Office was confer'd upon him. The substance of both Epistles to him, is as it were one platform of his *Credentials and Instructions.* He was particularly to govern the Presbyters under him; to receive their Appeals and Judge over them; *He was indeed not hastily to receive an Accusation against any of them, unless upon very good and legal proof; but he was publickly and sharply to rebuke them upon their Conviction, that others might fear.* Nay, He was twice most solemnly charged and conjur'd before God and the Lord Jesus Christ and the elect Angels to do all this, without Favour or Affection, without preferring one before another, doing nothing by Partiality, or respect of Persons. Moreover Timothy was forwarn'd that many seducing Spirits and Doctrins of Devils would arise; nay, many false Teachers even then were crept into the Church, who had made shipwrack of their Faith, and had turn'd away themselves and others from St. Paul's Doctrine and Society; whose words did Eat like a Gangreen. A young Man, who was to Govern all Persons, Ages, Sexes, and Conditions in that Church, and to encounter all Opposers whatsoever, was very properly and seasonably

T. p. 189. *Advised and Conjur'd to execute his Office with undaunted Courage, Resolution, and Constancy.* But I do not find that *this Courage* was any ways tied as a *Grace to the Imposition of Hands*, but was meer matter of Advice and Precept. Timothy's case was exactly the same with Joshua's; There was the Spirit of Wisdom in him first, and therefore God commanded Moses to lay his Hands upon him, and give him a Charge in the sight of all the People; that is, Give him his Commission to be their General after him; and it is emphatically express'd by putting his Honour, or Splendour, or Glory, that is, his Authority upon him; I know that this whole Matter is thus succinctly recorded in another place, Joshua was full of the Spirit of Wisdom, for Moses had laid, or join'd, his Hands upon him; as if that Spirit had been then given by Imposition of Hands, or, in Bellarmine's Sense, tied as the inward Grace to that outward Sign; but it is most evident by the former place that Joshua had that Spirit before, which had qualified and fitted him for that great Office, and all that Moses gave him, by laying on his Hands, was only the Office, or Honour, or Authority it self.

Morin. Sac. Or. part 3. p. 110. 4. The use, of laying on of the Hand or Hands, was an antient and solemn Ceremony used to many purposes both by Gentiles and Jews. In one of the ways of Manumission, or freeing a Slave amongst the old Romans, the Master laid his right Hand on his Head. And the Augur, in Livy, created, or, if you will allow it, Ordain'd Numa Pompilius King, laying his right Hand upon him and making a Prayer. And we find in general a kind of Religion or extraordinary Reverence placed by the Heathens in the right Hand. But without doubt Christians took up this Ceremony from the Jews, by whom it was used upon many serious occasions; besides what is already mention'd of Moses to Joshua. The right Hand was laid upon the Head of the Offerings, by the Offerer; and the Hands of all the Congregation were laid upon the Levites, and this signified that both Offerings and Levites, were Devoted or Consecrated to God. Aaron's hands were put upon the scape Goat, as if all the Sins of the People were thereby transferred upon it. The Witnesses laid their Hands upon the Head of the Curser or Blasphemer, (as our Witnesses lay their Hands on the Bible,) as a solemn asseveration or Profession of the Truth. Elisha made it a Prophetical Ceremony, when he and King Joash laid their Hands on the Bow in token of the following deliverance from Syria. Jacob blessing the Sons of Joseph laid his Hands upon them, and perhaps thence Christ himself used the same antient Rite in Blessing the Children which were brought unto him, that he might lay his Hands on them and Pray; And all pious Fathers both Spiritual and Carnal to this very day Bless their Children after this same Antient manner; and really as it is a very decent Custom, so it seems to me in a manner a very natural thing for Grave or Aged Men to cheer up and encourage hopeful Youths or Children, by laying their Hands on their Heads or stroaking them; And Christ himself used it in all Miraculous Cures, as St. Paul also did.

T. p. 190. Luke 4. 40. Acts 28. 8. But in all these Instances, (except these only expressly commanded by God in the Law to Moses) the use of the Hand, or the laying of it on, is plainly a Human Rite, or Custom taken up by Men; and where it is not appointed by a positive Law of God, it is barely in it self as meer a Civil Ceremony or Invention, or at most as plain an Ecclesiastical Practice, or Fashion, as the Latin Bishops ticking the Cheek of those which he Confirms, is, which I have mention'd before. And if the Catholick Church had thought it fitting, it might have made shaking of Hands, (as we say,) or giving the right Hand of Fellowship, as proper a Material Cause of Ordination, and the inward Consent or Mutual Agreement, a formal Cause or the Grace signified, as it was once in that Ordination, or joint Mission, or rather Commission, for James, Cephas, and John to go Preach to the Jews, and Paul and Barnabas to the Gentiles; They gave the right Hand of Fellowship, or Society or Communication, which (they being all equally Apostles, and having equal Power of Mission) seems to be as plain a new Mission, or separate Commission, by joining of Hands, as the first separation of Paul and Barnabas was, by laying them on.

p. 178.

Gal. 2. 9.

Acts 13. 2. 3.

on. And several of our present Sectaries Ordain, or the Congregations receive, their Teachers by this Ceremony, of giving the right Hand of Fellowship, and some have boasted to me, that it was the true Primitive way. The Greeks might have better justified their five Orders, and the Latins might have as well defended their Ten, (which I have mention'd) if they had made the Signing of the Cross, their Material Cause or Visible Sign in Ordination; for that is more general then the Imposition of Hands; The Greeks repeat it in all their Orders. And Symeon Thessalonic. saith, that (in his time) in the Ordination of a Deacon, and of a Priest, and of a Bishop, they were each of them Crossed thrice together in Honour of the Trinity; and that this tripple Crossing was repeated in three several places of the Office of their Ordination, (whereas it is now but twice;) and that then after the third repetition (and so by Consequence not till then,) they were, ὁλοτελῶς, entirely, or compleatly Consecrated and Created, or made. And there was, and is a dispute amongst some of the Greeks, whether this tripple Crossing was not the only true outward Sign, at least in all the inferior Orders; and the Latins use it in the Benediction of all theirs, from the very Clerks, to the Bishops; and that might have been called purely an Evangelical or Christian Rite, whereas Imposition of Hands was an old Jewish or legal Ceremony; and much the same thing may be said for kneeling (as Morinus well hints) which is constantly used; as also for the mutual Salvation used especially in the higher Ordinations. Nay, if these great Churches yet want a Sacrament, I will humbly present them with the ἅγιον φιλῆμα the Holy Kiss, it is certainly as Apostolical a Sacrament, as Anointing and Praying over the Sick, which is only join'd by St. James, and can by him no more there be meant as a Sacrament, properly taken, then Praying in Affliction, or Singing Psalms in Mirth; for both which any one may easily find an outward sensible Sign and an inward correspondent Grace. But those three are only occasional, whereas the Holy Kiss was to be of Constant and Universal use. The great Apostle of the Gentiles again and again solemnly enjoins it, Ἀσπάσατε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ ὡς τὸ ἀδελφὸς πάντας, Salute, or Greet, ye one another with a Holy Kiss. Greet all the Brethren, all Christian Believers, with an Holy Kiss. And the Apostle of the Circumcision, that very Prince of the Apostles, commands the very same thing, Greet ye one another ἐν φιλήματι ἀγάπης with a Kiss of Charity; These commands are to all Christians, whether of Jewish or Gentile extraction, whether Bond or Free; and there is a plain outward Sign, and the inward Grace, Brotherly Love and perfect Charity; and it is sufficiently known what Glory this Apostolical Sacrament, or Holy Rite every where gain'd to the Primitive Christians even to the Admiration as well as to the envy of the Unbelievers, see, said they of the Christians, how they Love one another. And a Kiss of Love and Friendship was ever an Universal compliment throughout the whole World, as I could easily shew at large in Heathen Authors as well as in the old and new Testament, whereas Imposition of Hands was but rarely and only upon some particular occasions used. There is a shadow of the Holy Kiss yet left amongst the Greeks; on Easterday (and so on till Whitsunday,) one meeting another they Embrace one another, and one join mutually the side of the Mouth or Cheek to the other, and say, χριστὸς ἀνέστη, Christ is risen; the other answers ἀληθῶς ἀνέστη, verily he is risen; And since the Resurrection of Christ is the Miracle of Miracles, and the main Pillar of our Christian Faith and Hope, I am much perswaded that this might be the very manner and way of giving the Holy Kiss amongst the Primitive Christians.

But I return to the Imposition of Hands, which in the Ordination of a Priest is thrice repeated by the Latins, and at least twice by the Greeks. Now I would fain know which of all these Impositions makes the Ordination a Sacrament. You will find in Morinus how the Schoolmen have wrangled about this matter; and that the greatest part of them now quite explode all these Impositions;

T. p. 190.

De Sacr. Ord.
Nat. c. 4. apud
Morin. p. 141.Goar p. 242.
§. 10.part 3. 104.
§. viij.

Jam. 5. 14

and 13.

Rom. 16. 16.
1 Cor. 16. 20.
1 Thes. 5. 26.

1 Pet. 5. 14.

T. p. 191.

Pontific. Rom.
Euchol p. 100.Comment. p. 3.
Exercit. 7. c. 1.
p. 103. §. 5.

T. p. 191. *position; and make the delivery of the Patin and Chalice the sensible Sign, and by those words (I suppose they would express the Spiritual part,) take thou Power to offer Sacrifice to God, and to celebrate Masses, as well for the Living as for the Dead, in the name of the Lord, Amen. And they may reckon their Anointing of the Ordain'd, as a sensible Sign too, if they please; which, (by the Consecration of a Bishop, I believe,) was brought in to express Materially what at first they only pray'd for Spiritually; for in the oldest Ritual that ever Morinus saw, in the Consecration of a Bishop were formerly these words amongst others in a plain Spiritual sense; Compleat O Lord, in sacerdotibus tuis, in thy Priests, or, in sacerdote tuo, in thy Priest, the summ of thy Mystery, and Sanctify him, being furnished with the Ornaments of the whole Glorification, with the Flower of the Heavenly Ointment. Let it, O Lord, plentifully flow upon their, or his Head; Let it run down upon what is under the Mouth; (I suppose they mean the Beard) Let it descend to the Extremities of the whole Body; that the Virtue of thy Spirit, may both fill his Inwards and quite cover his Outwards, &c. These words were certainly used at first as a solemn Prayer continued; but in following times the Person Ordain'd was Cross'd at the words here markt with a Cross; as appears from the old Rituals their set down by Morinus; and at last after those words, with the Flower of the Heavenly Ointment, the Bishops were Anointed with Material Chrism, as the Custom is at this day. Morinus Learnedly maintains this true Opinion (against all the other Latin Doctors and Schoolmen,) That the true Primitive Ordination was made only by one Imposition of Hands and Prayer for the Person Ordain'd; and therefore in the making of a Priest he allows only that Imposition where the Bishop and Presbytery hold their Hands on the Head of the Ordained with Prayers for them; and he most evidently proves, that both the delivery of the Instruments with the words annex to it, and that other Imposition of Hands with that Form, Receive the Holy Ghost, were never yet known to, or practised by, the Greeks; and that even the Latins themselves never used the first of these for at least 900 Years; or the second till 1200 Years after Christ. And as much may be as plainly proved against the use of their Chrism or Anointing.*

But although the use of that latter Form, *receive the Holy Ghost*, and with it, *Imposition of Hands*, is of so Modern a Date; yet our Church hath thought fit to retain it at our Ordinations; the words being a most solemn Recommendation of the Persons Ordain'd, to that Grace and Guidance of the Holy Spirit, in the whole performance of their Duty, which before was pray'd for more at large. I know there are some (*νοστήτες περί ζήτησεως*) of St. Paul's, *squemish scrupulous disputers*, who Cavil at the Expression, as if our Bishops by saying, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, did arrogate to themselves thereby, the Power of giving the Holy Spirit, which is the Gift of God alone; whereas the words here are (*Oblative and not Imperative*) a Holy Wish, and not a Command; As if it was said, *the Holy Ghost now fit thee for this Office, or may the Holy Ghost fit thee*. So in those Latin Phrases, *Recipé animum*, or if I should say, *recepit mentem*, in English word for word it would be, *receive Courage, or he received his Mind*, but no more is meant by the first, then may you have Courage, or by the second, *he came to himself*. So *Salve, Vate*, in bare English would be, *be you Safe, be you Strong or Healthful*; but when we salute any one with these words, we cannot mean, that we can give him either Safety, or Strength, or Health; and therefore in pure English we commonly express our meaning, *Salve, God save you; or God speed; Vale, God be with you, Adieu*; So *habe animum*, word for word, *have Courage*, but we commonly say, *take Courage*, that is, *cheer up*; not that we pretend to give Courage or Chearfulness. Nay, even in these (sometimes jocular) expressions, *Jubeo te salvere, Jubeo te animum habere*, I bid you God speed, I bid you, Courage, that is, *have Courage*; we cannot mean, *Authoritative*, that

part 2. p. 212.
p. 216.

p. 222. 227.

Pl. 133. 2.

Pontific. Rom.

Comm. part 3.

Exerc. 7. c. 1.

§ 8. c. 2. § 2.

c. 5. § 2.

T. p. 192.

In the Hymns

and Prayers.

1 Tim. 6. 4.

Acts 8. 20.

Vid. Orat. Joh.

de Rugus. Lab.

T. conc. 12.

p. 1120. c. d.

2 Joh. 10.

that we command them to take Help, or Speed, or Courage as our Gift; but we hereby familiarly wish it, or pray for it to them from God. And hence we are forbidden by St. John, to bid God speed to false Teachers, least we thereby should be partakers of their evil Deeds; by thus *Wishing or Praying* that God should prosper them. So then by this Phrase, *receive the Holy Ghost*, is intended no more then this, *may the Holy Ghost come upon thee; may you receive the Holy Spirit; or the Communion of the Holy Ghost*; as in that blessed Form, *the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Love of God, &c.* We pray, or wish, not command.

Now for the Greeks present Ordinations, nothing can be more Evident then that they also are quite changed from what they themselves own to have been truly Primitive. They all hold Clements Constitutions in very great Esteem and Veneration; and Morinus (who is no very partial Critick) gives them this Authority as to tell us, *that the Antient Discipline by which the Eastern Church was Govern'd before Constantine's time is there to be found.* I will begin then with them, they being confessedly the antientest Account of these Matters, which we any where can meet withall. There for a Bishop we have first a very strict enquiry made before all the Bishops and Presbyters, and all the People met together, whether the Man that they desire to have, be every way a worthy Person and fully fit for that great and illustrious Office. When after three such Scrutinies the whole assembly (perhaps by some Sign, as *Χεγο-τωία* by stretching out the hand or the like) have given their assent, the first Bishop, with two others standing at the Altar, (the other Bishops and Presbyters praying to themselves, and the Deacons holding the Gospels open upon the Candidates Head) makes only one prayer for him; without any Crossing or Imposition of Hands. Then one of the Bishops gives the Communion to the new Ordained, and after that he is enthroned with a general Salute, and there's an end of the whole Ceremony. Now if, *ἐπίσκηψις*, this solemn enquiry and publick Election was Apostolical, and absolutely necessary to make this Ordination valid (and much more to make it a Sacrament,) few Bishops have been rightly made by them ever since. If Imposition of Hands, or the tripple Crossing were absolutely necessary, no Bishops were ever truly made, or could be made, by this plain Constitution. If the Gospels were necessarily to be laid upon the new Bishops Head, there were no Bishops truly made before the Canon of Scripture was finished, or at least before the Gospels were brought together and put into it; and thus Timothy and Titus would not have been Canonical Bishops. Therefore by these Constitutions Consecration of a Bishop, by Prayer only, was necessary, sufficient, and truly Primitive; all the rest are accidental, and meer Ceremonies afterwards contrived by succeeding Governors. By these Constitutions, for a Priest, the Bishop only laid his Hand upon Him, and made one Prayer for him, the other Priests and Deacons standing by. So in like manner he made a Deacon, only by one Prayer, and Imposition of Hands, the other Priests and Deacons standing by; and just so also a Deaconess in presence of the Priests, and Deaconesses. Next I will shew you the Rites of Ordination, which were amongst them before the Council of Chalcedon, as we have them set down in the Book which bears the name of Dionysius the Areopagite; the Author of which the Learned Morinus places about the beginning of the first Century; and shews that although this Author at first was scrupled by some, yet at last he found a universal approbation amongst both Latins and Greeks; and to my knowledge his Authority is very great amongst the latter to this very day; they in all Discourses supporting both Hierarchies chiefly by it. There we find a Bishop Consecrated *ἐπιχρίσσει* by Invocations, or Prayers, he kneeling on both his Knees before the Altar, and having the Scriptures, and the Archbishops Hand upon his Head. A Priest is Consecrated, kneeling on both his Knees before the Altar, having the Bishop's right Hand upon his Head, and his Holy Prayers, *ὁ λειτουργός*, a Minister, or Deacon, kneeling with one Knee before the Altar, and having the Bishop's right hand upon his Head, is Consecrated by him with such Prayers as are proper for the

T. p. 192.

Ut supra.

De Sac. Ordin. part 2. p. 18. §. 5.

1. 8. c. 4. & Morin. part 2. p. 215. 219 &c.

c. 16.

c. 17.

part 2. p. 42.

§. 12.

part 2. p. 25.

§. 11, 12.

T. p. 193.

Eccles. Hierar. c. 5. p. 363.

T. p. 193. *the Consecration of Deacons; every one of these is Crossed by the Bishop, and bath his (name and) Office declared (or perhaps is pronounced, ἀξιό- Habert. 177. p. 366. Worthly) for, for ought I know, that may be, ἀνάρρησις, the Promulgation Acts 1. 26. which Dionysius means,) and every one of them is saluted by the Bishop Mor. ex Clem. part 2. p. 18. and all the rest of the Clergy. And this Salutation is called τελειωτικὸς ἀσπασ- ex Allat. p. 89. 91. 61. μος, the consummating Salutation, as if the Consecration was not compleat Sim. Theff. ib. p. 113. without it. So that in all these Orders it is required, first in Common, 1. That every one of them should be Consecrated at the Altar. 2. Kneel. 3. Have the Bishops hands laid on them; 4. Be Crossed; 5. Pronounced (worthy or) of this or that Degree. 6. Consummated with a Salute. Next it is peculiar or proper to a Bishop to have the Gospels on his Head; To a Priest to kneel on both his Knees; To a Minister, or Deacon, to kneel with one Knee. Now I believe both Latins and Greeks will be shrewdly put to it to tell me which of the six common Signs, or which of the three peculiar ones (since all are sensible Signs, and all of them, except one, Visible,) is the true Matter (as the Schoolmen speak) which makes Ordination a Sacrament or Covenant; not one of them being any where appointed by Christ or any of his Apostles (for the Holy Salutation was enjoined as a common Duty, or, if you please, a mutual Sacrament to be performed by every one, and it was a Common Practice as is abovesaid) and yet this Author makes all those six common Signs alike necessary; as also the three peculiar ones following; and he gives in like manner to them all a peculiar or singular Mystical meaning or end. And Symeon Thessalonic. is Zealously asserting the same thing; for speaking of Luc. 7. 45. & 22. 47. a Deacon, he saith, the Bishop pronouncing this, the Divine Grace promotes N. N. into a Deacon, (which is done before any Hands are laid upon him) gives him, τὸ χάρισμα, the Grace, or Office, and the Ordained Immediately receives the Deaconship;—for then from a Subdeacon he is made a Deacon; yet nevertheless, saith he, he still wants the remaining Ceremony of the Bishop's Prayers and all things else prescribed; for it is not enough only to say, N. N. is promoted into a Deacon or into any other Degree, but with this, (the Deacon) ought to lean his Head on the Altar (there is a seventh Sign for you,) and kneeling have the Bishop's Hands laid on, and the Prescribed Prayers and Petitions must be said, and he must be Crossed, and proclaimed Worthly, and the Holy Salutation must be made; πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα, for all these things Perfect or compleat the Ordained, and all must be done, seeing it is thus in all the rest of the Mysteries, that all things must be done which are appointed and nothing omitted. And Goar seems to p. 256. §. 7. make the Crossing more absolutely necessary than any of the rest of the Signs. And I have above render'd χάρισμα Office; for if these solemn Words do then give real Grace, why do they pray for it afterwards; And Symeon Thessalonic. Mor. c. 5. p. 17. T. p. 194. himself plainly acknowledges the same thing, that the Bishop's Hands is, ἡ τῆς δωρεᾶς μεταδοτικὴ τῆς θείας ἱερωσύνης, that which gives the Priesthood, or Communicates that Office to a Presbyter, but he thereby gives him not the Grace of the Holy Ghost, for he prays for that to come from another Hand. So that Bellarmine and he seems to be clearly of two different Sentiments; the first saith, Grace is tied to the Imposition of Hands, the latter, most truly, that only the Office is annexed to the Bishop's hand, but Grace must be expected and therefore pray'd for, from above.*

Now let us take a short view of their present Ordinations. A Deacon is Euchol. p. 97. brought by two Deacons to the Bishop before the Altar, and first his Head Goar p. 294. is Cross'd by him three times; then changing his Habit, he leans his forehead upon the Holy Table, and kneels only on his right Knee. Then the Bishop laying his right Hand on his Head, saith aloud, “ ἡ θεία χάρις, the H. Thea Charis. “ Divine Favour which always Cures the Meek, and supplies the things which “ are wanting, προχειρίζεται, Promotes, the most religious Subdeacon, N. N. in- “ to a Deacon; Let us pray for him that the Grace of the Allholy Ghost may “ come upon him. Then the Bishop crosseth his Head again three times and laying

laying his Hand on his Head again he makes one Prayer. Then after some T. p. 194. Suffrages made by the Archdeacon (in one of which the Candidate's name is inserted,) the Bishop holding his right Hand upon him makes a second prayer; then he puts τὸ ὠγάριον, the Tippet on his left Shoulder, and pronounce him, Ἀξιό, Worthy, &c. Then gives him, τὸ πραιδικιον, the holy Fan. &c.

He that is to be Ordained Presbyter is brought to the Bishop by two Euchol. p. 99. Presbyters. Is crossed three times upon the Head; leans his Forehead on Goar. p. 292. the Holy Table; kneels on both Knees. The Prelate lays his right Hand on his Head, and saith aloud. ἡ θεία χάρις, The Divine Favour, &c. The very ἡ θεία χάρις. same words as for the Deacon, only changing them thus, promotes this Deacon into a Presbyter. Then the Prelate Crossing him again thrice, and holding his Hand upon him, he prays for him; Then after the Suffrages are repeated by the first Priest, (in one of which the Candidate is named) the Bishop holding his Hand upon him, prays for him again; Then he brings that part of his Tippet which hang'd behind him over his right Shoulder before him, and saith aloud, Ἀξιό, Worthy &c.

He that is to be made a Bishop is brought to the Ordaining Prelate by Euchol. p. 102. three other Prelates there present. Then the Chartophylax (who is in the Goar. p. 302. Nature of a Chancellor or chief Secretary,) gives him a Paper, in which, if he that Ordains be a Patriarch, is written thus, "By the Suffrage and Approbation of the most Sacred Metropolitans, and Archbishops, and Bishops; but if the Ordainer be a Metropolitan, is written thus, "By the Suffrage and Approbation of the most beloved of God the Bishops, and of the most Holy Presbyters, ἡ θεία χάρις, the Divine Favour, &c. As above, only thus ἡ θεία χάρις. changed, Promotes N. N. Presbyter, beloved of God, Bishop of the City N. Let us Pray for him, &c. The Ordainer bye and bye reads that writing aloud; and then opening the Gospel, he lays it upon the Candidates Head and Neck, the other Prelates laying hold of it with him; then making three Crosses upon his Head, and keeping his Hand upon him, he prays for him. Then one of the assisting Prelates repeat the Suffrages, (inserting the Candidate's name) then the Ordainer in like manner holding his Hand upon his Crown prays for him again; Then laying by the Gospel, he puts on him the Pall, τὸ ὠμοφόριον, (or the broad Embroidred Tippet which goes round his Neck, and one end hangs downs before and the other behind,) saying, Ἀξιό, Worthy; Then kisses him, &c. Goar. p. 114.

Any one may see a strange difference in these Ordinations from those in Clemens. There not so much as Imposition of Hands is mention'd; no Crossing, (which is here multiply'd,) but only Prayer. And those Prayers there are quite different from those used now; so that the Scholastick Form of these reputed Sacraments, cannot be in them, being so mutable. Neither is there any mention there, or in Dionysius Areopag. of these solemn words, ἡ θεία χάρις, the Divine Favour, &c. which now are by the Greeks made the only constituent Essential Sentence (or, as the Schools term it the Form) which makes Ordination a Sacrament, as appears above out of Sim. Thessalonic. and T. p. 195. Goar p. 157. 11. p. 158. 12.

Now to me the Original of these solemn Words, seems plainly to have been this. Of old as you see above in Clemens, there was an ἐπίκρισις, a very strict enquiry to be made into the Qualifications of him that was to be Ordained; as we have the Apostles joint Command for it about the seven Deacons, Acts. 6. 3. and St. Paul's command for all other Orders, lay Hands suddenly on no Man; And there can be no question made, but that this was Primitively observed very punctually. Now they that were to make this Scrutiny, or Presentation, shew'd their Consent and Approbation or Election of the Candidate, (as of old it was a Custom amongst the Gentiles) by stretching out or lifting up their Hands; as that very Custom is used in many Places and many Cases amongst us to this day. This was the true Primitive signification of χειροτο-

T. p. 195. *via, lifting up or stretching out the Hand*; and then the Person *thus Elect-ed*, was afterwards *Instituted or confirm'd in his Office or Function* in the Church by *Imposition of Hands*, which is the Primitive signification of *χειροθεσία*, *putting on the Hand*. But in process of time, both words *χειροτομία* and *χειροθεσία*, *stretching out the Hand* and *putting on the Hand*, were promiscuously used for the same thing; and signified compleat Ordination. Let *Can. 21. Labb.* that one place in the first Council of *Antioch* (amongst many other) suffice to *T. 2. p. 572.* shew this. *A Bishop must not go to another City that is not Subject to him, ἐπὶ χειροτομία τινός, for stretching out the Hand upon* (that is, for Ordaining) *any one* (which is there explain'd by, *καθίστηναι, to constitute Presbyters and Deacons*) *if any one should dare to do so, ἀναγοὺς ἐναι τὴν χειροθεσίαν, the putting on of Hands* (that is, *the Ordination*) *shall be void*. And therefore *Goar's* trifling distinction, (which he borrows from *Sim. Thessalonic.*) is very *p. 257. 11.* frivolous, that *χειροτομία stretching out the Hand* is taken only for *Ordination of the three Superior Orders*, but *χειροθεσία putting on of Hands*, for only that of a *Subdeacon*; or that the first is performed within, *ἐν τῷ βήματι, the Chancel, the other without*. Now then these solemn Words *ἡ θεῖα χάρις the divine Favour, &c.* at first were only a *Certificate or Testimonial*, of the Persons thus Chosen and approved of by the *Inquisitors* (who were as occasion required, *Metropolitans, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Clergy, and People*) and the Candidates brought it to the *Prelate* which was to Ordain them; and he read it aloud before the *Congregation*, and then *pray'd for them*, and so Ordain'd them. *Magrughdertes, saith Sim. Thessalonic. they had Testimonials of their habilities, and fitness,* (Bishops from Bishops, Presbyters from Presbyters, and the like;) and that this solemn Note, *the Divine Favour, &c.* was such a *Testimonial* at first, is still Evident in the Ordination of a Bishop by the Preface to it as above; "By the Suffrage and Approbation of (such and such, *T. p. 196.* *i. e. of the Inquisitors*) "the Divine Favour, &c. *προχειρίζεται, Presents,* (not *Promote,*) *N. N. Presbyter beloved of God, Bishop of such a City, &c.* For that is the true meaning here of *προχειρίζεται, Present*, and it is plainly *ἐπίσκοπον, Bishop*, not *εἰς ἐπίσκοπον, into a Bishop*. And this solemn Testimonial, is still called *χάρτης, a Writing*, or, if you please, *a Charter*; as also it is called, *ρολλάκιον, a Roll or Scrawl* (because it was often roll'd upon *Habert. Pontif. part 6. Obs. 2.* a round stick) and *κατατάγιον, properly an Intimation or Certificate*; and *πτέρον, the Wing*; because being written on a Paper or Parchment (or Pastboard sometimes) cut and snipt in upon the Edges and fashion'd like a *Wing*, it might represent forsooth (after the Greeks usual way of making every Ceremony a *Mystery*) *the Descent of the Holy Ghost*. And it is therefore called by *Sym. Thess. c. 7. p. 129. 130.* *Thessalonic. πνεῦμα, the Spirit*. But now these solemn Words, *ἡ θεῖα χάρις, the Divine Favour, &c.* from a meer Testimonial are made the very *Essential and constituent Phrase, or Scholastick Form* which makes the pretended *Sacrament*.

I have here all along rendred *ἡ θεῖα χάρις, The Divine Favour*; Because *χάρις* here cannot signify the same *Grace or inward Assistance of the Allholy Ghost*, as it doth in the following words, and which they are going to pray for; as those words and the following Prayer express it. The Greek word *χάρις*, (as is well known,) is taken in very many several Senses, as *Goar* himself owns; as indeed every Good thing which we receive at the hands of God, in a large Sense may be called *his Grace*. And here in the first place, it is plainly taken for *God's Permission, or Providence*, or, as *St. Paul* saith, for *the will of God*; by which Men are permitted to come to higher and higher Degrees of Honour, Office, or Employment; and it is thus a common Phrase amongst us, to stile Kings, Princes, Potentates, Prelates, and the like great Personages, such or such *by the Grace, or Providence, or Permission of God*. But in the second place they are to pray for the *peculiar Grace of the Allholy Spirit*, that is, for *his special Inward Concurrence, Assistance and Direction in all his ways*, (which is not as, *Ex opere operato, in course tied to any Order, as Bel-*

Bellarmino would have it; and the Prayer following plainly distinguishes these two several Senses; ὃν εὐδόκησας προχειρίσασθαι παρ' ἐμῆς, *whom thou hast been pleased, or by thy good Will permitted, to be promoted by me*; and κατὰ τὸ σοὶ εὐάρεστον, *according to thy good pleasure*; and in the next Prayer, ὃν κατηξίωσας, *whom thou hast vouchsafed*; there is the first Grace, that is, *Favour*. Then *Preserve him*, ἐν πάσῃ σεμνότητι, *in all Honesty*, (Gravity or Reverence) *in a pure Conscience*; bestow upon him the Grace (the assistance) given to *Stephen*; and in the next Prayer, *by the descent of thy Holy Spirit fill him with all Faith, Charity, Virtue, &c.* There is the special Grace or divine Assistance pray'd for.

But now whether the Greeks (like the Schoolmen) will make these solemn Words, *the divine Favour, &c.* or *the Prayers*, (or both) *with Imposition of Hands*, the very Essentials, which make their Ordination compleat; either way they must needs make many more Degrees or Species, (or Sorts) of this Sacrament, then the three Superior Orders. For many of the Patriarch's chief Officers, (as ὁ μέγας Ὀικονόμος, *the high Steward*, ὁ χαρτοφύλαξ, *the Chancellor* and others) though they were in Orders before, as Deacons at least, and in like manner the *protopresbyter* or first Priest; the *Archdeacon*; the *Abbot* or Prior of a Monastery; a *Deaconess* (when used) and others, were all Consecrated, Ordain'd, or put into their Posts and Stations, *by Imposition of Hands, and Prayer, and these very same solemn Words, the Divine Favour, &c.* and hands were sometimes laid on with these Words; sometimes only with the Prayers; as you may see in *Morinus*, and *Goar*, and therefore I must think that they are all Sacraments alike, or none at all. *Symeon Thessalonic.* was aware of this; for though by him they are all called alike by the same name χειροτονία, *Ordinations*, by stretching out, or laying on, of the Hands, yet he Offers at a Reason or two, which *Morinus* would have pass for a sufficient distinction between them; so as to make the three superior Orders Sacraments, but the rest only Ministerial Functions. Only these three Orders, saith he, are confer'd, ἐν τῷ βήματι, *in the Chancel, but all the others without*; which may indeed signify a greater Respect paid to these three, then to the rest, but surely a place (as the Chancel, or by the Altar) cannot be counted any ways Essential, but must be purely Accidental to Orders; for they were undoubtedly given by the Apostles before such holy places were contrived or settled. But then he adds a second reason, in these three Orders, the ordaining Prelate pronounced, ἡ θεῖα χάρις, *the Divine Favour, &c.* but in the other he said only, ἡ χάρις τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος προχειρίζεται σε Ν. εἰς Ὀικονόμον, εἰς χαρτοφύλακα, *the favour of the Holy Spirit promotes thee N. to be a Steward, to be a Chancellor, and the like.* *Goar* takes notice indeed that this was a usual Form of old, and perhaps it was then Practised in *Symeon's Church at Thessalonica*, and it may be also at *Constantinople*, (though I could easily prove that even they differ'd in many Rites and Observances,) but it is plain by *Leo Allatius's* Manuscript Euchologion in *Goar* and *Morinus*, that the Officers were Ordain'd in other places with ἡ θεῖα χάρις, *the divine Favour, &c.* But the using or not using of those solemn Words, cannot make any thing for his purpose, since as I have laid before, they were Originally only a Testimonial and no Formal or constituent Part of the Ordination; and so *Morinus* also himself hath at large evinced the same; and therefore that Form, the Favour of the Holy Spirit, &c. must signify altogether as much, (as to Ordination) to all intents and purposes as that other, *the divine Favour, &c.* So that this second note of Distinction seems as insignificant as the first. However give me leave by the bye, here to Note the various and different Observances of Churches; for to me they seem no small proof, that only the Church, or rather several Churches (having no particular Constitution or Prescription for Ordinations from Christ) contrived and made and altered, and sometimes quite changed all their Forms of Ordination, as they did all other Rites and Ceremonies. Take one Instance of this from *Goar*, even in this Form which *Sym. Thessalonic.* tells us above, was used to

T. p. 197. distinguish the Orders from the Offices. If the Bishop, saith he, hath not the Prayers ready at Hand to Create the Officers, they use this Form, ἡ μεγαλειότης ἡμῶν, our Meanness, (not ἡ χάρις τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, the Grace of the Holy Spirit) προχειρίζεται τὸν ἐυλαβέστατον, promotes the most religious Deacon N. Chancellor, or Steward, of the Church N. in the name of the Father and of &c. First it is plain that there were Prayers appointed for these Offices; next that the Bishop might use them, or this or another Form, as he pleased.

part 2. p. 85; And though Morinus took Allatius's MS. to be, the manner of the Syrians
p. 3. 196. 5, 6. Ordination, or of the Church of Antioch, and hints also that the Maronites used the same; yet he allows it to be as Authentick as that of Constantinople or any other Church from which it differs; and at last owns that Symeon might be mistaken and very much deceived in framing such a distinction; and joins with me in my last Reflection, ejusmodi Ritus vim habere ex Ecclesiæ Instituto, that these Rites or Forms of Ordination derive their Force, or Authority, from the Institution or meer Appointment of the Church. Symeon's last reason is, that the three high Orders are Universal, but the others particular, or limited; I suppose he means, a Deacon, is a Deacon; a Priest, a Priest, a Bishop, a Bishop; all the Christian World over; whereas the rest are tied to particular Offices or Places; If this be his meaning, surely a Deaconess at least (not to mention an Archdeacon, or a First-priest, an Abbot, &c.) was every whit as Universal as any of the other three. See how Goar shuffles to distinguish those two Orders; but all will not make one a Sacrament, and the other nothing. Morinus seems to equal a Deaconess her Ordination in every Point to that of a Deacon; And then he adds to this Distinction, that a Deacon or a Priest can have a Dignity or Office join'd to his Orders, but one Dignity cannot be join'd to another at the same time; as a Deacon or Priest may at the same time be a Deacon and high Steward, or a Priest and Chancellor; a Bishop an Exarch or (as with us) a Lord; but none can at the same time be Steward and Chancellor. Surely to me this seems as sorry a reason of Distinction as any of the rest; this shews indeed some difference of Honour or Preferment between the Orders and Offices, but as to the making those three, real Sacraments, and quite excluding those in their Ordination from that Privilege, I cannot see any force at all in it. For first these Offices are all called by Symeon ἱερά λειτουργήματα, sacred Functions, and none but Persons already in Orders, Deacons or Presbyters, ought to have them;

c. 13. p. 153. E. and a little before he saith, these Persons execute their Functions, οὐκ ἀπλῶς ὡς ἑτοίχον, not as ordinary Men do, or as it happens; but receiving the Grace, or Favour, of the Spirit, that they might have from the Prelate (that Ordains them) Blessing and Sanctification and Permission (or Leave)

p. 152. D. E. and Power to Act through Grace; And Morinus (to reconcile the Latins and

Exerc. I. c. I. §. 2. p. 4. Greeks indeed all Ordinations) lays down this as a Maxim, that the true Matter and Form of Ordination are most properly contain'd in those Rites and Words which are Common and generally used by all Churches; and therefore concludes only Imposition of Hands and Prayer (as being thus Universally used by all) to be the only true Substantials, and necessary Ingredients or Constituents of Ordination. Now then since all the above named Ordinations are called alike, sacred Offices; all alike are own'd to have the Favour of God; to receive from the Prelate, Blessing, Sanctification, Licence, and Power to Act through Grace, (which is at all these Ordinations Respectively and constantly pray'd for) and seeing all this is confer'd upon them after the same manner, by prayer and the Imposition of Hands, (the two only necessary and substantial Rites,) I cannot apprehend how Greeks or Latins can make out this pretended Difference between them. Morinus to solve this Difficulty is forced to make use of that piece of Scholastick Sophistry, only the Orders are truly Sacramentals; the Offices or Dignities are only Sacraments; Indeed if those be Sacraments, these, I confess, look very Sacramentalish; for I think the same Schoolmen tell us, that where there is the very same Matter and

Form,

Form, the very same Essentials, *those things must needs be the very same*; T. p. 198.
so that all these Ordinations *must either be Sacraments alike*, or rather (as I
have and shall further prove them) *none at all*.

For God's sake whence came all these contrary ways and far different Manners
of Ordinations amongst Greeks and Latins, Eastern and Western Churches? And
every one of these according to different Ages, are in their Forms of Ordination
different from themselves? If Ordination had been lookt upon by the Primitive
Church as a *Sacrament*, (though neither the *Matter* nor *Form* (as they call them)
had been either commanded or prescribed by Christ or in Scripture, but only
taken up by themselves) methinks they would have settled one standing uni-
versal unalterable Rubrick or Prescription, to be used all over the whole Christi-
an Church, for so Sacred and so Solemn a Performance; at least in Imitation of
Christ's own Rites, in the two undoubted Sacraments or Covenants of Baptism, T. p. 199.
(*in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*) and of
the Lord's Supper, (*this is my Body, this is my Blood.*) If Clemens Constitu-
tions were such settled Prescriptions, (especially if, as they are pretended, they
were Apostolical,) how dare Greeks or Latins or any Christian Governor of the
Church in the least vary from them? But the naked and plain Truth of the
whole Matter is this; Christ appointed *the Twelve* and *the Seventy*, and their
Successors, *Bishops and Priests*, to *Preach the Gospel*; to Publish and Pro-
pagate his Law; and to Execute and Maintain it, to the end of the World; as
indeed when He himself left the World it was absolutely necessary for him so
to do. The Apostles upon a new, but weighry Emergency, added *Deacons*
to the Ministry. All these I call Evangelical and Apostolical Orders; but as
the Church increased there were without doubt still some *new Officers* daily re-
quired in the Church; as for Example all those about the five great Patriarchs;
about the Metropolitans and Archbishops and Bishops; and in many particular
Churches, particular ones; and thus at last came into our common Churches,
Churchwardens, Overseers of the Poor, Parish Clerks, Sextons and the like;
All these I call *Ecclesiastical Officers*, or Church Attendants, whose very In-
stitution is only from the Church in general, or from several Churches in parti-
cular. But the Methods and Rules, or Manners and Forms, of Consecrating
and Creating those *Evangelical Orders*, as well as the ways of making of *these*
Ecclesiastical Officers, are plainly left to be devised, contrived, and prescribed
and used by the particular Governors of the Church in several Ages and in their
several Provinces. And hence the greater Churches, both in the East and West,
have taken up their own Forms and Fashions; their Governors partly transcrib-
ing, or borrowing from one another; partly by following their own Conceit
and valuing their own Authority. And although *the three Evangelical Orders*
are far of a higher nature than the rest, being appointed by Christ himself and
his Apostles, and being wholly employ'd about purely spiritual Matters, and
therefore truly and by way of Excellency called, *Holy Orders*; yet there are
in them no more solemn *Compacts, Fæderal Rites, Covenants, or Stipulati-*
ons between God and Man prescribed or commanded by God, or any thing par-
ticularly promised on God's part, then in the others; and therefore those Or-
ders are no more *true Sacraments* then these. And although we allow *Impo-*
sition of Hands and Prayer, in the Holy Ordinations to have been very Pri-
mitive, yet we cannot say they were constantly used, since, as I have said we
find no mention of the first in *Clemens*, and several of the Schoolmen have
exploded it as *Accidental* and unnecessary; and if with *Morinus* (to recon-
cile the Practice of all Churches,) I should allow *these two* to be (in the
School Notion) *the very Matter and Form of holy Orders*; yet as hath often
been said, they being no where in Scripture either particularly commanded or
prescribed, nor having any particular Promise or Covenant from God; that
Learned Man must with me Abdicate that fond Doctrine of *Orders being a*
Sacrament, as well as he hath generously done many more of the Frantick No-
tions of the Schools.

Morin. Comm.
part 3. 108.
§. 6. p. 103. 5.

T. p. 199. From this liberty of Churches and their Governors in contriving and appointing *their Rites of Ordinations*, come those *various Lections* and different Copies of them in *Morinus* and *Goar*, and in some MSS. of my own. It would be too tedious and troublesome, as well as needless here to compare them all, they being at large set down in those two Authors; yet for one single Instance I will here make a short abstract out of *the Form of Ordination for a Bishop*, in *Allatius* MS. Euchologion, which you may compare with those Forms which I have given you above.

Morin. part 2.
p. 97. Goar
305.

One of the most honourable Clerks presents the Candidate Bishop in these words; "The most Beloved of God, N. Presbyter, confirmed by Suffrage, is presented to be Ordained Bishop and Prelate of the City .N. Then the Ordaining Bishop asks him what he comes for. Answers, "That I may have Ordination and ἐνέχυρον τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς χάριτος, the Faculty (or Power) of Episcopal Favour, or Grace, the Clergy of the most Holy Bishoprick .N. having by their Suffrages pitcht upon me.

Here Note who were of old the proper Electors of the Candidate Bishop. The Ordaining Bishop asks, "What do you believe? The Candidate repeats aloud the Nicene Creed; which he brought in his Hand described with other Forms of his Faith. The Prelate then blessing him Crosswise, saith, "The Grace of the Allholy Spirit be with you. Then the Candidate (moving farther) is presented again in the same manner and words; and at the Prelate's command makes another large Confession of his Faith concerning the Trinity. Then the Bishop blessing him again Crosswise, saith, "The Grace of the Allholy Spirit be with thee, Illuminating, Confirming thee, and giving thee Understanding all the days of thy Life. Then the Candidate is presented (farther on) a third time as before; and at the Prelate's command makes another long Confession of his Faith about Christ's Incarnation, &c. Then the Prelate bleisseth him again Crossways, saying, "The Grace of the Allholy Spirit by my meanness, προεάλλεται, promotes the .N. Presbyter most beloved of God and Elect Bishop of the City .N.

Morin. part 3.
p. 110. §. 3.

c. 7. p. 128.

Morin. part 2.
p. 101. Goar.
p. 310.

p. 114.

Now one would think this his real Ordination or full Commission to be a Bishop; though indeed there is no *Imposition of Hands* as yet, but only the Prelate hath moved his hand Crossways towards him in the Air, and it seems that alone without touching the Person, is sometimes as sufficient as real *Imposition*. And though *Morinus* seems to make all this Form, (of *Allatius*, his MS. Euchologium,) not to have been that of *Constantinople*, yet *Sym. Thessalonic.* seems to follow some such one, or at least one different from the common Form; and though he there is pleased to call the Candidate after all this Ceremony only, τέλει μνηστήρ, compleatly espoused or contracted to the Church, yet what immediately follows seems to justify that foregoing conjecture that he is compleat Bishop. For immediately in this Form the Candidate receives τὸ ὑπογονάτιον, the peculiar badge of a Bishop (which is a piece of quilted or stitch'd Silk stuff, made in a long square, Lozengewise; which is hanged from his girdle down to his right knee, as you may see in *Goar*.) Next the Prelate gives him a Prelatical, or Pastoral, Staff, saying, "Take this Staff that thou may'st feed the Flock of Christ entrusted to you, and be thou a Staff and a Support to those under you which are Obedient; but to those who are Disobedient and Extravagant, use the same as a restraining Rod of Correction. Surely this must give him full Episcopal Authority if the other Form did not. Yet then he is brought up to the Holy Table and kneels before all the Bishops; one of which takes the Gospel and lays it open upon his Head and the other Bishops hold it there. Then the (Ordaining) Prelate (whithout laying on any Hand) saith aloud, "By the Suffrage and approbation of the Priests most beloved of God, and of the Clergy of the City of .N. ἡ θεία χάρις, the Divine Favour &c. προχρησιζέται σι. Promotes you, or, προχρησιζέται τὸν, Promotes, N. Priest most beloved of God and Elect Bishop of the City .N. and President of the City .N. guarded by God. Let us pray for him that

Goar.
Morin.

T. p. 201.

" that the Grace of the Allholy Spirit may come upon him. *Then all the Priests say, " Lord have Mercy upon us three times, and the Bishops hold the Gospel still, whilst the Ordaining Prelate makes three Crosses upon the Candidate's head blessing him, " In the name of the Father, and of the Son, " and of the Holy Ghost, now and always, and unto Ages of Ages. Then laying his Hand upon his Head he prays, the two Prayers in the Common Form; and if the Schoolmen will make the Imposition here the Matter, what will they make the Form. If they say the Prayers are it, I ask which of the two is it? For they are disjoin'd by the, συναντη, or διανομια, the Suffrages, interposed by one of the Bishops there present; However, η δεια χαρις, the Divine Favour, &c. cannot here be the Form, for their Matter (Imposition) is not join'd with it; And Morinus hath proved the same at large.*

Now therefore to me, by this MS. of *Allatius*, it is plain that the Candidate is made a compleat Bishop, and invested with all Prelatical Authority, by the Forms before going (especially at the receiving of the Pastoral Staff) without either *Imposition or Prayer*; but in all this whole large Prescription of the Ordination of a Bishop, or in any of the foregoing Ordinations of a Bishop, or in any of the foregoing Ordinations of Priests and Deacons, in the East or West, I cannot see any standing, solid, Rite or Circumstance, that can in the least prove Orders a Sacrament. And the *Imposition and Prayers*, that afterwards follow (in *Allatius* his Form) are plainly made only by way of *Benediction*, and recommending of the Ordained to the Grace and Guidance of God's Holy Spirit; according to his Suffrage, *Oremus pro eo, let us Pray for him, &c.* and his *Blessing him, &c.* as above; And to conclude; all sacred Ordinations are really no more then settling the Candidates in their respective functions, by the *Ordaining Bishops, Blessing them and Recommending them to the Divine Protection and Assistance.*

This way of *Blessing* being done of old by the Jewish Patriarchs themselves, by laying on of Hands, Kissing, and Prayer; our *Spiritual Patriarchs* and *Evangelical Fathers* in the Primitive Church, only in Imitation of them, (not by any positive command) did *Admit and Bless all their Spiritual Sons* in the same manner. And in many old Rituals and Canons, Ordination is therefore called, *Consecratio, Benedictio, a Dedicating or Consecrating to God* (of this or that sort of Minister) *a Blessing of him in his Office by Supplication and Prayer*; and of old, *Consecration, Ordination, solemn Benediction of sacred Persons* signified one and the same thing. But why *Consecrating, or Dedicating of a Person to God by Benediction and Prayer* (without any particular direction or Method prescribed by God) should be a Sacrament, more then the *Consecrating or Dedicating of any other thing else* (as Churches, Altars, Grounds, Vessels, or the like) by meer human Inventions and Prescriptions (and the others are no more,) I must confess my self not able to understand; supposing Orders to be Sacraments it is amazing to see what special work the Schoolmen and learned Doctors of the Latin Church have made about the Orders of Pope *Farmasus*, and the Practice of *Stephanus* his Successor.

Infinite more instances of various Readings and Forms of Ordination amongst the Greeks, *Maronites, Nestorians, Jacobites, Eutychians, Coptics, and Latins* you may gather from several Authors, especially from *Morinus*; where you may also see how Schoolmen and Others (whom he justly taxes as absolutely ignorant of the matter,) have blunder'd and laboured in vain to reconcile them to one another; and his own expedient (that only *Imposition of Hands and Prayer in general were Substantial and Necessary*) will not be sufficient, it being by no means clear that *Imposition was every where and at all times used*, as hath been above said. However he can never by them prove Ordination to be a Sacrament, for he approves of *Issembertus* his Opinion, that *Christ did no where appoint, this or that particular Matter of Orders, but only gave a general Commission or Authority to the Church to chuse what*

sensible

T. p. 201.

Goar p. 302.
303. Morin.
part 2. p. 60. 61.

part 3. Exerc.
2. c. 3. §. 4. 5.

Gen. 27. 22.
26. & c. 48.
14.

Morin. part 2.
p. 212. 217.
225. &c. part
3. p. 107. 9.
108. 6, 7, 8.

T. p. 202.

part 1. Pref.
* 4.
part 3. p. 5.
§. 9.

Morin. part 2.
p. 215. 219.
235. Clem.
conf. 1. 8. c. 4.
part 3. p. 7. §.
15. 19. & p. 118.
2. & part 2. Pr.
p. 157.

T. p. 202. *sensible Matter they pleased; (which Commission I should be glad to see) and so also Christ instituted no particular Form of words, nor whether they should be Greek or Latin or Syriack, or the like, but left it to the Church to define them; so that, Instituit Ecclesia, the Church Instituted the words, but Christ only in general appointed the Meaning; I would willingly know where. By these general Commissions pretended to be from Christ, the Schoolmen fairly would hook in a Power to the Church (that is, to the Governors of it) to set up what they please and then pretend Christ's general Authority for it; and thus there might be indeed easily as great a variety of Forms in these Ordinations, as I have before shewn there is in the Copies of their Liturgies. But now if all be thus confessedly from the Church, that is from Men, (as it is plain those Terms of Matter and Form are meer human subtilties drawn from Aristotle's Philosophy, and often mistaken by the Schoolmen and their followers) and not particularly from Christ; I cannot see how Morinus himself or any Man else can make Ordination a Sacrament or Mystery according to the avowed Definition of it. Therefore Order, or Ordination is only a Consecration or Benediction; a solemn Blessing and Recommendation of a Person to God's peculiar service, and gracious Assistance in it. Thus indeed every National Episcopal Church may well and safely herein use their own Fashion or Rites, as they do their own publick Prayers, without any Breach of Catholick Union.*

p. 11.

Morin. part 3. p. 14. §. 9. part 2. p. 205. §. 151.

Let us now pass on to the next *Mystery* of the Greeks, or *Sacrament*, (as the Latins love to call it) which is *Matrimony*. According to the notion of a true Sacrament, avowed even by *Bellarmino* himself, and the Schoolmen, as well as by the Reformed; there are three things plainly required in it. *An external sensible Sign, a promise of an inward invisible Grace, a Divine Institution of it by God himself.* I will here see first whether these three necessary Points of a Sacrament are really to be found in *Matrimony*; next I will see if the Greek or Eastern Church have now or ever had the very same apprehensions of this Matter, which the Latins now have, as is pretended by *Dositheus*. There would be no end, should I go about to recount what the Schoolmen have herein devised, and it would be to as little purpose for me or any one else to endeavour to reconcile their various Subtilties and Sentiments about it. *Bellarmino*, the Latins most renowned Champion, hath garbled the Jargon of the Schools, and therefore I will chiefly consider what he vouches as sound ware, or solid Truth.

T. 3. p. 497. H

T. p. 203.

First he proves *Marriage to be Instituted by God*. None that I know of denies this, or ever did, except some wild Hereticks of old, several of which he hath there, by name, reckon'd up. But how doth he prove that it was *Instituted as a Sacrament*, or Covenant between God and Man, and by a *Sign* of particular Grace *promised* or annexed. God made all living Creatures *Male and Female*, and commanded them to *Increase and Multiply*; nay we see amongst many of them by Nature an *Indissoluble tie* between the Male and Female so long as they live; and all living Creatures *thus set forth his Praise*. So *Adam* by his Appointment was a *Gardiner*, *Abel* a *Shepherd*, *Cain* a *Husbandman*; but if God's Institution of a thing, alone, makes it a *Sacrament*, what *Calvin* said of *Husbandry*, we may at least say of *Generation* or *Propagation* (if not of the other Primitive Employments) that they were all Sacraments alike as well as *Marriage*.

U^t supra.

Psal. 148. 10. Jobi 21. 10.

But he goes on and endeavours to prove that *Marriage* was *Instituted as a Sign of a Holy Thing, and to sanctify (by some peculiar Grace) the Married Couple*; and for this he quotes *St. Paul*, *this is a great Mystery* (according to the Original Greeck) or a *great Sacrament* (according to the vulgar Latin) *but I speak, eis χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, concerning, or in relation to, Christ and the Church, or, in Christo & Ecclesia, in Christ and in the Church.* Then he fairly states the Question, whether *this great Mystery* or *Sacra-*

Eph. 5. 32.

Sacrament here is said of the *Union of Christ and the Church*, or of the *conjunction of Man and Wife*, that is, of *Matrimony*. T. p. 203.

First, let us a little consider the meaning of these words here in this place, *μυστήριον*, *Sacramentum*, *Mystery* or *Sacrament*. Bellarmine gives us several ac-
De Sacram. l. 1. c. 8. G. H. A.
 ceptations of both these words, and owns that amongst the rest they are both most commonly said of every thing that is hidden or secret, or of any thing that denotes such a secret thing. And thus they are every where else in Scrip-
2 Thes. 2. 7. Mat. 13. 35. 1 Cor. 13. 2. c. 15. 51.
 ture taken; so in the places he quotes out of the old Testament, the secret of a King, and the telling and interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's Dream are in the vulgar Latin called *Sacraments*; so in the new, where the *Candlesticks* are interpreted *Churches*, the *Stars* *Angels*, or *Governors* of them; the *Woman* and the *Beast* with ten horns that carried her, having seven Heads, signify a *City*, seven *Mountains*, ten *Kings*; the Latin word *Sacrament*, is for the Greek word *Mystery*, but both there signify no more than a wonder, *ἡ ἐκθαμβωσις*; why didst thou Wonder, or Marvel, said the Angel to St. John. c. 17. 7.
 And in this Sense taking both these words here, for a hidden intricate thing, or a dark saying, they are applicable both to the *Union of Man and Wife*, Pf. 49. 4. 15.
 and to the *Union of Christ and his Church*. 'Tis a dark saying, that a Man and his Wife shall be one Flesh; for literally it can never be true; and it is as shocking to common and plain sense, that every true believer is a Member of Christ's Body, and of his Flesh, and of his Bones; Nay, This must needs be infinitely more Amazing and Astonishing; For by frequent Observation of the mutual Love and constant Affection of some Married People, and of their usual Expressions of it, Men might ever have had a tolerable Notion or Idea of their being one Flesh, (or as we commonly say, all one) or that one is as dear to the other as their own very Flesh, their Heart, their Blood, their very Life. But the explication of that other extraordinary Phrase, by which the stupendious *Union of Christ and his Church* is exprest, was above the reach of all human Understanding till it was revealed from above; Men, till they were enlightened from thence, might well say of it, as the Jews did of
T. p. 204. Joh. 6. 60.
Eating Christ's Flesh, this is a hard saying, who can bear it? And therefore St. Paul having in the foregoing part of this Epistle upon several occasions mention'd and largely explain'd this hidden Mystery, calls this same amazing *Union of Christ and the Church* by the same name here also; this is a great Mystery (as if he had said mistake me not,) I speak concerning Christ and the Church; which words plainly belong, not to the verse going just before, they shall be one Flesh; but to the verse before that, we are all members of Christ's Body, of his Flesh, and of his Bones; as the like disjointing of some verses and interposing others is frequently to be observed in Scripture; and you have an Instance of this, in this very Epistle, c. 3. the 13th. verse (in
A Lapid. in Pentat. can. 13. Item Rom. 2. vers. 12, 16.
 Sense) is plainly to be annex'd to the first verse; (the first verse would otherwise be an imperfect sentence) the other intermediate verses being only a Parenthesis, or farther explication of this same grand Mystery of Christ and the Church, (which he had treated on in the foregoing part of the Epistle,) as himself there intimates, *καὶ ὡς ἔγραψα, ἐν ὀλίγῳ*, as I have written a
vers. 3.
 little before, or before in brief.

The very principal Subject of this whole Epistle is in a manner, only the Declaration and exposition of this grand Mystery. Hence he tells them, of their Adoption as Children by Jesus Christ before the foundation of the World; c. 1. 4, 5.
 and calls it the Mystery of his Will, and insists upon it, and prays for them as
vers. 9, 10.
 such, that they might be enlightened with the Wisdom and Knowledge of it. vers. 16.
 And having declared that God designed in the fulness of time, to gather to-
vers. 10.
 gether in one all things (both Jews and Gentiles) in Christ, he therefore calls
vers. 22, 23.
 him the Head over all to the Church which is his Body. Again he tells them, c. 2. 12, 13,
 that the Gentiles who were Aliens and Strangers from the Covenant and
14, 15, 16.
 Promise, having no hope and without God in the World, were now made
 nigh by the Blood of Christ, and were made one (with the Jews) the mid-
 dle

- T. p. 204. *dlewall of Partition between them being broken down; and they being of twain made one new Man (one Flesh) in Christ; and both reconciled unto God in one Body; this Mystery (as all this must without doubt at first appear to the World a most profound and unfathomable one) in other Ages was not made known unto the Sons of Men, as it is now revealed, that the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs and of the same Body, and partakers of his Promise in Christ by the Gospel; which grand Mystery from the beginning of the World hath been hid in God. There is one Body and one Spirit and one Lord; and all true believers coming into the Unity of the Faith, are daily growing up to a perfect Man in Christ who is the Head, and they are Members fitly join'd and compacted together. This must be wonderful strange Doctrine to the Jews, who boasted themselves to be the only beloved People of God, and counted all the Heathen World an Abominable and Unholy thing, to hear that these should be adopted Children of Abraham, and made coheirs with them of God's Love and Care and Mercies and Blessings; and to the Gentiles the Gospel at first must seem much more abstruse and unintelligible; you see how St. Paul was received at Athens when he Preach'd Jesus and the Resurrection. Τι δὲ θελοῖς ὁ σπερμολόγος, what would this babler say? What would this prating fellow have; so great a Mystery was the Gospel truly thought to the whole World! So unconceivable at first did this Union of Christ and his Church appear!*
- T. p. 205. I must Note in the next place, that St. Paul in this Epistle to the Ephesians useth the Doctrine of this grand Mystery, the Unity of Christ and the Church, as an Argument to several purposes. First, to perswade them not to faint or be discouraged at his Tribulations for Preaching this Gospel to them and to the Gentiles, for as much as they were now Children of the Christian family, and he tells them, that he pray'd for them as such, that God would strengthen them by his Spirit, and that Christ might dwell in their Hearts by Faith; and that they apprehending the Immense Love of Christ towards them (in thus uniting them by his whole Oeconomy to himself) they might be filled with all the fullness of God; and inseparably adhere to Him and his Christ, their Head, and return such a firm and everlasting Love for them, as (with him) to suffer any thing for their sake.
- Eph. 4. 2, 3. Again, by the the same Argument he presseth here (as elsewhere often) mutual Love, Charity, and kind behaviour towards one another; that they should walk with all Lowliness and Meekness, with Longsuffering, Forbearing one another in Love, endeavouring to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace; they being one Body; or because there is but one Body, one Spirit, even as they were called in one hope of their Calling; one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all and through all, and in them all.
- 1 Cor. 6. 15, 16. So again, as elsewhere, he here presseth, Purity, Holiness, spiritual Conversation, Righteousness, Sincerity, Patience, Honesty, and all other Christian Virtues, from the same Topick or Argument, there is but one Body, and ye are Members one of another, as ye are also of Christ. And in this very Chapter he first presseth mutual Love amongst all Christians, as well as afterwards between Man and Wife, from the Love of Christ to the Church; walk in Love, (all Christians, Men and Women, Married and Unmarried, as well as Husbands and Wives,) as Christ hath loved us, and hath given himself for us an Offering and a Sacrifice to God; and he again makes it an Argument to Holiness and Purity of Life, for as much as theirs was the Inheritance of the Kingdom of Christ and of God; as Members of Christ's Mystical Body; and it is made an Argument for us to submit our selves one to another, as much as for Wives to submit themselves to their own Husbands.
- 1 Cor. 6. 1, 4, 5. Nay this very Argument seems plainly to be used in the last Chapter to urge all thole Duties of particular Persons in a Family, for as much as we are

are all of the same Family of Christ. Children obey in the Lord; Fathers bring up Children in the Fear of the Lord. Servants obey as Servants of Christ, as to the Lord; (if a slave, as Christ's Freeman, if free as Christ's Servant.) Masters use Servants well, as all having one common Master in Heaven.

Now since St. Paul hath so often in this Epistle used this grand Mystery of Christ and the Church, as an Argument to press so many general, so many other particular Duties; why should we wonder at it, when he uses the same to Illustrate and Enforce the Duty of mutual Love between Husband and Wife? As if there was some greater Secret in the Argument here, then there was in it, in the Other Instances. If Husband and Wife are with one another one Flesh by Matrimony, they are much more so by being in this grand mystical Alliance, by which they, and all true Believers, are not only one Flesh with one another, but one Body and Flesh and Bones with Christ himself. St. Paul hath blended the Duty of Man and Wife as they are one by Civil Contract, and as they are one by being Members of Christ; but he hath done it so, as this latter infinitely outshines and far exceeds that other; for a Man by Matrimony is bound indeed to forsake Father and Mother and cleave, or be joined, to his real Wife, and they two shall be one Flesh; But as they are Christians, or both of them Members of Christ, their mutual Duty is infinitely more enhanced by his Law; Nay, every true Believer's Bond to Christ is so strong, and so far above the Bond of Matrimony, as every one ought for his sake, to forsake Houses and Brethren, and Sisters, and Father, and Mother, and Wife, or Husband, and Children and Lands, nay, to loose his very Life it self. Hence wicked Husbands and Wicked Wives, and vile Men and Harlots are (or by Bargain perhaps or Contracts may be said to be,) one Body and one Flesh, but not in Christ; for they that are join'd unto the Lord, are one Spirit. Here therefore I cannot but Note that rash Assertion of Bellarmine, if this whole Mystery be laid only in Christ and the Church, and Matrimony nothing concern'd in it, St. Paul's Argumentation in this Chapter will come to nothing. Why then doth he use it so often to perswade other Matters? For from this one grand Mystery of Christ and the Church, in all his other Epistles, I could as easily shew, (as I have done it in this) that he presseth all other Christian Duties, as well as this of Husband and Wife; And this very same Argument is every where of equal force; so that Matrimony is no more concern'd here, in this grand Mystery, then any other Duty which is elsewhere made the Inference or Conclusion of the same Argument.

And now I think it is not any difficult thing to determine which of these two, Matrimony or our Union with Christ is here called the great Mystery. To part with Father and Mother, is not so hard or Wonderful a Business; for violent Passion of mere Natural Love doth that, and many greater matters then it, every day. But for a Man to leave not only them, but even his dear Wife her self, who slept in his Bosom; or for a Woman to forsake even her Husband himself, the only Comfort of her Bed, her Head and the Saviour of her Body, and through Tribulations and Distresses, Famine and Nakedness, Fire and Sword, Undauntedly and Inseparably to adhere to the Love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord, who suffer'd all this and infinitely more for us, this is an amazing Mystery indeed, beyond all Comparison and Measure.

But Bellarmine tells us, that Matrimony is a sign of a Holy Thing, because it represents the Marriage of Christ and the Church. If so, I cannot but be amazed at the Rubrick in the old Pontifical, which saith expressly that when any Christian comes to a second Marriage, by the first Marriage the Unity of Christ and the Church are figur'd, but not by the second; and therefore a particular Benediction, which is used at the first Marriage, is omitted at the second; This plainly seems to make the first Marriage, according to him, a Sacrament, but not the second; neither can it then sanctify the

T. p. 206. Parties as being such, for the Mystical Benediction is now to be omitted. But how comes the first Marriage to signify or represent *Christ* and *the Church*, and the second not to do the same; it is as true a Marriage as the first, as to the *Vinculum*, or *Bond*, and as to the *Matter and Form*, as they love to call the Essentials; and therefore it ought to have been own'd by them for as true a sign of the *mystical Union* as the first. This *mystical Union* of *Christ* and *the Church* is variously express'd and set forth in Scripture; as partly appears by the Arguments above mention'd as drawn from it. It is likend to a *Family*, wherein *God* is our *Father*, we in *Christ* are all his *Children*; *Christ* the first-born we his *Brethren*. So *Christ* is a *Master* we all his *Servants*. So *Christ* is a *Lord*, a *King*, and we are all his *Subjects*; but most frequently this *mystical Union* is express'd by one *Head* and one *Body*. Now may I not as well say, that a *Master* and his *Servants* solemnly contracting, the one for such and such *Services*, the others for such and such *Wages*; or a *Master* and his *Slave* whom he hath bought with a *Price*; or a *Lord* of a *Mannor* and his sworn *Tenents*, or *Vassals*; or a *Lord* and his *Clans*; or a *King* by his *Coronation Oath*, and his *Subjects* by their *Oath of Allegiance*; as fully represent *Christ* and his *Church*, as *Husband* and *Wife* do? Or more particularly and more appositely, did not *Adam* when he was alone in *Innocence*, without a *Wife*, by his one *Head* and one *Body* with all his *Members* fitly joined and compacted together, as fully and truly signify, or represent, that one *Mystical Body*, whereof *Christ* is the *Head*, and we are all living *Members*? Yet more remarkably, there was a plain *Covenant* with *Adam* whilst alone, between *God* and Him; and all his *Members* were enlivened with the same *Life*; and his *Head* and *Body* and *Spirit*, or *Life*, are, even in this place, made a *Symbol* of this same *Sacred thing*, (*Christ* and *the Church*) as well as *Matrimony* is. Nay the *Similitude* runs smoothly, we are *Members* of *Christ's Mystical Body*, and *Members* of one another; but it sounds very harsh, *Christ* is the *Bridegroom* and we are *Part* or *Limbs* of his *Bride* or of his *Spouse*.

Besides, here in this place, *Husband* and *Wife* are likened to *Christ* and *the Church*, not these to them. The *Husband* is *Head*, as *Christ* is the *Head*. *Wives* are commanded to be *Subject*, as the *Church* is *Subject*; *Husbands* to love their *Wives*, as *Christ* loved the *Church*; *Men* ought to love their *Wives* as their own *Bodies*, as *Christ* hath done the *Church* which is his *Body*. Thus as *Christ's Union* to the *Church* is made an Argument elsewhere, for *Brotherly Love*, and for the Performance of all other Duties; so is his *Love* to the *Church* here made a *Pattern* or grand *Exemplar* of conjugal Love. As *Christ* hath loved his own *Mystical Body*, so let *Husbands* love theirs, and so let every *Member* of the same *Mystical Body* love one another. All *Similies* or *Parables* argue only by way of *Illustration*, and setting one thing to our Apprehension and Conceit more clearly, by comparing it with the Qualities and Affections of another. Thus *Christ* and his *Church* themselves are illustrated by being compared to a *Vine* and its *Branches*; And *Christ's Body*, and both *Jews* and *Gentiles* being made *Members* of it, are likened to an *Olivetree* and its old *Branches* and new *Grafts*; but there *Christ* and his Body are explain'd by a *Vine* and an *Olive-Tree*; here marriage is explain'd by *Christ* and his *Body*.

I must therefore humbly beg leave to say, that *Adam* and *Eve*, or *Man* and *Wife*, seem to me in Scripture to be no more *Symbols* of *Christ* and his *Church*, then *Adam's entire Body* alone was at his first Creation, or the *Body* of a *Man* in General; or *Master* and *Servants*, *Kings* and *Subjects*, and the like. But granting the first only to be so, I cannot see how this can any ways make *Marriage* a *Sacrament* properly so called. We are told it is a *Sign* or *Symbol* of *Christ* and *the Church*, but that which is the *Promised peculiar Grace* of which it is a *Sign*, and which is necessarily and particularly required to make it a *Sacrament*, does by this as yet in no manner appear. *Bellarmino* again

and

and again proves, *that there is Grace necessary to Married People, from the Difficulties attending them, of forsaking the Father that begot them, and the Mother that bare them, and with sorrow brought them forth, and nursed them with the tenderest care; and from their Duties of teaching their Children the true Religion, and endeavouring to make them true Members of Christ; but, saith he, God never enjoins Duties above Nature, but he at the same time also gives or promises Grace by which they may be performed.* And the same may be said, of keeping the Bed undefiled, and of mutual Love and Charity and spiritual Affection towards one another, which ought never to fail or slacken or decrease.

All this we readily own. Grace is absolutely necessary to the performance of all Christian Duties, for as much as all are attended with what is hard to Flesh and Blood. But is there a *singular or special Grace given or Promised* more to Marriage, then to any of the other Relative Duties above said? Is it not as great and as difficult a Duty, for *Servants to obey froward Churlish and Cruel Masters; for Masters to be Patient and Favourable to Negligent, Saucy, Cross, and (many other ways) wicked Servants; For Parents to bear with dissolute and stubborn Children; For Children to Obey extravagant and unkind Parents; For Kings to Govern a Stiffnecked and Rebellious People; For Subjects not to resist a Tyrannical though natural Sovereign; Nay, for a Man to suffer with Christ his Head, and for his sake to give up his own Flesh, to the Sword or to the Fire, whilst Nature bids him to Cherish it and Nourish it; I say are not these as hard Duties, as for Husband and Wife to forsake all, and hold together for better for worse till Death depart them?* These are all alike Instituted by God, and Grace is equally necessary to the Performance of them all. Now this doth not appear, that there is one Singular, Special, Proper, Distinct Grace given to each of them; as one sort of obeying Grace to Servants; another to Children; another to Subjects; another to the Wife; or one sort of loving Grace, to Masters; another to Parents; another to Lords and Kings; another to Husbands; another for Christ when we are Persecuted; or another for our Love to our very Enemies. By all these Graces is meant nothing else, but the *Almighty Assistance of one and the same Holy Spirit*, for the Performance of our Duties in all our several Callings, States, and Conditions and Difficulties. And this divine Assistance is once Promised unto every one in their Baptism, and renew'd by the holy Communion. There is no difference between the Jew and the Greek; for the same Lord over all, is Rich unto all that call upon him; whether Married or Unmarried, Bond or Free, Princes or Subjects, *whosoever shall call upon him shall be saved.* In all our needs and distresses, if we again and again beseech the Lord, as St. Paul did, we shall undoubtedly receive the same Answer from Him, *my Grace is sufficient for thee.* And this Doctrine is most clearly, and largely set down by the same Apostle and exprest by that common Symbol of Christ and the Church, I mean, *Man's Body and Members; as the Body is one, and hath many Members, and all the Members of that one Body, being many, are one Body; so also is Christ; For by one Spirit are we all Baptized into one Body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be Bond or Free (and in like manner, whether we be Married or not,) and have been all made to drink into one Spirit. By Baptism and partaking of the same Cup at the Lord's Supper, we are all alike Interested in God's Promise of his constant Assistance.* And this is not only true in his dispensing of those higher Spiritual gifts there mention'd, as Prophecy, working of Miracles, speaking with Tongues, and the like; but in his distributing of his Grace, or divine Help, also, to every one for their Performance of every Christian Duty; as from the same Symbol of Christ's one Body, St. Paul elsewhere makes God's Grace, (or the Comfortable Assistance of his Holy Spirit,) as it were the common Life and Soul of Christ's Mystical Body, distributed through every Member, and manifested not only in Prophecy, or Ministry, or Teaching, or Exhortation;

T. p. 209. But also in the Performance of every Christian Duty; as in unfeigned Love; Abhorrence of Evil; Diligence in Business; Patience in Tribulation; Being of the same mind, and not Wise in our own Conceits; Living, if possible, Peaceably with all men; and to sum up all, in being never overcome of Evil, but always overcoming Evil with Good. So again, he that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with Him also freely give us all things. Through his Grace in all things we are more than Conquerors. For he will not suffer us to be tempted (or preſt in any Duty enjoind by him) above what we are able to bear. So, from that other Symbol of God and his Church, a Father and a Family, there is one Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all, and unto every one of us is given Grace according to the measure of the Gift, (the Office, or State, or Condition, or Calling, which is the Gift,) of Christ. The Scripture is every where full of God's Promises of Grace, (suitable to our needs) made on his part in our Baptism unto every one, without any respect of Persons; take one Passage more out of St. Paul, we are all alike buried with Christ in Baptism, and we are risen again with him, and have put on the new Man after his Image; and we are all alike obliged to mortify our Earthly Members. All finfull Lusts and Affections; and to put off all Uncleanness, Anger, Wrath, Malice; and all of us (Married or Unmarried, without distinction) as Elect of God, Holy, and Beloved, are bound to put on bowels of Mercies, Kindness, Humbleness of Mind, Meekness, Longsuffering, Forbearing one another, and Forgiving one another; and above all Things, Charity, which is the Vinculum, bond of Perfection. Then as conformable to these general Duties of every Christian, or Subordinate to them, or rather plainly included in them, he particularly mentions the Duties of Relations, *Husbands and Wives, Children and Parents, Masters and Servants all alike*; and if he had not named them particularly, (as he hath not here mention'd the Duty of Masters) yet they had every one of them been mutually obliged to these particular Duties, by the force of the general Duties of all Christians whatever.

Now then let us review the three Things by which Bellarmine and the Schoolmen would prove Marriage to be a Sacrament truly so called. First it is Instituted by God; so is Government; so was the Body and Members of Man and of every living Creature; and they were commanded to Increase and Multiply. Secondly, It is a Sign of a Holy Thing, Christ and the Church. So is Government; King and Subjects, Master and Servants, Father and Children, are often made in Scripture Representations or Signs of the same; But nothing more commonly than the Head and Members of a Man's Body; God when he first framed it, stampt upon it the sacred Principle of self Preservation. Skin for Skin and all that a Man hath will he give for his Life; is a common Truth, though spoken once by the Devil; and Man's natural Love to himself, is made the Standard by which he must measure his love to his Neighbour; Nay, and his Love to his Wife too, so ought Men to love their Wives as their own Bodies. Self-Love then is a Symbol of Marriage Love, if that is a Symbol of Christ's Love; and if you please you may say Man and Wife are Symbols of Body and Soul; or rather these are Symbols of those. And the Care of the Head for every Limb, and the most admirable Union, and Symetry, and agreement and usefulness of every part in our Bodies to one another, is certainly the most Sacred, as it is the most common and the most lively, Symbol of Christ and the Church; and therefore we have these so often set out in Scripture, as one Mystical Body and Members; but rarely as a Mystical Marriage. Thirdly, there is Grace promised; Grace is indeed necessary to the performance of the Duty between Husband and Wife, and it is promised to them also, as it is to all other Christians in their Baptism and Communion; But what Privilege of Grace, or what Privilege of Grace is promised or given to it more than to other Relative Duties of as difficult Performance, does not appear;

appear; so that thus far we see no real or proper Sacrament in it, more than in those.

But Bellarmine will still have it to be a Sacrament, and farther advances this wonderfull Paradox upon it; He owns that Matrimony hath been from the beginning of the World, and that it is yet amongst Infidels; and that there is no difference between the Marriage of the Antients and that of Christians as to all its Rites, its Matter and Form and the Minister of it; and that those of Infidels were true Marriages; Yet, he saith, that only the Marriages of Christians are Sacraments, and none of the others are so; because Christian Marriages are the cause of Grace, but others are not; and that these or the like words, I do now take thee as mine own; have not the same force amongst Infidels, as amongst Believers; amongst those they make only a civil Contract, but amongst these they signify not only a Union of Bodies, but also a Union of Minds, or a Resemblance of the Union of Christ and the Church, and they sanctify Men.

It is plain then by him, that amongst Christians the Union of Minds in the Married, resemble the Union of Christ and the Church, and sanctifies the Party, upon this I have above made a remark out of the old Pontifical. But why should not a perfect Union of Minds between Man and Wife amongst Infidels, Represent (naturally at least) the same Thing, and sanctify likewise, for like is like? And where such perfect Union is, the Persons surely are in a happy and blest Estate. Now was there never such a loving Couple amongst the Infidels? What shall we say to some of the Pythagoreans, as to Myllias and Timycha? Or to Admetus and Alceste? To Penelope and Ulysses? Aristotle makes these last a most amazing Example, of natural Affection, mutual Love, and Faithfulness. She would never admit the Addresses of any Lover during his long absence; and He refused the offer of Immortality it self, rather than violate his Faith to Her, counting it the greatest Plague and Punishment for a Husband to be unfaithfull, though he should gain, by being so, even everlasting Life. But if we look upon these Instances as meer Romances or Poetick Fables, yet we must own that the Philosopher's Morals or Applications, which he draws from them, are most egregious Rules and Directions for Husbands and Wives; He urges them to strive to overcome one another in Kindness, and presses; ὁμόνοιαν, ὁμοφροσύνην, ἔτι τὴν τοχέουσαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑδωλὴν, the very same extraordinary Charity, the same mutual Concord and blessed Union of minds between them, as St. Paul himself doth. They are such Precepts as, I fear, will make many Christians blush, and one day condemn them. Now can any one be so illnatur'd or hardhearted, or rash as to think or say, that never any Heathen Couple lived up to these Rules? There never was such a Vinculum, divine Knot of Love and Affection in any of them? But if there were such eminent Couples amongst them, there must then be allowed, τὸ θεῖον, θεῖα μοῖρα, (as Plato calls it) a Divine Assistance, a Divine Disposal amongst them, a Conscience and an Inward light to enable them; which I must call Grace, unless you will make the Power of meer Nature to equal or exceed it; And I must also call it saving Grace; for since Christ died for the Sins of the whole World, at least some of them will be the better for it.

What must we now say of the Jews before Christ came? The case of their having many Wives, seems to be not so well considered by the Cardinal, when he saith, the House could not be so well Governed where there were many Wives. For in his Instance of Leah and Rachel (and their Maids,) each of them had their several distinct Tents apart to themselves; As the Jewish Wives had afterwards their separate Rooms and Apartments when they came to live in Houses and Cities; As the Turks fashion (which they borrow'd from them) is to this day. One Wife have her several Lodgings and Family to her self, and the other have nothing to do there, but every one govern only in their own; and they visit one another as now two Neighbours do with us.

Leah

T. p. 211. *Leah* with her Maids, and *Rachael* with hers, were plainly two distinct Families; and the Emulation that was between them made them better Wives, and more pleasing to their Husband, as it is amongst the *Musselmen* every where. And *Jacob* was a truly loving Husband to both his Wives, and as Loving a Father to all his Children; yet he might have a greater tenderness for one Wife, then for the other; and more fondness for *Joseph* then for the rest of his Sons, (as Fathers commonly have for the youngest,) and yet the common bond of true Affection to both his Wives was no ways in this violated or broken; no more then his true Fatherly Love to all his Sons was quite destroy'd by his particular kindness to *Joseph*. And *Jacob* as a Husband with his Wives; as a Father with his Children; as a Lord or Master with his Servants, most truly represented God and the Jewish Church, which was his peculiar People; his Wife; his Children; his Servants; Nay, St. *Augustin* saith Expressly, *plures uxores antiquorum Patrum*. The many Wives of the antient Fathers have signified our Churches which were to be out of all Nations subject to one Man, or Husband, Christ. And there a little after, he calls the Polygamy of the Patriarchs *illius temporis*, in those days, Sacramentum, a Sacrament, as he calls there the Marriage of one Man and one Woman, *nostri temporis*, in our days a Sacrament too; which the Cardinal owns but he cleverly endeavours to shuffle it off, as he does most things else which pinch him. Sacrament there, saith he, is taken in a large Sense not truly and properly. But by his favour Monogamy of Christians and Polygamy of the Jews, are there both called Sacraments in one and the same Sense; yet he owns it is Improperly, or only as nominal Sacraments, or Representations; so then to St. *Augustin*, one was no more a real Sacrament then the other. I am apt to think from hence, that Polygamy more clearly represented Christ and the Church, then Monogamy did. All Christians dispersed over the Face of the whole Earth, Greeks, Latins, Armenians, Abassines, Britains, Lutherans, Calvinists, &c. make up one Catholick Church under Christ; and *Solomon* and his true Wives may seem then to represent it better then *Adam* and *Eve*, or any one Man and one Woman. But perhaps the Cardinal would make us believe that Christ now hath but only one true Spouse, i. e. the Church of Rome. Yet I think she hath gotten (he best knows how) a very bad name amongst some in these quarters of the World. What is next objected against Polygamy, is that it cannot consist with the entire Affection and Love which is requisite to a true representation of Christ and the Church. There must be a defrauding of each Wife in her due, and dissention must arise from thence. But that might be well adjusted then amongst the Jews, as the Turks (their Imitators) do it now; and as *Solon* did in his Laws of old. And some such agreement was between *Jacob* and his Wives, as appears by the exchange of the Mandrakes. But of these Matters I take occasion to speak more fully in another Treatise.

516. A. B. However, if Exceptions are taken against Jews that had many Wives, that they could not be proper Representations of this Sacramental Union; what can be said to those who had but one? Was there never, before Christ came, a pious Couple amongst them, who had that Spiritual Unanimity, that Spiritual Love and perfect Concord mutually between them, which the Cardinal 500. A. B. &c. makes the only Form of his Christian Sacrament? To pass by *Abraham* and *Sarah*, *Isaac* and *Rebecca*, how was it with devout *Anna* and her Husband? Luk. 2. 36. 37. How was it with that Righteous and blameless Couple *Zacharias* and *Elizabeth*? Luk. 1. 6. What can be said of *Joseph* and the blessed Virgin? She was first his Spouse Mat. 1. 18. 24. and then his Wife; and such Marriages, though they are not consummated, p. 504. H saith the Cardinal, retain the principal Signification still, of the conjunction of Christ with the Church, (and with every Soul) by spiritual Love. Was there in none of the antient Jewish Couples, especially in these last named Spiritual Charity, and Divine Love, and mutual Affection enough, to make their Marriages as true Sacraments, as that of Christians are pretended to be? I should

should think it a Piece of hellish Pride and unpardonable Arrogance, in any Christian Couple, to think themselves any way able to equal, much more to surpass any of these blessed Pairs, these renowned Saints, in any conjugal Grace or Respect whatever.

Yet Bellarmine advances another Privilege to Married Christians above all others; Because besides getting of Children which is common to all Nations, nay, even to Beasts themselves; Christians are bound to instruct their Children in the Faith and Religion, that they might be made true and living Members of the Catholick Church. But the Heathens had the very same Notion, not only that they should in a manner perpetuate Nature and Themselves, and set up a kind of Immortality by carrying on Propagation from Fathers to Children, and to Childrens Children; but thereby to leave, *ὑπερτας τῶ θεῷ*, a succession of Servants and Ministers, or Worshipers, to God. And at their Weddings they had always, *ἑορταί, ἑυχάς, ἐυχάς*, Sacrifices, Hymns, and Prayers; so that Marriages with them were ever, Sacraments, that is, sacred Things. And they were as careful in bringing up their Children under the best Philosophers. And the Jews were again and again commanded to take the same care of their Children; and at all times and upon all occasions to teach them and admonish them; and we may sufficiently understand the Father's Authority over them, and their strict Discipline towards them by that severe Law, a Stubborn and Rebellious dissolute Son was to be stoned to Death, that all Israel might hear and fear.

Now what a sorry trifling Answer have we to all this. Though the Jews (and he might have said the same of the Gentiles) were obliged to bring up their Children in the Faith and Religion of God, yet this end was extrinsic to their Marriage, but intrinsic to the Marriage of Christians. Was not Virtue and Morality, and the Happiness which attended these qualities, the chief end of all the Nobler Heathen; and was not this the main Spring and only Motive which put them upon the Education of their Children? Was not the awful fear of the only true God, *Jehovah*, and the inward Love and pious Zeal for his Service the true end of all the Jews performances; and their only aim in their Instructing and bringing up of their Children in the same way? And have Christians any other end then Happiness by teaching and practicing the Law of Christ? The whole Matter then stands thus; God hath in various Measures given Light (which I must Call Grace), unto all Mankind; He plainly Revealed and Manifested himself to the very Heathen, even his Power and Godhead. They had a Law written in their Hearts; and by their own Conscience and natural Reason judged them, accusing or else excusing them; and particularly about their Marriages, they had as solemn Ceremonies and as sacred Thoughts as any others; most of our Christian Rites are borrow'd from them, as I could easily shew. They had a good (though the lowest) degree of God's revealed or manifested Light. As for the Jews God took them unto himself, and made them his peculiar People; and told them that he was their God, and that he was the only true and living God; and delivered unto them his lively Oracles by the Hand of his servant Moses. The old Testament is one entire Proof of all this; but I will direct the Reader only to one Chapter for his Meditation herein, and point out only a verse or two of it. Ask of the days that are past, since the day that God created Man upon the Earth, from one side of Heaven unto the other; did ever People hear the voice of God as thou hast heard? Hath God assayed to take him a Nation from the midst of all others, by Signs and Wonders, and with a mighty Hand, that thou mightest know that the Lord he is God, and none else besides him? Out of Heaven he made thee to hear his voice that he might Instruct thee. The Jews then had a much higher degree of Revelation then the Gentiles. They had not only the law of Nature written on their Hearts; but positive Laws and Instructions given them besides from the mouth of God Him-

T. p. 213.
Gal. 3. 23, 24.

Himself. However as yet they were *as under a Schoolmaster shut up unto the Faith*, under Types and Figures, and Myſterious Ceremonies. Thus God had *at ſundry times, and in divers places and manners*, ſpoke unto all Mankind; and by various Degrees and Methods, had prepared both Jews and Gentiles for the Reception of *that Supreme and moſt perfect Light*, which by their own meer Powers and Faculties they could not conceive, nor on a ſudden were able to bear; *and when the fulneſs of time was come, he ſent forth his only Son*, fully to reveal his will unto all Mankind, by *that Glorious and transcendent Light* of the Goſpel. Now all *theſe degrees of Light* were from the ſame God, and why *Marriage*, which is confeſſedly the ſame under all of them, ſhould be *Intrinfical* only to Chriſtians, but *Extrinfical* to all others, I muſt confeſs I am not able to underſtand; ſeveral Gentiles (as I have hinted before) are Celebrated for many *noble and virtuous Deeds*, both by acting and ſuffering; and I cannot queſtion but that they had *ſome competent aſſiſtance from above*, to enable them to perform ſuch Things, *as by meer common Human Nature* they could by no means have done. And as for the Jews, who can doubt of the wonderfull Preſence and ſingular Help and Protection of God amongſt them, when he peruſes their Hiſtory, which is *of divine Authority* with us as well as themſelves? Or if he but only read that little ſhort extract given us by the Author to the Hebrews; *They ſaw the ſame promiſed Meſſias afar off*, which we have received; and ſhall one day with us partake of *theſe better Things which God, in Him, foreſaw for us*.

T. p. 214.
C. 11.
verſ. 13. 40.

p. 210. Bell.
p. 508. G.

But we are told (as above is noted) *that though Marriages as to the mutual Conſent of the Parties are all equal, and as to the Rites and outward Ceremonies are all true Marriages, yet Chriſt, exexit ad Sacramenti Dignitatem, advanced or raiſed, them, which were before meer human and civil contracts to the Dignity of Sacraments*. It is granted that Chriſtians are under the *greateſt Light of all*, and have the *largeſt Promiſes and fulleſt Diſpenſations of God's Grace, and Spiritual Aſſiſtance*; but is their any particular *addition or prerogative of Grace* given to the Married Couple, *as being Married*, more then what they have by being Chriſtians in common? By Baptiſm they fully enter into *a new Covenant with God*; Do they enter into another diſtinct Covenant with him by Marriage? So as to make their Baptiſm one Sacrament, and their Marriage another? Calvin offer'd the true Notion of a real Sacrament, to wit, *that it is a mutual obligation between God and Man; as Man is bound for Obedience to God, ſo God obliges himſelf by Promise for his gracious Protection and Aſſiſtance to Man*. Bellarmine explodes this Notion as applied to Marriage; and yet if Marriage be as proper and real a Sacrament as Baptiſm is, there muſt be ſuch a diſtinct plain mutual obligation in it, which all the Schoolmens wit can never ſhew.

Ut ſupr. p. 17.
A.B.

But why muſt the Marriages of Chriſtians *be advanced to Sacraments*, more then the mutual *Conſent and Union* of Prince and People, Maſter and Servant, (or Slave) being Chriſtians? Which (as I have ſhewn) are made in Scripture *Significations or Representations* of the *Union between Chriſt and his Myſtical Body*, as well as Marriage is? And ſuppoſe two Married Gentiles, turn Jews and are made *Proſelites of Juſtice*; and from the *loweſt degree of Light*, now enter into the *fiſt Covenant with the true God*; why is not their Marriage now *advanced to a Sacrament* by that *higher Light*, as well as it would be if they afterwards turn Chriſtians? The Jews always counted their Proſelites *Regenerate or as new born Babes*, as well as Chriſtians are counted by Baptiſm; And the *Union* of two ſuch Gentiles, after they are made Proſelites, would as fully *ſignify and represent the Union* of God and the Jewish Church, as it would afterwards *represent Chriſt and his Church* if they turn'd Chriſtians. And if after two Married Gentiles, or two Married Jews turn Chriſtians, their Marriage is thereby *advanced from a meer civil contract to a Sacrament*, how muſt it be in the Caſe which St. Paul mentions if only one of them is made a Chriſtian, and yet both ſtill continue Man and Wife and live

Seld. Ux. heb.
l. 2. 18.

I Cor. 7. 13.
14.

toget-

together? Must the formal Marriage be *advanced to half a Sacrament* to the Believer only, or to a particular kind of a *medly Sacrament* to them both? Or is it *as true and perfect a Sacrament* in that case, as (according to the Cardinal) it would be if both were converted alike? The like questions may be moved, concerning Princes and their People, Masters and their Servants or Slaves, when one relative is *Profelited or Converted*, and the Correlative remains as before.

The Schoolmen, as well as the Cardinal and his Ape *Arcudius*, labour hard to find out a *Matter and a Form*, for this Matrimonial Sacrament. But let them make *these* what they will, *these* must both needs be *different*, as they make *the Marriage* and as they make *the Sacrament*; for as much as *Christian Marriages only are Sacraments* with them, all other being but meer *civil contracts*. Suppose then two Heathens, or two Jews are Married; *the Persons*, (according to them) *are the matter, and the Words expressing their mutual consent are the Form*. When either of these Couples are made Christians, there must be at least a *new Form*, if not a *new Matter*, to *advance their Marriage to a Sacrament*; For the Marriage in it self stands always good, and is ever one and the same so long as the parties keep together; for it never was known that two Heathens turning Jews, or two Heathens or Jews turning Christians were Married again upon that Account. And though *Bellarmino* truly owns that *Christ hath not express'd the Matter and Form of this Sacrament, because he hath not Instituted any new Symbol to it*; Yet, saith he, *he hath given to the civil contract, a new Signification and a Promise of Grace*; so that *these*, by him, are made *the two Formal or Essential Causes of the Sacrament*. As for the *new signification* I have proved the same as plainly given in Scripture, to *Christian Governors and Subjects, Masters and Servants, Fathers and Children*, and other Relative Duties, more frequently *then to Marriage*. And if Marriage be now amongst Christians made a *Sign*, Christ and the Church according to him are the only *Things signified*, how then is Grace the *Thing signified*, and what is that Grace in particular? Again when Husband and Wife live at variance, (as it often happens,) or when they mortally hate one another, and live the life of Hell upon Earth; how can this Marriage signify Christ and the Church? And as for the *Promise of Grace*, I can find none, but what is *equally and generally* given to all *these Relations* alike at their Baptism; And a Heathen Couple turning Jews, may as truly be said to have then a *new signification of a sacred Thing* (as I have said) and a *Promise of Grace too* by entering into that first Covenant; and though these in them are not in so high a degree as in *Christianity*, yet they must make Marriage to the Jews *as true a Sacrament*, as to the Christians, in the same proportion as Circumcision did bear to Baptism. At last the Cardinal considering the fruitless jangle and subtilties of the Schools about *the Matter and Form* of this pretended Sacrament, thus cleverly shuffles up the whole Dispute; *As to the belief and administration of the Sacraments, it is enough to know how many Sacraments there are, and how they are to be celebrated; but as to their Matter and Form, a good Catholick may safely dispute about them, and even be utterly ignorant of them*. This is exactly conformable to their old Maxim, (that singular Opiate for troublesome Consciences,) *believe as the Church believe*, and never trouble your head to understand *how or what it is*, or whether it be nicely right or wrong.

But we meet in *Bellarmino* with yet another *reciprocal*, or rather *circular* Argument. *Matrimony is Indissoluble, therefore it is a Sacrament and not a civil Rite*. And, *Matrimony is a Sacrament, therefore no civil Rite, and by consequence is Indissoluble*; and he saith, *it is Indissoluble, for whom God hath joined together, no Man can separate*. Where there is a hearty and mutual consent, and a Promise, by words in the present Time, of both Parties, without doubt God puts them together, that is, as we say, *they are Man and Wife before God*. If he means that such a Marriage as this, is a Sacrament, all Marriages of Jews and Gentiles as well as of Christians, thus made, are Sa-

T. p. 215. craments and Indissoluble alike. But then as *only mutual consent*, (before God) at first makes that Contract and Obligation; so the same, *mutual Consent*, (that is, before God still,) may upon many occasions again dissolve it, as well as any other Contract or Bargain; and I can see no reason at all for making Matrimony an Exception to that general Rule of the Law. *As consent makes, so consent dissolves a Contract*. And the Apostle by Parity of reason seems to me to allow it; If they may *abstain from one another*, or part, *by consent for a time*, why not as we say, *for good and all*, if there may be as good and as justifiable an occasion, as that which the Apostle mentions? Of all which I shall say more by and by.

ff. de reg. jun.
l. 35.
1 Cor. 7. 5.

T. p. 216. Again, if we own that *mutual Love and Consent*, is the only true *Vinculum* or Bond which first joins them, and by consequence must still keep them together; what bond or tie can there be which shall keep them *Inseparable*, when they fall out and hate one the other Irreconcilably? The outward human Law may force them indeed to be still Man and Wife, but *the true Bond of Love and Charity* is quite vanish'd away, and the *real Union* is utterly dissolved.

If he means, *whom God*, that is, the Church with its Forms and Ceremonies, *hath put together*, he makes Matrimony only an Institution of the Church, that is, meerly human, and not a Sacrament of Christ himself; and Heathen and Jewish Marriages had their Forms, and Priests, and solemn Ceremonies, as well as ours. And thousands of such Marriages, I fear, are made amongst us, where there is no Inward hearty Love or Consent, but either Compulsion of Parents and Friends, or meer design or prospect of Portion, Estate, Preferment or some outward advantage couple them; commonly on one side or the other, (and sometimes on both sides,) the Fortune is Married and not the Person; so that as matters are now managed, one would think, *that God*, that is, true Heavenly Love, join not many this way. It is to be feared that there are too many in our days, who take up and follow that wicked and abominable Principle of Palliating the foulest Adulteries with the specious name of *Modern Polegamy*; The Man and the Woman, say they, who are join'd by the Church, are indeed *the Husband and Wife in Law*; but if he hath a Harlot, and she a *Mignon* (or as they call him a Gallant) at the same time, which they love entirely and secretly enjoy; these are *the true Husband and Wife in Conscience*, and are most properly said *to be one Flesh*. Where in Marriage there is a mutual Consent and a true Love and Promise, express'd by words of *the present time*, the Ceremony of the Church adds nothing to the Obligation, but serves only to witness it, and solemnly publish it; and I see no reason but that by such a mutual Consent, upon many occasions, with some publick Ceremonies of the Church, the same Obligation may be dissolved by a solemn Divorce.

1 Cor. 6. 16.

A. Gel. l. 4. c. 3.
& l. 17. c. 21.
Cod. de repud.
l. 8.

And this now brings me to the Consideration of the Greek Church, which, (if *indissolubility of Marriage* is the certain or the only note which declares it to be a *Sacrament*, as the Latins say,) is far enough from making it a *Sacrament*, notwithstanding all that the most Reverend *Dositheus* and his Jerusalem Synod say to the contrary; for it is most notoriously known that the present Greek Church very frequently allows Divorce, and we have no reason to doubt but that upon many occasions it always was so amongst them. Divorce was very early began by the old Romans, and the Practice continued down to the Christian Emperors, when it was early ratified by their publick Laws, as under *Theodosius Junior* and *Valentinian* Anno Christi. 449. and Man and Wife, *infausto at necessario auxilio*, had this *unhappy but necessary remedy of Divorce* allow'd them against one another. "It was a sufficient ground on either side, *causis apertius designatis*, for one *plainly to prove* against the other, *Adultery, Homicide, Witchcraft or Sorcery, Treason, Cosenage, robbing of Graves, Sacrilege, Theft, receiving or encouraging Thieves, Plagiar, or Kidnapping, conspiring or contriving one anothers Death, beating one the other.* "And against the Man particularly, *stealing of Cattle, accompanying lewd Women*

T. p. 216.

“ *Women especially before his Wife; and against the Woman particularly,* T. p. 217.
 “ *Gossiping or Feasting, lying abroad at nights against her Husbands will or*
 “ *knowledge, delighting to go see publick Shews or Plays or sports, without*
 “ *his leave, or when he forbids her.* Any of these things clearly proved was a
 sufficient Cause of Divorce, and Man and Wife being thus separated might either of
 them Marry again to other Persons. Eight and forty Years after *Anastasius* allow'd
 Man and Wife to part by Divorce *with common Consent*, without naming any
 Cause. And one way of parting thus by mutual Consent, was long before call-
 ed *bonâ Gratiâ*, by *bone Grace*, or *good Will*, that is, *fine ira sua animi &*
offensa, without any Anger, or Peevishness of Mind, or without the least of-
fence or discontent; as the first Divorce amongst the Romans was; Spurius
Carrilius Ruga loved his Wife most dearly, but having no Children by her,
 he thought fitting (as the Easterlings do to this day) to try what might be
 done by his taking another Woman and she another Man. And *Justinian* also
 allow'd this parting by Consent, and that not only, if it was done *bonâ Gra-*
tiâ, by good will or without any unkindness between the Parties, but also whe-
 ther there was *any reasonable Cause* or no, if they both agreed upon Terms
 and Conditions *καθάπερ αὐ ἐκαστὸν δοῦναι, as it seem'd good to either Party.*
 And all the other Causes above mention'd on either side were continued down
 to the sixth Year of his Reign, when they were by him expressly revived and
 reinforced, and he added three more for which the Man might Divorce his
 Wife. If she makes her self miscarry that she might not have any Children by
 him; If she is so lewd as to Bathe with other Men; If she talk with other Men
 designing to cast him off and Marry another. About nine years after this he re-
 view'd the reasons of Divorce, and made only these Causes sufficient for it.
 In either Party, *Treason, Adultery, contriving one anothers Death;* For
 the Man particularly against the Woman, *Gossiping or Janketing abroad, Bath-*
ing with other Men; Lying out at Nights; Seeing of Plays, Shews, or
Sights. For the Woman in particular against the Man, *If he is so base as*
to Pimp to some other Man to make his Wife a Whore; If he accuses
her of Adultery and cannot prove it; If he keeps a Harlot at home or
abroad. Parting by consent was absolutely forbidden by him now, unless it
 was only for either Party not to Marry again but to *live Chastly.* Impotency
 in the Man (as it was of old) was still made a just Cause; and any Husband
 might turn Monk, and any Wife might be made a Nun; and Captivity (as former-
 ly) after a certain time left them at liberty to Marry again. And these were now
 made the only Causes of Divorce, so that a Woman could not now Divorce her
 Husband, though (without any of the Causes above mention'd,) he whipt her
 or cudgell'd Her. About 25 Years after *Justin*, his immediate successor in the
 first Year of his reign, confirmed all which *Justinian* had established before
 him, excepting his Law against *parting by Consent*; which he repeated, and
 established *the old custom again, of dissolving Marriages by common joint*
Will and consent of both Parties.

By all these several Laws about Marriages and Divorces, and their being so
 often changed, repeated, and again reinforced, it seems to me most evident,
 that Marriage was all along counted by the Greeks and Eastern Christians no
 more than a meer civil Contract or Sanction, which was on several considerati-
 ons kept or broken, ratified or nulled, and in many Conditions often altered,
 by the sole Authority of the Emperor or civil Magistrate; The Church was no
 more Concern'd in it, then to prescribe Forms and Rites, and by them to so-
 lemnize the outward Publication of it; and it was no more counted by Christi-
 ans of old as a *Sacrament or Mystery*, properly so called, then it was by all
 other Nations Jewish or Gentile, when it was always likewise Published with
 Pomp and Ceremony.

And Divorce upon these Causes last mention'd hath been constantly Practised,
 amongst the Greeks, ever since *Justin's* time even unto this present day. Where-
 fore I wonder at what Mr. *Justel* saith, *Planum est divortiorum causas, &c.* It

Novel. 22. c. 15.

§. 1, 2.

C. ut supr. l. 8.

§. 4. 5.

Eod. tit. l. 9.

Anno 497.

ff. de donat.

inter v. ux. l.

32. §. 10.

A. Gel. ut supr.

Nov. 22. c. 4.

c. 15.

c. 16. §. 1.

Nov. 117. c. 8.

c. 9.

Eod. c. 10.

c. 12.

C. de repud. l.

10. Nov. 22.

c. 6.

Nov. 117. 12.

14.

Nov. 140. Pref.

& c. 1.

T. p. 218.

Not. in Can.

Eccl. Univers.

p. 84. a.

is

T. p. 218. *is plain that all the causes of Divorces, except Adultery, which were formerly received by the civil Laws and were invented by the Emperors, were never admitted by the Church; and therefore those who parted according to those Laws and Married again, were counted by the Judgment of the Church guilty of Bigamy, and therefore they were deservedly Censured and Punished as such?* Mr. Justel knew very well that all these Causes of Divorce were taken into Photius his Nomocanon, and allow'd in common Practice amongst the Greeks; can any Man imagine that Divorces would be thus permitted by the Emperors as lawful, if at the same time the Church condemn'd them as Sinful, and censur'd them as such, by inflicting spiritual Punishment or Penance upon them? I am sure they are now used upon the Occasions above named, and their present Nomocanon, which I have in vulgar Greek at large in a Manuscript by me, set down exactly the same Causes, and add several others to them. Give me Leave to mention two or three of them. *If a Man espouseth a Woman taking her for a pure Virgin, and upon tryal plainly find her not so, he may put her away and take another; but if he useth her a second time, this argues him to be content, and he cannot then part with her for that first fault.*

Can. 85. P. 346. *If a Woman beats her Husband, or being with Child cause her self to miscarry on purpose to vex him, he can put her away.*

c. 80. P. 349. *Either Man or Woman, that is a Thief, a Robber of Graves, Sacrilegious, a Pyrate; upon proof separated, by the innocent Party.*

c. 87. P. 355. *A Man who abuseth his Wife backwards, or any way unnaturally.*

c. 88. P. 356. *Hereticks, if either persist in their Heresy.*

c. 86. P. 356. *Δαμονόμοιοι, Persons possess'd with the Devil; or perfectly Mad, the Woman, if after three Years she is no better, is separated. The Man, after five Years continuance, is separated; and the sound Person may Marry again.*

Leon. constit. 111. 112. Bals. in Tim. Alexan. Bevereg. T. 2. 169. *When one turns Monk or Nun, the other free to Marry. And the Man made a Monk, may afterwards be made a Bishop, though his Wife be alive and Married to another Man.*

Com. 85. P. 348. *Λωδοί, Leprous Persons separated; the sound Marry again; the Man maintain his Leprous Wife during life.*

Therefore Mr. Justel's distinction between the Imperial Laws and the Canons of the Church in this case is very frivolous; the Nomocanon being made in Photius his time, (from both these sanctions,) the standing Rule of Practice; and it is much more obligatory now, the Greeks being under the civil Government of the Turks, they embrace this Nomocanon now universally as the entire and only Prescription for all Ecclesiastical Matters, and civil likewise, that are not Capital; observing the Apostle's rule, *Brother goes not to Law with Brother before the unbelieving Turks*; but all Matters of Meum and Tuum, Right and Wrong, and Matters of Immorality or Behaviour, are tried and judged before the respective Bishops, Metropolitans, or Patriarchs, in whose districts the case happens; to their Courts all delinquents are cited, and the utmost Punishment of all Offences, to the disobedient and Impenitent, is *Excommunication*, (the Sword being in other Hands,) and *this* amongst them all (notwithstanding the general decay of true Devotion and Religion amongst them) is, as it ought to be, more dreaded than any Corporal Punishment whatever; it is this terror only which keep them in perfect Obedience to their Pastors.

In Divorces therefore the Case is heard in the Bishop's Consistory, and if there be a just occasion, according to the above mention'd Rules, the διαζύγιον, or γράμμα χωρίστας, the Bill of Divorce, is framed and signed by the Prelate, who is judge, and enter'd in his publick Registry; I have several Forms of it by me in my Manuscript. Thus it is not permitted to either Man or Woman to part, either Bonâ Gratiâ by good Will or otherwise, without his Cognisance and Approbation.

I have

I have discoursed with several worthy *Greeks*, (especially some not Poison'd by the Latin Emissaries,) who have thus offer'd to Justify their Practice of Divorces. There are, say they, acknowledged by all good Christians, three ends of Matrimony. First, Procreation of Children. Secondly, to avoid Incontinency. Thirdly, mutual Comfort and Society. As to the first, Impotency for three Years in a Man, actual but incurable Incapacity in a Woman, are allow'd by both *Latins* and *Greeks*, nay even by God himself, as a just Cause of Separation, because that end of Matrimony is thereby frustrated. Why may not Sterility or Barrenness be as well allow'd as a sufficient Cause; especially if both Parties out of a desire of Children part, *Bonâ Gratiâ*, by free Will and Consent? It is evident enough that a Man or Woman, who can have no Children between them, may both have Children, if they respectively change for others. Besides a Man who gets Children enough by other unlawful Women, but can get none by his Wife, shews plainly that the end of his Marriage fail not on his side; If a vast Estate, or perhaps the welfare of a whole Kingdom depends upon his having an Heir, hath he not *πρόφασις εὐλογον*, as laudable and as reasonable a Cause to put away his Wife and take another, as she would have had against him if he had been proved Impotent? The case of our King *Charles* the second hath often fallen into these discourses.

As to the second end of Matrimony; A good Man *Marries* rather than burn; but his Wife falls ill of a loathsome incurable Disease, so as he cannot endure her Bed; *He burn'd* before he had tasted the Pleasure of Fruition, but now he knows what it is *he burns* more furiously; what must he do? I answer'd in *St. Paul's* words, *my Grace is sufficient for thee*. They reply'd, that it was no less than a Miracle in *St. Paul*, and if it were not a great Presumption in every ordinary Man in this Case to expect the same, it would certainly be one in the Governors of the Church to expose every poor Creature, without distinction in such circumstances, inseparably to such violent Temptations as must needs often assault them. The *Greeks* therefore think it perfect Charity to separate them; and they accuse the *Latins* as Guilty of unreasonable and intolerable Cruelty, for not only forbidding their separation, and enjoining them perpetual Continency, but (what seems to them most extravagant) for obliging the sound party to pay due Benevolence to the Infirm one, if it be required. The Reverend Fathers of three whole Provinces in the Council of *Vaurium* surely had another Opinion of this Matter; when they decreed that Lepers should be altogether excluded from sound Peoples company, and therefore they were permitted neither to come to Church, nor to Mercate, nor Shambles, nor Publick Houses, (nay they were not suffer'd to be buried with other clear Corps) and their reason was this, quia morbus ipse contagiosus existit, because that Disease was Infections and creeps upon sound Bodies by touch alone. Now to oblige a sound Man or Woman to pay the Marriage Debt to one thus Infected, seems to the *Greeks* as unreasonable as to force a sound Person to accompany with one that hath the Plague. It is as great Tyranny and Barbarity as that of *Mezentius* who tied the Living to the dead, fitting Hands to Hands and Mouths to Mouths.

As to the third end of Marriage, which is mutual Society; What comfort can there be with a rotten Carcase? What delight between a harmless Lamb and a furious Tyger? What concord between a Saint and a Fiend? Between *Christ* and *Belial*? What safety with one perfectly Mad or possess'd with a Devil? Again, what can be said when the fault or Cause lies on both sides, as when extravagant and ungovernable Passions constantly rage in both the Man and the Woman, and the bitterness of their mutual discord and spite is wrought up to that height of Hatred and Malice, as to Curse one another and every moment wish one anothers Death? The *Greeks* think it the highest piece of Christian Charity, as well as Christian Prudence, to separate Persons clogged with these most lamentable circumstances especially the latter; rather than still

T. p. 221.

still to chain them together under these daily Tempests and Storms of Hell it self.

Anno 556.
§. 11. &c.

Novel. 140.

Baronius seems to them too blindly and too violently attract to the *Sacramental* Popish party, when he so unreasonably inveighs against the Emperor *Justin* for restoring the antient Laws of *Divorces*, and parting by mutual Consent, which *Justinian* (as above said) a little before had abrogated. For the weighty Reasons there set down, for which this was done sufficiently speak for themselves to all the World. First he exprest as great a Veneration for Marriages as is possible, and solemnly wished that they might always be fortunate, and thereby seem (as we say) truly made in Heaven; But since in such a Multitude of People, it is impossible that here and there some, ἀλόγως δυσμενίας, unreasonable Enmities and Quarrels should arise, he thought fitting to contrive some Remedy for this; especially where, τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς χῆρας, the frailties of Mind in the Man and Woman rose to that height as their mutual Hatred could by no means be extinguished or aswaged; The old Laws allow'd a parting, Bonâ Gratiâ, by mutual Consent, but his Father *Justinian*, (who, he said, for Piety and Wisdom surpassed all the preceding Emperors) thought fit by a Law to forbid this parting by Consent; and *Justin* also had a great desire that it should have so remained in full force and vigour. But very many apply'd themselves to him who hated and loathed their Marriage, and (what was most lamentable and very sad and grievous) complain'd of the Quarrels and Fightings which from hence happen'd at home; and desired to be parted, though none of the Causes (above named) allow'd by the Law were pretended. He maturely consider'd of this matter some time; sometimes admonishing them, sometimes with threats urging them, that they would leave off the unreasonable Hatred which was between them, and come to an agreement and better temper of Mind. But it was all to no purpose; for it is a wonderful hard thing to reconcile them who are once seized with unaccountable Passion and Hatred. For it happen'd that some of them fell to Wicked Designs against one another, and used Poison and other deadly Practices. In so much that often their very Children, which were their joint Offspring, could not bring them to one and the same Mind. Upon these considerations he abolished the late Act of *Justinian*, and restored the antient Practice of parting by Consent; Reviving this rule of the Law. If mutual Disposition, or Consent, of Mind makes Marriages; in like manner a contrary Disposition of Mind may by Consent dissolve them; provided it be declared by (the Prelates) Letters of Divorce. These were *Justin's* reasons for his Law, and it hath been Observed and Practised amongst the Greeks and other Eastern Churches ever since to this very day.

ff. de reg. jur.
l. 35.

Ludol. Coment.

in Hist. Æth.

l. 3. c. 672.

Seld. ux. hebr.

l. 3. c. 26.

T. p. 222.

Mat. 5. 32. c.

19. 9.

Deut. 24. 1.

Gen. 9. 22, 23.

Lev. 18. sap.

The Latins still peremptorily insist upon the words of Christ, *Man and Wife*, say they, *must not part*, except in the only case of Fornication. To which the Greeks think that many things of very great Moment may be said. First, it is plain that Christ did not absolutely forbid Divorce, but allow'd it, ἐν λόγῳ πορνείας, in the case of Fornication, as we render the Greek word, πορνεία, in English. The Law for Divorce amongst the Jews was this, If a Man found some Matter of Uncleanness in his Wife he might put her away. There is no great doubt to be made but that the Jews in Christ's time had corrupted this Law by their false Glosses, as much as they had then done all the others mention'd by our Saviour in his Sermon on the Mount. What we translate matter of Uncleanness is in the Hebrew ערוּרָה נָקִיזָה Nakedness of a thing or matter. And because, ערוּרָה Nakedness is often taken for the secret or privy Parts of Man and Woman; and because these are counted, in the Apostles Language, τὰ ἀνόμιμα καὶ τὰ ἀσχήματα dishonourable and uncomely or shamefull things, the Hebrew Phrase, Nakedness of a Thing, there signify Uncleanness or Filthiness; and it is rendred by the LXX, ἀσχημὸν πᾶγμα a filthy Thing or shamefull Matter; and seem there most properly to be meant of moral Turpitude, evil Manners,

Manners, vitious Inclinations, and Practices, But in the foregoing Chap. T. p. 222.
 ter, the very same Hebrew words are plainly used to express *Bodily uncleanness, and filthiness and nastiness*; in the Jewish Camp they were to keep themselves from every ill thing. As, by reason of uncleanness that chanced Deut. 23. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.
 to any of them in the night, they were to go out and not return till the next night, first washing themselves. They were to go out of the Camp to ease themselves, and then to dig a hole to cover their Excrements; Both these things were to be done for this reason that the Camp might be Holy & 14.
 and that God should not see, ערוה ובר, the Nakedness of any thing, or as the LXX ἀσχημοσύνην παύματα the filthiness of any thing, among them. Here the Phrase is plainly applied to *bodily Uncleanness*, or any *Nastiness* or *Filthiness*. Now the Jews might in time from hence have made not only *Immorality*, (according to the primitive Sense) but any *shamefull thing*, or *Indecency*, or *common Infirmary*, (as frequent making of Water, or Looseness in Sleep, or Vomiting through Intemperance, and the like) a sufficient cause of Divorce; nay, if upon any account whatsoever at last, the Woman did not find Grace or favour in her Husband's Eyes, he put her away; and this gave the occasion of the question made to our Saviour, whether Divorce might be made κατὰ πάντα αἰτίαν for every cause? Christ level'd his answer most particularly against this Phrase, as if he had said, you must not upon every cause Divorce your Wives, that is, upon every pettish humour or dislike, or trifling pretence, as your manner now is, yet there remains still (even under the Gospel) one substantial Cause or Reason for it, and that is, λόγος πορνείας some Matter or kind of Fornication; intimating, that to have been the Primitive and only Intention of Moses his Law, before they had corrupted it out of their illnature and hardness of Heart, and before that Corruption was grown into common Practice, and so was suffer'd and permitted.

If this Gospel of St. Matthew was first written in Hebrew, as the common Tradition is, whatever the word was there, which is now rendred in Greek, πορνεία, neither that nor this could here signify *Adultery* properly so called; for that was punished not by Divorce, but by Death, and there was no bill of Divorce given in that Case. Now the Greek word πορνεία, if taken in its full Latitude doth signify, not only *simple or plain Fornication*, but all *filthy fleshly Lusts*, and *lewd Unclean, obscene Practices*; as St. Augustin expressly expounds it, and he saith positively, that for the Practising illicitas concupiscentias, such unlawfull Lusts, as well as for stuprum, plain Whoredom, Man and Wife, sine crimine, without any blame may Divorce one the other, because our Lord hath made Fornication a just Exception; and it is so explain'd by St. Paul, the will of God is, that you should abstain from Fornication, that every one should possess his Vessel in Sanctification and Honour; not ἐν πάθει ἐπιθυμίας, in the Lust (the Passion) of Concupiscence, even as the Gentiles which know not God. And the same Apostle elsewhere explains this Passion, or loathsome Disease, of Concupiscence, by, πάθος ἀπειρίας, those shameful Affections, and abominable Lusts, unto which God had given the Gentiles up. The Woman did change the natural use into that which is against Nature. And likewise also the Men leaving the natural use of the Woman, burned in their Lust one toward another; Men with Men working that which is unseemly, or very shamefull. And thus we find the word πορνεία, extended far beyond simple Fornication, in so much as to take in the unlawfull Marriage, or filthy Fact of the Corinthian, who had taken his Father's Wife, and so Idolatry is again and again called Fornication; they Sacrificed, saith David, their Children to Devils, and thus they were defiled with their own works, ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἐπόρευον, and committed Fornication with (or by) their own inventions; and we meet it many times elsewhere in the same Sense.

These old Heathenish words, κίναδοι, ἀισχροποιοί, ἀσχημοσύνη, πάδες, πόνοι, μύσους, ἀνασιπφαλλοί, λεστιάς, τρεβας, μυσαχίης ὀλισκοί, ἀκυτήγιον, ἐκδόλιον, Φίλ-
 τρον,

T. p. 223. *την*, I say these and a great many more such old words are lost amongst the present Greeks, but the lewd Practices unto which they relate, (as I am very well informed) remain still too rife amongst them; and *οι ἀποδένοντες* and *αἱ ἀποδένουσαι* are equally with all these forbidden, and severely censur'd in their present *Nomocanon*, and in their Directions to their Confessors. Now *πορνεία* Fornication is used (though it is far too mild a name) for all these abominable and execrable works of *Darkness*, which are done of them in Secret, and it is even shame ever to speak of them. If Idolatry be spiritual Fornication, what must these accursed Actions be which were first learn'd and borrow'd from the Idolatrous Heathen? And if a Man join'd to a Harlot be one *Flesh*, any innocent Person forced to be join'd to any of these enormous Sinners, must be made so too.

But not only these monstrous and unnatural Sinners, but *רקקק*, *Rekhekecab*, *οι μακρόντες ἑαυτὸς*, every one that by wilful Sins withdraws or keeps himself far from God, is called, *זנוה*, *Zone*, *πορνέων*, by David, a Fornicator from God. And instances of such spiritual Fornicators are there made in the foregoing part of the Psalm; As the Wicked in general; she proud and Violent; The Corrupt and those that loftily talk of Oppression; The Prophane who set their Mouth against Heaven; Saying, how doth God know; Is there any knowledge in the most High; These are the ungodly; How are they brought into Destruction? They that thus Fornicate, and are thus far from God shall Perish. And in this large Sense is *πορνεία* taken in the Revelations, not only for the Idolatry, but for all the Impieties, and Abominations, of the Mystical Babylon.

Now the Greeks urge that Question of Origen, what must be done with a Woman, who though she commits not Fornication, yet doth something more Heinous; as if she be a Sorceress, or destroys her Children or her Conception; Lavish out her Husbands goods; Steal from him? Or (you may add) if she Practiseth any of the above hinted horrid Lusts, and unnatural Deeds; or does any of those things expressly forbidden by Justin as his *Nomocanon*? If she be for these crimes Divorced, how can it stand with Christ's words, who allows only Fornication as a Cause? There is something, saith he, which seems *Inhonestum*, dishonest on either side, I know not whether it be truly dishonest; For to endure such Sins of a Woman, which are worse then Adulteries and Fornications, will seem to be unreasonable, and yet to act contrary to the will of Christ, every one counts impious.

But since all these foul Sins are plainly declared either Corporal or Spiritual Fornications, the pious Prelate, who (now a days amongst the Greeks) is the only Judge of complaints in these Cases, diligentèr requires, after diligent enquiry pronounce Sentence in the Matter. If the Crime be so Enormous, or the Accusation so directly opposite to any of the three Ends of Matrimony, as he thinks in his sincere Conscience that it is better that the unfortunate Couple should be separated, then that they should be daily and hourly exposed to most violent and dangerous Temptations, and perpetually chain'd together under such a burden as meer Flesh and Blood is not able to bear, the Greek and Eastern Churches conclude Divorces made under these circumstances to be plainly allow'd by the words of Christ; and in Origen's words *justam excusationem habent apud Deum*, are excusable in the sight of God. And the Latin Casuists comprehend under the name of culpabile *Adulterium*, sinful Adultery, omnes species *Luxuriæ* in qua caro cum carne dividitur, all sorts of uncleanness, Bestiality, Sodomy and corruption between two of the same Sex, &c. If therefore it be Lawfull before God to part in case of single Fornication, how can it be unlawful in case of those other unnatural and abominable crimes, (especially when they are multiply'd or complicated) which are far more heinous and more intolerable.

Next the Greeks think that there is very great weight in that Phrase, *παρεκτός λόγου πορνείας*, saving for the Cause, or rather upon consideration, of For-

of Fornication; for many cases may happen where Divorce seems necessary for preventing it. They take occasion from some hints which Origen hath given them thus to argue. When either Party being Young and Healthful cannot enjoy by reason of Impotency, or some loathsome and incurable Disease or the like; it seems absolutely necessary that the sound Person should be separated rather than burn; if for a Man only to look and lust after a Woman (or a Woman after a Man) be Adultery; how often, without almost a Miracle, must the sound Person commit Adultery or Fornication, at least in their Heart? If a Man in time cares so little for his Wife, as to suffer her to do what she will, and to Gossip abroad, and to keep company with other Men; had he not better put her away, then that she should continually nourish such vicious and lewd thoughts in her Heart as must needs arise there? If either Person be, τὸν δὲν ἀσθενέσῃ, fired with excessive Lust, and one is not able or willing (perhaps out of Sanctity or Chastity) to gratify the others desires; there is the same reason for their parting, rather than that the unsatisfied Person should fall into unnatural gratifications of their Lust, or commit real or mental Adultery or Fornication; for even this continual mental uncleanness seems to the Greeks a more reprehensible Evil, then what can happen, if they part, and chuse others more agreeable to their Natures; and they think it better to hazard one disputable point (as they at most count all such Divorces so,) then for any one to live in continual burnings, or in repetition of any known Sin. Or (as it is said to have been Fabiola's case in St. Hierom) to venture one slight wound to avoid many more from the Devil.

Origen plainly tells us that this was Practised in his time; scio enim quodam, I know some Bishops, saith he, who contrary to the letter of the Scripture have permitted a Woman to Marry another Man, her first Husband being still alive; yet they have not permitted this altogether without a Cause; for perhaps for the Infirmities of Incontinent Men, they have permitted what was bad in comparison of what was worse, contrary to what had been written from the beginning. And he instances a little before in several such things permitted in Scripture to prevent what is worse; non secundum veram Justitiam, sed secundum duritiam cordis hominum; not according to strict Justice, but in condescension to the Infirmities of Men and the hardness of their Hearts. It is good for a Man not to touch a Woman, but to avoid Fornication let every Man and Woman Marry. It is good for Widows, and Maidens, and Batchelors so to abide, but if they cannot contain let them Marry; for it is better to Marry then burn. Now containing and burning are of the very same nature in a Single or a Married State; though they both appear much stronger in this latter, for what hath been said before. Therefore in the many Cases beforemention'd, and many others which may be brought concerning those who are Married, the same words in all parity of Reason may be said, If they cannot contain, let them part and Marry again to others.

When two desire to part bonâ gratiâ, by good will, for none of the causes before mention'd, but perhaps only that one; or both, might live a recluse Life, as a Monk, or a Nun, or a Hermit, separated from all Society of the contrary sex, to give themselves wholly to Devotion and Prayer, surely (as is said before) it is as justifiable that they should part upon this score for ever as for a time; and even here is, λόγος προείας, consideration of Fornication, or Uncleanness; should they lie together, or live together, or see one another, or others of different sex daily, it is impossible, that their thoughts should always be so pure and free from all Carnality and Vanity, or so entirely taken up with Heavenly contemplations, as if they were confin'd to a Cell or Hermitage; thus Turks never suffer Women to come to their Mosch's or publick Prayers. they say where Men and Women are together it is impossible to offer up a pure spiritual Sacrifice, and neither Greeks nor Jews suffer Men and Women to sit together at their publick Devotions; and all this is, λόγος προείας,

T. p. 226. *reias*, a meer consideration of avoiding all Impurity or Uncleaness, but if only one of the Married Couple amongst the Greeks desires upon this account Solitude, they are suffer'd to part, and the other (as is above said) may Marry rather than burn.

Divorces in all these Cases, are not left to the meer humor and will or desire of the Parties, but are solely refer'd to, and only allow'd by, the diligent and serious Examination and Judgment of the Reverend and Pious Prelate, who hears the Case; as in my Nomocanon and in their several directions to their Confessors.

The Greeks very much Reverence the Opinions of their Fathers though they many times differ from one another, and sometimes (upon some circumstances) even from themselves. But most of those Citations, which are produced out of them by the Latins against Divorces, are looked upon as particular and private Opinions, or only as grave and good Counsels, rather than Commands. This is

Concil. Arclat.

1. Tom. 1. p.

1428. c. 10.

Basil. hom. 7.

7. in Hexam.

p. 94.

Chrys. hom. 62.

in Math.

c. 48.

Chrys. ut supr.

Mat. 19. 11.

T. p. 227.

2 Cor. 12. 7.

8. 9.

Rom. 7. 23.

1 Sam. 25. 25.

Job. 2. 10.

Eph. 5. 29.

made the Moral of a Fable of the Viper and the Lamprey. *If the Husband be of a rugged and salvage temper, the Woman must necessarily bear it, and upon no account whatsoever take upon her to break their Union or Society; He beats her but he is her Husband; He is a Drunkard, but he is according to Nature united to her; He is surly and never well pleased, but he is a Member of her, and that the most honourable one. And on the other side, as the Viper vomits out his Poison, so the Man out of Reverence to their Union must lay aside his bitterness of Spirit and Inhumanity. If one be Meek, Virtuous, and Good; the other Rails, Scolds, Spendall, is Proud, Haughty, Impudent, Fierce, Outragious, Tyrannize; if one upon any account of disease in Mind or Body can't endure the other, and all these sad Circumstances continue unalterable and incorrigible, they are advised to bear all this servitude, only Death can make them free. Affronts, Reproaches, Beatings, and all ill usages are patiently to be endured.*

These and the like sayings are piously spoken by many of the Good Fathers, *κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν γνώμην*, according to their private opinion, as Basil says of himself; and one could not but confess, *οὐδὲν ἐπαχθὲς εἶναι δοκεῖ*, It seems a very heavy thing to have a Husband or Wife full of all Naughtiness, and to endure a wild untameable beast ever within shut up with one; Therefore, say the present Greeks, we must apply our Saviour's words to all these good Counsels, *all Men cannot receive these sayings, save to whom it is given*. Which words we find by many Commentators apply'd only to the Unmarried State of Life; but the Greeks think them as necessarily applicable to the Married Life, (if not in that place plainly refer'd to it) in the Circumstances and for the Reasons above mention'd. If any who are thus Married can be so blessed by Nature or Grace, as they can be able to bear *τὰ οὐδὲν ἐπαχθὲν*, these very hard burthens, they will pronounce them as perfect Saints, as St. Paul was in his Unmarried State. For he that studies Men, and rightly considers their Nature, and the circumstances and changes of Times, and Places, and Nations, will perhaps now find as much *hardness of Heart* and *vile Inclinations*, amongst many who call themselves Christians, as was of old amongst the Jews. Man is Man still, and made of Flesh and Blood; Every Nabal or Man of Belial hath not an Abigail, and every one of the foolish Women hath not a Job to her Husband. These good Counsels therefore suit well with thoroughly regenerated Minds; Nay, they may work upon some ill Persons so as to mend their bad Tempers a little, but never thoroughly to cure them; Whereas upon other Reprobate, or ungovernable Spirits, they have no more effect then whistling hath to the laying of a storm of Wind, or calming a tempest of Thunder and Lightning. Therefore the Greeks in these Dismal Circumstances have allow'd a necessary though unfortunate Remedy. No Man, saith St. Paul, ever yet hated his own Flesh, yet he will willingly part with a gangren'd Member, rather than endanger all the rest.

There

There is a Greek Father who speaks very honourably of *Marriage and the Bed undefiled*; and saith indeed positively, *that Matrimony can be cut off only by Death or, μοιχεία, Adultery*. Where the Greek word must be taken in such a Latitude as to include, πορνεία, *Fornication*, otherwise it would clash with the words of our Saviour. In this case of uncleanness he praiseth, *τον Φυγόντα την επίβουλον, him that thus drives out his Treacherous Wife, and cuts asunder, τον δεσμὸν, the bond by which he was tied to the Ape and the Viper*. For the first maker of all things, saith he, pardons him as one who on a just account was grieved, and had deservedly chased out the Plague of his House and Family. For Marriages are contracted for these two ends, mutual affection and getting of Children; but none of these can be attain'd where there is *Adultery* or *Fornication*. Now if one of the Parties (or both) be, (in his own words) *θνηώδης καὶ ἀμελίκτης, ἐκ δυνὸς ἢ πέτρης, brutish and implacable, made of a Crab-tree or of a Rock*; or guilty of any of those unnatural enormities before spoken of; or Impotent; or seized with some filthy incurable disease; are not these two ends (to pass by the third) as much disappointed or frustrated, as by plain *Adultery*. His advice in many of these Cases will, I fear, do but little good; let each Party, saith he, *σωφροσύνην ἀκολουθεῖτω, τον ἀγαγὴ τῶν γάμων σύνδεσμον, practise or use Moderation and Prudence, that being the Indissoluble band of Matrimony*; If then, according to him, *Moderation or Prudence be the bond of Matrimony*, where that is lost, or can no ways be had, *Man and Wife* are no longer one *Flesh*; where, *μικροψυχία, Incurable weakness of Mind and violent and outrageous Passions*, (the ordinary Effects of that *Poorness and Pettishness* of Spirit,) where *vile Affections and Lusts and incorrigible Lewdness of Life*, (the common attendants of *Madness and Folly*,) govern the Heart, it is usually *Deaf* and will not *Hearken* to the most charming *Advices* which can be given. *Bray a Fool in a Mortar yet will not his Foolishness depart from him*.

For these and the like Reasons the Greeks allow'd of Divorces; and they could count all, that their Fathers have said to the contrary, only as *good Counsels*, or rather *good Wishes*. For the civil Laws were continually in force, and Practised even from *Constantine's* time to *Justin*; and in not one of all the general Councils kept through all that Period, is there any notice at all taken of Divorces; much less are they restrain'd or absolutely forbidden; yet these very Fathers were then successively living, and most of them were Members of these very Councils, as the learned *Selden* hath most judiciously observ'd. And *Balsamon* allows all the cases of Divorce in *Justinian* as good and reasonable. And as he saith that *Divorce* is not right if it be done *παράλογως without Reason*, so he allows it, if it be done *κατὰ νόμους according to the Laws prescribed* and *ἀπὸ γνητῶν αἰτιῶν, upon the Causes recited*. And all this was always done *μετὰ δικαστικῆς διαγνώσεως, with a due Examination before a Judge*, or by a judiciary proceeding; which now amongst the present Greeks is before their *Prelate* as is before said. From all which constant Practice, and at least tacite consent, if not universal approbation, Marriage seems to me to have been accounted by them only as a *Civil Rite*, though published and honoured with the solemnity of the Churches Prayers and Benediction; as the Coronation or Installment of Emperors, Princes, Kings, and Knights of Noble Orders, is; and this solemn Investment of them may as truly be called a *Sacrament* as Marriage; I am sure it is in it self, (and is generally counted) more truly *Indissoluble* than that.

It would be too tedious a work to set down here the Office and Rites at large of the Greeks Marriage, or of those used in any other Nation; I shall have occasion elsewhere to give an account of the Greek Weddings, at which I have oft been present. I shall only add here this single Remark; That the Church of Rome since the Council of Trent seems to me in their Rituals more favourable or at least not so declarative in this Indissolubility of Marriage. For in their old Rituals in the preceding contract they were to promise to each other, *to forsake*

T. p. 227.
Asterius in
Math. 19. 31.

Mat. 5. 32.

Asterius ut sup.
91.

Eph. 5. 31.

Psal. 58. 4. 5.
Prov. 27. 22.
T. p. 228.

Ux heb. l. 3.
c. 28. & c. 31.
p. 415. 442.
In can. Apost.
l. 48.
Edit. paris.
1620. p. 258.

Lloyd MS. in
bibl. Cantab. p.
217. b. 218.
MSS. Coll. Le-
nedict.

T. p. 228. all others, and, adhere, to keep fast to one another only, so long as they both should live; And in the mutual obligation following, in words, *de presenti, of a present import*, they (that very Moment) took one the other expressly till Death them depart; But now as if they were aham'd or weary of it, in their present Rituals, all this is left out; and the Priest only asks them, (A. B.) wilt thou take (B. A.) here present for thy Lawful (Wife or Husband) according to the Rite of Holy Mother Church? To which both answer respectively, *I will*. Then the Priest make them join their Hands and faith, *I do join you into Wedlock, in the name of the Father, &c. Amen*. The Church of England retain much of the old Form, but instead of the French word, *Depart*, the plain English is put, *till Death us do part*; and what follow'd in the old Roman Form, *if Holy Church will Ordain*, we leave out; and yet that plainly shews, that, of old, Marriage in the Latin Church was not counted a *Sacrament* or Covenant made by God or Christ, more then the Coronation of a King or the like; but was a *meer Ordination of the Church*, and as it was so made, it might be so upon occasion dissolved, as it is the Discipline and Practice of the Greeks to this very day, notwithstanding what this *Jerusalem Synod* pretends to the Contrary. Neither is their to be found in any Copies of their Office or Form of Matrimony, either Antient or Modern, (that ever I yet could see) any such kind of mutual Obligation of the Married Couple, or Promise to one another, to keep join'd and separate from any other Person as long as they should live, or till Death should part them.

T. p. 229.

The various and far different ways and Manners of celebrating Marriage in all Nations and Places and Ages of the World (amongst Christians, Jews, and Gentiles) shew to me plainly that it was always and every where accounted only a civil Constitution; But because it was of such weighty Consideration, as the Propagation and in a manner the Immortalizing of Human kind, it was every where solemnized by religious Ceremonies and circumstances, according to the various Fashions devised in every Country, Place, or People; as the Coronation of their Kings; the Inauguration or Instalment of their Governors, or Officers; their Processions, Funerals, and all the like Politick or Publick performances were; all wick have as real a foundation in Nature, and an Original from God, as well as Matrimony hath. Marriage therefore in reality is no more then a plain mutual contract or Bargain, (or at most a kind of Vow or Oath,) but no stipulation or Covenant between God and Man; for there is no peculiar Promise on God's part made; He is only made a *Supreme Witness* in that, as in all other common leagues and mutual engagements between Man and Man; and if any common Bargain or Agreement was of such consequence or weight, as to be made before a Priest, and his Prayers and Blessings upon it were solemnly added; and Money or Bonds, or only any bare Earnest were mutually or respectively given and taken; a subtle Schoolmen might find out as substantial a Matter and Form, and make it altogether as good a *Sacrament*, as they can make of Matrimony.

Synod. Hierosol.

I will now pass on to the next Mystery or Sacrament of *Dositheus*, τὴν μετάνοιαν ἢ πνί ἐστὶ σὺμμιχτὸν ἢ μυστηριακὴν ἐξομολόγησιν, *Repentance, with which is join'd Mystical or Sacramental Confession*; or, what he would fain make all one with it, the *Latins Penance and Auricular Confession*.

Faith and Repentance, and upon these previous conditions *Forgiveness or Remission of Sins*, are the main and principal concern and end of the Gospel revealed to the World by Jesus Christ; They were the common Texts or Doctrines which the Apostles Preach'd throughout all Nations. *Forgiveness of Sin* was believed long before both by Jew and Gentile; but they thought it was not to be obtained without substituting in their stead, the *Flesh of Bulls, the Fat of Beasts, the Blood of Goats and Sheep, and other Innocent Creatures*; or at least without some outward Performances, Offerings, Lustrations, or Washings, and the like, thinking by these means to pacify the offended Deity; Nay, for Murder, Adultery, and many other such like heinous Sins, the Jews and

Numb. 35. 30.
31.
Exod. 21. 12.

and Gentiles thought there could be no Attonement at all; *ὅτι τὰς ἀποκαταστάσεις καὶ τὰς ἐξομολογήσεις οὐκ ἔμελλεν εἶναι* *There was no manner* of Expiation taught them sufficient to take away such enormous Crimes. But the Doctrine of Forgiveness taught us by Jesus Christ, is infinitely more Gracious and so comprehensive as to take in all manner of Sins, in all sorts of People throughout the whole World. His first words were *Repent for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand*, as if he had said, *I am come just now to open the Kingdom of Heaven, and by your sincere and unfeigned Repentance I will let you in.* He bad the Impotent Man, and the Adulteress *Sin no more*, and let them go uncondemn'd; and he told the Hypocritical Scribes and Pharisees, *that he came not to call the Righteous but Sinners to Repentance.* The nice Puritan Jews, murmur'd when they saw him receive and eat with Publicans and Sinners, but he sufficiently checkt their Spiritual Pride, telling them *that there was Joy in Heaven in the Presence of the Angels of God over one Sinner that Repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just Persons, which need no Repentance;* And he illustrated that his Doctrine, by three most Gracious and Comfortable Parables there together. On the other side he informed those that wondred at the Galileans who had suffer'd by Pilate, and at those on whom the Tower of Siloam fell, (and by the Parable of the barren Figtree,) *That without Repentance we shall all likewise Perish.* I will add but one Instance more in the Sinful, but Penitent, Woman, which wash'd his Feet with Tears, and wip'd them with the Hairs of her Head; he dismissed her with these ravishing and most remarkable words; *thy Sins are forgiven, thy Faith hath Saved thee; go in Peace.* And he gave this reason of the matter to St. Peter, *Her Sins which were many were forgiven, for she loved much;* as she fully exprest it by her behaviour.

The summe therefore of the Gospel as to this Point, is, as if Christ had thus (in the words of Isaiah) declared it to all the World, *Wash you, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mine Eyes, cease to do Evil, learn to do well;* If you do this, *Believe me,* (without any Legal or Gentile Sacrifices, or Offerings, or outward Rites,) *though your Sins be as Scarlet, they shall be as white as Snow, though they be red like Crimson, they shall be as Wool.* And the Apostles Preach'd every where this very Doctrine. St. Peter with the eleven gain'd about three thousand Souls at his first Sermon; when the People asked them *what they should do,* Peter said, *Repent and be Baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the Remission of Sins;* And again we find him declaring the same Glad tidings of the Gospel, *Repent and be Converted that your Sins may be blotted out;* God having raised up his Son Jesus, *sent him to bless you, in turning every one of you from his Iniquities.* St. Paul taught every where the same saving Truth; at Athens confuting the long Practis'd Idolatrous Worship of the Heathen, he told them, *the times of that Ignorance God winked at, but now commandeth all Men, every where, to Repent.* And yet more fully, in a mixt Congregation of Jews and Gentiles at Antioch, he with full Authority declared this most gracious Charter (as I may so say) or everlasting Prerogative of the Gospel, *Be it known unto you Men and Brethren that through this Man (Jesus Christ,) is Preached unto you the forgiveness of Sins, and by him, all that Believe, are Justified from all Things, from which ye could not be Justified by the Law of Moses;* and I will add, *or by any expiation of the Gentiles.*

And here before I proceed, I cannot but make these two brief Reflections. One great Reason (of which I find not much notice hath been taken) why the Preaching of the Gospel was so hotly oppos'd both by Jew and Gentile, might be this very Thing; The Preaching up Forgiveness of Sins; that it was now to be had by Repentance alone, without any outward Legal or Gentile Solemnities or outward Performances, must needs exasperate all the Jewish and Heathen Priests in those days; because it quite destroy'd their entire Ministrations, their

T. p. 229.
Levit. 20. 10.
ib. vers. 2. &c.
Zosim. hist. 1. 2.
in Constantin.

Mat. 4. 17.

Joh. 5. 14.

c. 8. 11.

Mark. 2. 17.

Luk. 15. 7-10.

T. p. 230.

Mat. 10. 10.

Luk. 12. 5. 6.

Luk. 7. 37. &c.

Acts 2. 14, 38.

41.

c. 3. 19. 26.

c. 17. 30.

c. 13. 38. 39.

T. p. 231.

T. p. 231, their Sacrifices, their Lustrations, and all their other Expiatory observances; and by consequence it took away their Office as well as their Livelihood. This must needs every where make as great a Tumult and Uproar, as St. Paul's Preaching down the Silver Shrines of Diana at Ephesus. The Priests must every where cry out against the Apostles proceedings herein, as violently as Demetrius and the Silver Smiths then, are said to have done. Nay, the common People, or such as now we call the Laity, must have been wonderfully surprised with this new Doctrine, and must have been most horribly enraged to think what dreadful things they had done to the contrary; and must have most furiously fallen, either upon St. Paul, or upon their own Priests, for teaching them to do, or not to do such dismal deeds; They that listened to the Gospel would revile their own Priests with St. Paul's words, have you thus long cheated us and made us *partakers of the Tables of Devils*? Have you so grossly abused us all this while, as to make us *Sacrifice to Devils and not to God*? Others would thus have treated St. Paul, *have we given thousands of Rams and ten thousand Rivers of Oyl, nay, our very first Born for our Transgressions, the Fruit of our Bodies for the Sins of our Souls*, that we might be reconciled to our offended Deities, and doth this, *σπερμιολόγος*, *Babbling prating Fellow* tell us that there was no need of all this; nay, that these Practices infinitely increase our Guilt, and that only a hearty Repentance would have effectually made our Peace? *Away with him, away with him, for it is not fit that he should live.*

My next thought is this, the Notion of God's forgiving Sins, only upon a true and hearty sorrow and sincere Repentance seems to me as great an Argument as any of *divine Revelation*. For when I see how very difficult and in a manner scarce possible a matter it is to be forgiven by a displeased or offended Prince, or King, or Lord, or Master, nay, by our very equal, and to be fully and thoroughly restored to his entire Favour and Kindness again; and yet to think that the Incomprehensible Majesty of Heaven and Earth, the God of Gods, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords should be *τυγ Zognem, Angry* displeased or *Provoked every day*, by us ungrateful Creatures, and yet upon our humble Acknowledgments and sincere Repentance would freely and fully Pardon us and Forgive us, I say, this Notion is so Transcendent, and Amazing, as it could never have enter'd into the Mind and belief of miserable Man, had it not some way or other been plainly revealed to him from God himself; it could not possibly be a meer human Invention, but must have had its Sanction and Promulgation from him alone; and therefore it was made by our good God, his own most gracious Message and Declaration by the Blessed Jesus his only Son, our Lord, *who is the Propitiation for our Sins, and not for ours only, but also for the Sins of the whole World.*

Thus then we may be fully assured of the Remission of our Sins, if we firmly believe in Jesus Christ, *and turn to God with a Godly sorrow for them*, and (what is its Effect or Consequence,) *with a true Penitent and relenting Heart*. This Doctrine is so clearly set down and so often repeated in the Gospel, as not only its Truth is put beyond all doubt or manner of Dispute, but it is in its self so plain as the meanest Capacity can understand it, and Practise it. Say not therefore *O poor Sinner*, that it is too hard to be Learned or to be Conceived by thee, *for this word is nigh thee even in thy Mouth, and in thy Heart*; Thou knowest in thy Heart when willfully thou offendest thy God, or thy Neighbour; and thou understandest what thou meanest when with thy Mouth, thou sayest to one, *God forgive me*, and to the other, *I pray, Sir, Pardon me; I am heartily sorry for what I have done; I will do so no more.*

But speculative, busy, and designing Heads have, in these latter Ages, by their Airy inventions and cunning Contrivances so confounded and perplexed, and nicely *cramp'd* or limited this simple and common Doctrine, of Faith, Repentance and forgiveness of Sins, as they have made it not an easy Subject for the

the peaceable Pulpit, or a plain Practical lesson for every Christian Congregation, (as it is and ought to be,) but a matter of Disquisition, dispute and Contention, fitted only for the wrangling Schools; as if this Doctrine which was to be *Preach- ed* and taught to all Nations and to all sorts of People, was not in it self within the Reach and Apprehension of every one of them, and (according to the Pro- phesy of it.) *So plain as he that run may read it*; but that it was design'd only for the speculation of the *pretenders to Learning and Wisdom*, the fanciful and hotheaded *Disputers of this World*. I shall therefore now first briefly set down this Doctrine as the Schoolmen and the Latin Church have new Model'd it and drest it up. Then I will shew how far that differs from the true intent and meaning of it in the Gospel, and from what was the plain and Primitive Practice of it in the Church of God. And lastly I will shew that the Greek Church, as to this Article, is far enough from agreeing with the Church of Rome, as the Jerusalem Synod would have the World believe that it doth.

The Latins tell us that to the effectual obtaining of *Forgiveness of Sins*, or, as they Phrase it, *to the profitable receiving of this Sacrament of Penance* there must be, first *Contrition*, or Sorrow for Sins past with a purpose of amendment of Life. 2dly. *Confession* to a Priest of all the mortal Sins which he can possibly remember. 3dly. A *Penance* or Punishment undergone, which the Priest shall think fit to impose. 4thly. The Absolution of the Priest; and that all these put together make a Perfect Sacrament.

We are thus taught the Article of *Contrition* by their Catechism; *we must have above all things a perfect Hatred of our Sins past, and then, from hence, utterly forsake them, and resolve to lead a new Life. And we must be sorrowful more for the loss of our Innocence and the Grace (or Fear) of God by committing Sin, then we can be for the loss of Friends, or Honour or Estate or any thing else that this World can afford us. Our Hatred and Sorrow for Sin must be most vehement and transporting; as it is exprest in Scripture by those piercing Metaphors, a broken Heart, rending our Hearts, pricked in the Heart, cut to the Heart, and the like; And thus we ought to abhor and bewail every Sin in particular which we have committed, without lessening or palliating any one.*

All this thus far seems to me so very good, as I can't imagine that any Pious Christian can find fault with it. But here I must needs make this *Quære*, whether a Sinner after Baptism thus fully *Contrite* and Humbled before God, from a true sight and inward Sense and Abhorrence of his Sins; continually bewailing and confessing them to him alone with a steady Faith in Jesus Christ; one who, (as *Hezekiah* did) *go softly all his Tears in the bitterness of his Soul, Afflicted and Mourning and Weeping*; I say whether such a one need any formal Absolution of a Priest to be forgiven; or whether this *his Faith and hearty Repentance* alone, between God and himself, without the Priest's interposing, would obtain his Pardon?

Bellarmino himself acknowledges his *Contrition* to be, *veram Pœnitentiam*, true Repentance, but without the Absolution of the Priest it is (to him) no Sacrament, and accordingly very imperfect and ineffectual. So the Catechism makes *Confession and Satisfaction* absolutely necessary to true *Contrition*, and yet all those places of Scripture which plainly promise *Forgiveness to all that Repent*, are quoted in order to prove it and as motives to it; And at last we have these very words, *Ipsa certè Contritio nunquam illi (Deo) grata & accepta esse non potest, for certain, Contrition can never be unpleasing or unacceptable to God, for the Prophet saith, a Broken and Contrite Heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.* It goes on, "But also those words of the same Prophet declare that (Statim) immediately after we have (but) received *Contrition in our Minds, Remission of Sins is given us by God*; according to that, *I said I will confess my Transgressions unto the Lord, and thou forgavest the Iniquity of my Sin.* And then the Healing of the ten Lepers is likewise brought as an Instance to prove the same Truth, and at last comes

T. p. 233 comes this conclusion, *Ex quo licet cognoscere veræ Contritionis, de qua supra dictum est, eam vim esse, ut illius beneficio omnium delictorum veniam statim a Domino impetremus. From whence we may know that the Power of true Contrition, which we have above spoken of is such, that by the benefit of it we may, (Statim) forthwith obtain from God the Pardon of all our Sins.* Now since *Contrition* (or hearty Sorrow for Sin) and sincere *Repentance* are all along declared and fully proved so acceptable to God, and purely in themselves so infallibly sure of *Forgiveness*, (God having confirmed his Promise by his Oath,) it seems strange to me, that no *Contrition* shall be allow'd to be true and perfect, sine confitendi & satisfaciendi voluntate conjuncta, *unless a will (or desire) of Confessing (to a Priest) and doing what Penance (he orders for satisfaction) be joined with it.* When it is declared from all the Texts and Instances foregoing, that *Forgiveness* certainly follows sincere *Contrition and Repentance*, why is (Statim) forthwith, or immediately, added, if this, *Forgiveness* must be suspended and deferr'd till a Priest, and some formal *Penance* (set by him for satisfaction) may be had? Why are we told that (Statim ut concepimus) *so soon as we have (but) conceived or thought of Contrition in our Minds, God instantly grant us Remission of our Sins?*

Ezech. 33. 11,
12, 20.

§. 35.

T. p. 234

§. 37.

But to cease or satisfy our wonder herein, we have as wonderful an Argument to prove the necessity of *Auricular Confession* as you can wish, for the compleating of our *Contrition* by it; which I shall now consider, and it is this. *Since our contrition ought to be so vehement and severe, as that the bitterness of our Grief, or Sorrow, should be equal to the heinousness of our Sins; and since few arrive to this height, and by consequence very very few can hope for Pardon of their Sins this way, necesse fuit ut Clementissimus Dominus Faciliori Ratione communi hominum saluari consuleret; quod quidem admirabili concilio effecit, cum Claves regni coelestis Ecclesiæ tradidit; It was necessary that the most Merciful God should consult the common Salvation of Man by an easier Manner, or Method; which truly by admirable Counsel he hath effected, when he gave to the Church the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.* This (as Rome hath order'd it) is indeed a much easier way then what the Scripture prescribes. If we find it irksome and very uneasy to be always in the bitterness of our Soul, Afflicted and Mourning and Weeping for our past Sins, we may go to a Priest and compound the business; we may Commute the Torments and the pangs of the Soul for a little Mortifying and Chastising of the Body, or for emptying of the Purse; which when it is (often very slightly, God knows,) done as the Priest enjoins it, all accounts to that day will be even'd, and now presently we begin upon a new score. *Though our Sorrow is not so great, as to be enough to obtain pardon, yet by the Power of the Keys, all our Wickedness and Sins will be forgiven, when we have once duly confessed them to a Priest.*

§. 38.

§. 37.

This is rare Doctrine indeed, and without doubt very pleasing and bewitching to Flesh and Blood. But for my part, instead of that airy commendation, (which we have a little before in praise of this *auricular Confession*,) that *whatsoever Holiness, Piety, and Religion, by the special Blessing of God, is at this time preserved in the Church, ought in great Measure to be attributed to this Confession.* I am fully perswaded that it hath in the Romish Church given the greatest encouragement imaginable to all manner of Lewdness and Debauchery; and lull'd many many quite asleep with a profound security in their Sins and Impieties. But of this more hereafter.

Confession is next to be considered; which may be made either to God alone, or to Man; and this latter either to a Priest, or to the whole Congregation, or to a Neighbour. But in Order to the obtaining of *Forgiveness of Sin*, it was a meer Problem or Question in P. Lombard's time, *Whether Confession to God alone was sufficient?* Without any of the other three. This shews most plainly that *auricular Confession* was not then the common or received Doctrine or Practice of the Church; and it so continued for at least 50 Years after; till,

l. 4. d. 17. §.
jam.

till, being wrought and drest up by *Lombard* and other Scholastick Heads, and being by the deep and subtle Advancers and Managers of the Roman Power thought, that it might be of such great consequence and use to the carrying on of their dark Intreagues and designs) it was at last enjoin'd, at least once a Year, to every one of Age in either Sex, and made a standing and indispensable Rule by *Innocent* the Third. *Lombard* hath set down some Authorities urged for *Confession* to be made to God alone. Besides the Example of *David* (which is also made the Duty of all Godly Men) and the words of *St. Ambrose* (which are expressly against satisfaction) and the Authority of *Maximus* and *Prosper*, he quotes *St. Chrysostom*; who being a Greek, his words ought to be of more weight with the Patrons of the *Jerusalem* Synod; and therefore I will here crave leave to set them down from the Original Greek, ἢ λέγω σοι ἐκπόμενον σ' αὐτὸν, ἐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, I do not bid thee, saith he, publicly expose thy self, or accuse thy self παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, to others; but I advise thee to obey the Prophet, who saith, reveal thy way unto the Lord; Confess these things to God; Confess thy Sins to the just Judge. Praying, though not with thy Tongue, yet with thy Memory; and so count thy self worthy of finding Mercy. If thou hast thy Sins, διωχῶς, continually in thy Memory, thou wilt never bear any grudge to thy Neighbour. Again, τὰ δὲ ἁμαρτήματά σου, σὺ λέγε ἵνα ἐξαλείψῃς, but tell thou thy Sins, that thou may'st blot them out; But (perhaps) thou may'st be ashamed to speak because thou hast Sinned; Tell them every day in thy Prayer. And why so? Do I say, tell them, τῷ σιωδῶν, to a fellow Servant who may upbraid thee? Tell them to God who cures them. For God, though thou should'st not tell them, is not Ignorant of them. Or will he learn them from thee? When thou didst do them, he was present; when thou didst commit them, he was by; he knew them well. Didst thou do them, and wast thou not (then) ashamed? Thou hast not been ashamed to do the deeds which (now) make thee ashamed, and canst thou be ashamed of the words which justify thee. Tell them here (in this World) that thou may'st not tell them there, (in the other World,) tell them and weep. Thy Sins are written in the Book; thy tears are the Sponge; weep, and they are blotted out.

There were therefore learned Men in *Lombard's* time, who, from the Testimonies abovemention'd, and from these of *Chrysostom*, declared that *Confession* to God alone was sufficient, without the Knowledge or the Absolution of a Priest; and those Men of this Opinion then were not counted either Hereticks, or ill Men for it. Nay, *Lombard* himself was then of this Opinion, for he saith, Quid ergo super his sentiendum? Sanè dici potest, What therefore must we think of these things? It may truly be said, that without the *Confession* of the Mouth, or the paying of external Penance, or Punishment, Sins are blotted out by Contrition and humbleness of the Heart; for in as much as he purposeth in his grieved or vexed Mind that he will confess, God forgives him, because there is the confession of the Heart and not of the Mouth, by which the Soul inwardly is cleansed from the stain and infection of Sin committed, and the debt of eternal Death is loosed. This was then counted good Doctrine, but the whole Herd of Schoolmen after him have thought good to blame their Masters, to shuffle off all these plain Testimonies and many more, by saying that they were all meant only against publick Confessions (for publick Sins) made to the Congregation, as in publick Penance; but for private or hidden Sins, thou must confess them to God indeed; but thou must confess them also to the Priest. If *Chrysostom* had thus interpreted himself, it had been well for them; but though those words in the first Passage, do not publicly expose thy self, ἐκ ἐκπόμενον, do plainly indeed forbid publick Confession, must those also which immediatly follow do so too? neither accuse thy self, (παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, which must mean,) to any others? He plainly opposes *Confession* to God alone, to all other Confessions either publick or private. In the next quotation, If thou art ashamed to speak, because thou hast sinned,

T. p. 235. *tell thy Sins to God, if not with thy Tongue, (as he said above) yet do it in thy Memory. Thou may'st be ashamed to tell them publickly, nay, to tell them privately, τῷ σὺνδῶλῳ, to thy fellow Servant (be he Layman or Priest,) but tell them to God who will cure thee; thou needest not be ashamed of him. Neither (saith Bellarmine, and the rest of the Schoolmen) need you be ashamed to tell them to a Priest, for he is bound to Secrecy. So, say I, O Sinner, was thou bound not to Transgress? but yet thou didst Transgress,*

T. p. 236. *and so the best of Priests amongst them, is still but a Man, and without doubt in this point may, and, I fear, too often doth Transgress. The Romish Priests have the Consciences of all their Clients and Profelites in their Hands; and can thereby pry into the Secrets of their Princes, and their Courts and Councils. Did never Jesuits Break, or so much as crack the privy Seal of Confession? Was there never so much as a hint or a slight Innuendo made by any one in these matters? O Man, great is thy Faith, if thou believest thy self as safe under the Priest's Seal, as thou art in the hands of the All-mercifull God. Christ commands us, to do our Alms in secret, to Fast in secret, to Pray and to confess our Trespasses in secret; and if this be not a Command, but only his Counsel and Advice, I shall ever count my self bound to take it. And though this Command seems here to be level'd chiefly against Hypocrisy and Vainglory before Men; yet to prevent as great an evil it stands as obligatory still; to do these Acts in secret to God alone, (especially confession of my Sins,) in Nestorius and his successor Chrysostom's Sense, to avoid Scandal to the Church, (and many many other Evils and Inconveniencies which might attend Confession to a Priest, and his being privy to all my Thoughts and Actions) I must think it my plain Duty, or wisest and safest course at least, both towards God, my Neighbours, and my self; to address my self in secret to God alone in all these performances.*

d. 17. §. nunc priusque & cum ergo. But what shall we now say to Lombard's Doctrine, who tells us, that the Power of Confession (to Man) is so great, that if you cannot find a Skillfull Priest, you must confess to your Neighbour. This I think is manifestly contrary to Chrysostom's advice; for surely he (a lay Neighbour,) is comprehended under the word, σὺνδῶλῳ, my fellow Servant, if a Priest is not. For my part I must think that every profess Christian in particular, is my fellow Servant. And this Confession to a lay Neighbour, by the present Doctrine of Rome, is by no means allow'd as a Sacramental Confession, and therefore is very imperfect; yet they have this Salvo for Lombard's Doctrine, that the very earnest desire to have a Priest, in some measure, supplies the defect of not having one. But Chrysostom himself explains, σὺνδῶλῳ, fellow Servant in my Sense, by the word, ἀνθρώπων, Man, in general; as if he had said confess not σὺνδῶλῳ, to a fellow Servant, or to any Man in general; where he hath much to the same purpose with what is cited above, and at last he brings in God himself speaking, ἐκ ἀναγκᾶς, I do not compel thee to come into the middle of a Theater, and admit many witnesses, ἐμὸν πᾶ ἀμαρτήματα εἰπὲ μόνῳ κατ' ἰδίαν, confess thy Sins to me only, alone, (or in private) that I may heal thy Ulcer and ease thee of thy Pain. And many other places in him are own'd by Bellarmine, and Arcudius and others, to the same purpose; as, Let the Examination of thy Sins be in thy Thought, let this Judgment be made without a Witness; let only God see thee when thou dost confess. And again, Take no witnesses of thy Sins; Reform them inwardly in thy Conscience, no one being present but that God which sees all things. And again, He doth not force us openly to confess our Sins, but commands us to give an account of our selves to him alone, and to make our Confession to him. The learned Men (which I mention'd above) in Lombard's time thought these passages such pregnant proofs against Auricular Confession, or Confession to any private Man, as, (waving all the other Fathers who speak to the same purpose) they thought the plain word of God and the Authority of St. Chrysostom sufficient to justify their Opinion; and there was no publick determination in those days

Mat. 6. 3. 6.
12. 18.

In dir. & Laz.
4. p. 258. 6.

Ibid. 15.

l. 3. c. 15. b.
l. 4. c. 2. p.
405. a.

days against it, *Auricular Confession* being then a meer *speculative Concepti- on*; as yet neither *shaped*, nor *born*, nor *lickt into Form* till a long time af-
 ter, as hath been said. *Arcudius*, is so Ingenuous as to own that these pas-
 sages seem indeed to have some shew of Truth in them, and to favour
 the Hereticks, and therefore, says, they are to be read very cautiously;
 for Chrysostom's meaning in them must be only this, that God alone is the
 sole Author of the work, (of Forgiveness of Sins,) yet not excluding the
 Priest as the Instrument or Minister. But surely when I am expressly taught
 by him to Confess, not with a Witness, not to others, not to Man, but to
 God only, and to him alone, God makes my self the proper Instrument in
 this his great work, and I need no other. T. p. 136.
 1.4.c.2.p.40.
 T. p. 237.

But *Lombard*, and after him the whole Troop of Schoolmen, from some Pas-
 sages in *Chrysostom* himself, and in other Authors, stuck close to the new bene-
 ficial Notion of *Auricular Confession*. For, say they, the Priest is the true
spiritual Physician, but how shall he know how to apply any cure to a Peni-
 tent or Profelitte, unless he is by him informed of his Disease and every particu-
 lar circumstance of it; which must be done by private Confession to him.
 Secondly, say they, what becomes of the Power of the Keys without Au-
 ricular Confession? How can a Priest be able without it to bind or loose a
 Sinner? De Sacerdotio.

As to the first of these Objections, there is no sober Christian who can or
 will deny that there may be many particular cases, in which a Penitent or any
 other Conscientious Man may, and ought to go to a spiritual Physician, for his
 Advice and Counsel; and to lay all his Difficulties and their circumstances plain-
 ly before him. He that casts but his Eye upon our own Worthies, *Taylor*,
Hall, *Hammond*, *Sanderson*, and several others, (not to mention the nume-
 rous Casuists in the Church of Rome,) must needs own this great Truth, that
 the private advice and Direction of the Minister is upon many occasions not
 only usefull, but very highly necessary. Suppose a plain illiterate Man, who
 never received the Holy Communion but designs to do it, desires to know his
 Duty therein more fully and plainly than what he can gather of it from the
 preparatory Sermons and Exhortations which he hears from the Pulpit; is it
 not very proper and necessary for him to consult his Minister, that by his pri-
 vate Discourse he might be set right in that his Godly purpose, and that he
 might more plainly understand the heinousness of Sin, and the way and means
 of being reconciled with his God? If a Man by the horrid thoughts and sight
 of his Sins be hurried to the very brink of Despair; or if Men be quite op-
 press'd with grievous and daily Crosses, and as it were overwhelmed with the
 prospect of a most Miserable and uncomfortable Life; when that subtle Enemy
 the Devil tempts them in these deplorable Conditions to destroy themselves; and
 at once to put an end to their lives and cares; whether should they go but to
 their spiritual Guide, who by his wholesome Counsels, and fervent Prayers to God,
 may strengthen them and quiet their troubled Minds? The opening of a wound-
 ed Spirit to a common Friend gives great Ease and Refreshment; how much
 greater Comfort must it afford, if it be done to one of God's peculiar Ministers
 and Messengers, who with his Commission and Authority are regularly sent to
 Preach the Gospel of Peace, to bind up the broken Hearted, and to Comfort
 the distressed, least they should be swallowed up with over much Sorrow and
 Vexation of Spirit? I am confident, if Men in these and the like con-
 ditions, would but have recourse to their Spiritual Pastors, and unbosom them-
 selves to them, *Self-Murders* would be very rarely heard of. Rom. 10. 15.
 16. 61. 1.
 2 Cor. 2. 7.

I shall now pass by the Multitudes of other Cases which you may meet with-
 all every where; these three Instances alone are sufficient to prove, that it is very
 often not only Expedient but absolutely necessary to consult our Ghostly Fathers,
 in difficult or doubtfull matters of Conscience, or for Directions in our Practice of
 a Holy Life. And herein the pious Constitution of our own Church is most
 exact and Conspicuous. In the Exhortations, when Notice is given of the Com-
 munion,

T. p. 238.

munion, and in those which follow, *Men*, according to St. Paul's Doctrine, are *Commanded to search and examine their own Consciences, and diligently to try whether they have a true Penitent Heart, and a lively and stedfast Faith in Christ our Saviour; To examine their Lives and Conversations by the rule of God's Commandments, and whereinsoever they shall perceive themselves to have offended either by Will, Word, or Deed, there to bewail their own Sinfulness, and to Confess themselves to Almighty God, with full purpose of amendment of Life; Thus far is their Examination and Confession to God alone. But if by this means (by these common Directions, and the publick Sermons which are Preached upon these occasions) any one cannot quiet his own Conscience, but require farther Comfort or Counsel herein, then let him go to his own, or some other Discreet or Learned Minister of God's word, and open his Grief, that by the Ministry of God's holy word he may receive the benefit of Absolution, together with ghostly Council and Advice, to the quieting of his Conscience, and avoiding of all Scruple and Doubtfullness.*

Such Confession or Opening of the Mind to a Minister as this, is by all the old Fathers both allow'd and commended; and all the Quotations taken out of them mentioning *Confession*, relate either to this *advising only, or taking Counsel* in obscure and doubtful and difficult Matters for the Priest's help in their Frailties and Infirmities; or else they relate to publick Acknowledgments, and Confessions of notorious Sins and Scandals, before the whole Congregation; Or to general Confessions of our unworthiness in our publick Prayers. Now as to the first of these, the cases of Scruples or Infirmities, there are several Prayers yet extant in the Greek *Euchologion*, which were of old and yet are used, when any one apply themselves to the Priest for his direction, and help therein by his Prayers and Council. So we have the Priest's Prayer for a *Penitent who hath obliged himself by Oath to do some peculiar Penance. For those who are often apt to Swear. For one who hath by chance or by force eaten any thing which the Greeks (who are very scrupulous in these Matters) count unclean. For Penitents in general. For Children when they first begin to learn their Primers and Catechism. Another when they apply themselves to read the Scriptures.* Those which they have for Pardon of Sins you shall have by and by when I treat of Absolution. To those who could read without doubt their Priests prescribed proper Lessons or Chapters, or Psalms, or Treatises suitable to their Conditions; and peculiar Prayers for themselves to use in private; whereof we have also some instances in the *Euchologion*; so, for one troubled with lascivious Dreams in his sleep, For those who are tempted to Fornication, a Prayer of the Priest, and another for the Persons themselves to use. Another against filthy Thoughts.

Goar. p. 662.

p. 669.

670. 671.

675.

710.

Ibid.

Goar. p. 663.

665.

672.

T. p. 239.

1 Cor. 11. 28.

2 Cor. 13. 5.

But what is all this to Auricular Confession of every particular, plain, and well known Sin, as it is now enjoin'd and Practised in the Church of Rome? I would fain see one plain Quotation in any of the Antient Fathers, either Greek or Latin, which clearly prove any such Practice as this, that every Penitent is bound to go to a Priest and Confess every particular, private, but to himself well known Sin, that he might receive his Information and Absolution of it. Surely very few Men are so Ignorant as not to know if they be *Blasphemers of God, and Slanderers of his Word and Religion, common Swearers, Cursers, Thieves, Drunkards, Fornicators, Adulterers, Murderers, and the like; Every Man's own Conscience doth Arraign him, Judge him, and Condemn him in all these known Sins, without any Process before a Priest; and therefore St. Paul, commands every one to examine and prove himself, for surely he knows himself.*

But truly the Roman Casuists, especially the Jesuits, have so refined all these common and known Sins, and so minced and qualified Matters, as he that goeth to them for Spiritual Medicine in these Distempers, will find his Malady rather made worse, or only Palliated over rather then cured. Auricular Confession being

ing every where enjoin'd and Practis'd, and thereby, *ψυχογανισ*; a universal Inspection, absolute Dominion, and Tyrannizing over Mens Consciences being introduced, these new Casuists, to enlarge their Trade and Government, aiming at a Monopoly, to ingross all to themselves, and by making it more pleasing and easy, have levelled all the severe Laws of Christian Morality to a compliance and consistency with all the Frailties, vile Affections and Inclinations of Flesh and Blood; and by that one most cunningly contrived Engine, the Doctrine of probable Opinions, they have modell'd their Resolutions and Determinations in cases of Conscience so as to gratify all Persons in their several Vices, according to their various Tempers, Qualities, and Educations. So that for my part I am apt, with *Padre Paulo*, in his Letter to the Abbot of St. Medard; to make that in a manner, a general and infallible Rule for all the Difficulties that may occur in these matters of Conscience, to consult with the Jesuits, and to resolve the clear contrary to that which they say.

Bishop Usher's
Letters ad fin.

To omit their numerous Maxims or Resolutions in all the Points of the Decalogue, or other doubts which may any ways arise; and the special Rules of their Spiritual Policy, take this their account in General of what is mortal Sin. 1. It must be Voluntary, 2. Free, 3. Advertatur Malicia, the Malice or Wickedness of the Fact must be thought of, and considered; For, *quandiu talis cogitatio non occurrit, without such a previous thought of the Understanding, the Fact is not Voluntary, nor Free, and that Inadvertency is to be accounted as natural and invincible forgetfulness. Therefore the most vehement Motions, or Heats of Anger and Concupiscence are excused, in which the use of Reason is disturbed, and Freedom taken away. What a Man doth when he is disturbed with a vehement Passion, and Apprehension, or Distraction of Mind, he makes what in it self is a mortal Sin, become a venial one. So he that doth a thing out of Fear, or Hesitation, or half a Sleep, or knows not then well what he doth, cannot be said plainly and fully to consent to it, and therefore it is not a mortal Sin in him. On the other Hand, a venial Sin is made a mortal one, if a Man despises the Commandment, and him that gave it, and positively refuse to obey; But if a Man owns the Law, and generally observes it, but now and then wilfully breaks it, he Sins not mortally, because his disobedience is not a plain and absolute contempt; and so if out of Indignation or Malice, or an ill Custom or otherwise he breaks the Law, and not do it out of contempt to the Lawgiver, the Sin is not Mortal, for it is not formal Contempt but only may be so interpreted.*

Busenb. Med.
ult. Theolog.
Moral. l. 5. c. 2.

Conformable to these Doctrines I remember I once heard in Italy this transient Discourse. We happen'd to talk of the meaning of these words, *Spetto di Diaco, Cospetto, Spettonaccio* &c. which many, (especially ordinary Fellows,) when they are provoked or are very earnest, will often have in their Mouths. I was very well acquainted with one who had been bred up many Years under the Jesuits, but for some secret Reason he was turned out of their Society, and liv'd only as a secular Priest by saying Mass as opportunity served. He being in our company, told us, that they were minced or diminutive words of the greatest Prophaneness or Blasphemy, put instead of *Con dispetto di Dio, In despite of God*; as when one saith, *Spettonaccio, I will break his Head, I'll Kill him, I'll do this or that, in spite of God.* And he took occasion from hence to tell us, that every mortal Sin consisted of two parts or ingredients, the Material part, which is the bare Action, as in Murder, the Killing of the Man; and there is the Formal part, which is the wilfull or deliberate doing of it, in opposition to God's commands, which, saith he, is, *Con dispetto di Dio, in despite of God*; and this only makes it a mortal Sin. For if this Action be done in a hurry, without thinking of God or his Command, it is a venial Sin before him. If these Doctrines be true, we may say of all these new Casuists, what Mons. Hailler once said of Father Bauny, *Ecce Homines qui tollunt peccata Mundi, Behold the Men who take away the Sins of the World;*

T. p. 240.

T. p. 240.

World; for few Men are so desperately Wicked and Prophane, as boldly and directly to say with deliberation, *I do, or will do, this or that Sin in despite of God*; at this rate there will be but very very few mortal Sins committed in the World. Give me leave in an Instance or two to see what strange Effect this Doctrine must have upon the minds of Men. A plain Fellow hath a true and serious Thought in himself, of *Fornication, Adultery, Murder, Drunkenness*, and the like Enormities, that they are all grievous and Heinous Sins in the sight of God. And when he first falls into any one of them, his Heart smites him, his Conscience flies in his Face and Terrifies him with the Prospect of *everlasting Burnings*. This humbles him with a most hearty Sorrow, and Contrition; he hourly acknowledges and confesses his unworthiness to God, and fervently begs his Pardon and resolves never to do the like again. But for all this, saith the Schoolman, he must go and tell the Priest of it, who amongst other things (according to these Precepts) must ask him, whether he did first consider that the Action, which he was going to do, was directly against the Commands of his God; and that it would be a presumptuous affront and despite to his sacred Majesty; and notwithstanding such Thoughts did he freely commit it. The poor Man answers, *no, God forbid*, for in the first case, he saith, *his Lust was so impetuous, violent, and suddain, as he never thought in the least of God or his Commandment*. In the second case, *the concern that he had for his own Honour and Reputation enraged him so vehemently, as he kill'd his Enemy without the least reflection of the Sin; much less designing thereby to contemn or disoblige Almighty God*. In the last case, he saith, *pleasant Company and good Drink, by degrees, lulled him into that Extravagance without the least dreaming of God's displeasure*. The confessor, according to these Principles, must say, *well, your case is not so bad as you Imagine; your Sin is not a mortal, or deadly Sin, because there was not, Plena Advertentia & Deliberatio, a previous or full consideration and deliberation about it, and (by consequence) no true and perfect Consent*. For, *spectata fragilitate humanâ, human frailty is such, as it would seem by no means to become the divine Goodness to punish a Man with eternal Torments for what he doth without a full Consideration and Consent*. As to all the breaches of our Duty to our selves, they give this general Rule, *That they are for the most part, venialia ex genere, venial in their kind, as for example (amongst others) Concupiscence, Prodigality, desire of Money, excess in Meat and Drink*; And to mention no more particular Sins, take this comfortable note for a Drunkard; *Although his fancy be somewhat disturb'd, and he Vomits, and his Tongue falters, his Feet fail him, his Eyes see double, and the House seems to turn round, yet, si discernere adhuc possit inter bonum & malum, if he can yet discern between Good and Evil, (do they mean between a piece of Bread and a Stone, cold Brandy and scalding hot; if they mean between Virtue and Vice, methinks a Man in this Condition cannot well do that) nondum plena est ebrietas, this as yet is not full or perfect Drunkenness, and therefore a venial Sin*; That is, in your Sots language, *such a Man is not Dead Drunk but only a little too much in his Ale*. Nay we are told, *that a Drunkard, when he has lost the use of his Reason, non peccat formalitèr, doth not formerly Sin*; But our fore Fathers in England have taught us a safer Maxim, *he that kills a Man when he is Drunk shall be hang'd for it when he is sober*.

T. p. 241.

He that desires to see more of these precious Dictates, let him read the last Edition of *the Provincial Letters, or Mystery of Jesuitism*; or if he desires a concise Summary extracted out of the Voluminous Writings of these new Casuists, I recommend him to *Herman Busenbaum* a German Jesuit. And then I heartily desire him seriously to consider, whether the Maxims, which he there will meet withall, concerning these *Common Sins* (which the most Illiterate Person do very well know and understand) declared from the Mouth of the Confessor, (to whom every particular one of them and its circumstances must be

be told) I say, whether these Notions are proper means to reclaim and amend the Sinner, and rather not more likely to harden him and make him worse. For when he first Sinned he had a bitter remorse upon his Conscience; and the Dread and the Fear of that eternal Damnation, which he had often heard denounced from the Pulpit against such Sins, struck him with true Contrition and an Abhorrence of them; and with a hearty Sorrow he beg'd the Almighty's Pardon; But now understanding that these things though they may displease God, yet not being done *Freely, Deliberately* and *Formally* to affront him, they are all *Venial* and very Pardonable. I should think it a Thousand to one but he would hereafter be less carefull, and so by degrees grow *past feeling, and give himself up to his vile Affections, and those things*, which at first he abhorred, *he would* at last work with *greediness*, calling them (as the common way of such Wretches is) only *venial Fraillties and Infirmities, common Frolicks or Tricks of Youth*, and counting them all but *venial*, *he is no more obliged to confess them by their Catechism*; and so he will soon forget them. To conclude, I cannot see well, how according to these Principles, a Real, right down profest Atheist, can be guilty of a mortal Sin, for he cannot have any *Advertency* or Consideration of the *Malice* or Evil of any Action, as its being against God and his Commandments, for he neither believes nor owns either the one or the other.

Now as to the other cases of *publick Sins and Scandals*; *Excommunication or publick Censures* were ever used, and as publick *Acknowledgments, Confessions, and Penances* were required; and upon the solemn Performance of these, *publick Absolution or Restitution to the Communion of the Church* was granted. The words of St. *Augustin*, which are cited in the Roman Catechism (and elsewhere often) in favour of *Auricular or private Confession* of every particular Sin, are plainly spoken only concerning *publick and notorious Sins, and publick Penance*. He reproving such vile Men as kept Concubines with their Wives, hath these words, agite Pœnitentiam, *do such Penance as is used in the Church, that the Church may Pray for you*; (this surely is publick Penance; immediately follows,) *Nemo sibi dicat occultè ego, let no Man say I do it secretly, I do it before God; God, who forgives me, knows that I do it in my Heart, Ergo sine causa dictum est, quæ solveritis, Therefore is there no Cause for that saying, what things you shall loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven? Therefore are the Keys given to the Church of God without any cause. Do we frustrate the Gospel of God, and the words of Christ? But what went before and what there immediately follows, shew plainly all this to be meant of publick Offences and publick Penance*; for he instances in the case of *Theodosius*, and propounds that as an example, *to Senators, Courtiers, and common People, in their publick Scandals; shall they be ashamed to make such publick acknowledgments, Confessions and Penances for their notorious Sins, saith he, when the Emperor himself hath done it?*

And this brings me back to an Objection, or rather an Argument, mention'd above, for *Auricular Confession*, it is drawn from the *Power of the Keys*; *Quorsum Claves, to what purpose were the Keys given, without such Confession?* How can the Priest bind and loose, retain and remit Sin without it? There are very many large and elaborate pieces wrote concerning this Subject, I shall from some of them, and from my own thoughts, give you this brief answer to the Question, with submission to better Judgments. The Romanists quote three Principal places in Scripture about these *Keys* and their *Power*. The first is that Promise to St. *Peter*, *I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*. Whether this was made to St. *Peter* only, or in him to the rest of the Apostles, (as it was afterwards performed) whatever is here meant by them, every particular Priest from these words cannot pretend to any prerogative to himself. For though we read that all the Apostles had it once given to them together, and again to them all, except St. *Thomas*, yet supposing St. *Peter*, or the Apostles, and the Bishops (their Successors) had this Power here

T. p. 243. here (whatever it is,) *given to them*, how comes every ordinary Priest from this place to lay claim to it? Rome will not (as to this Power) level every Priest with *St. Peter*; neither can *Auricular Confession* be hookt in from hence.

Mat. 18. 18. The second place is, *he that neglects to hear the Church, let him be as a Heathen, for I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, &c.* Now whether by *the Church* is here meant the Presidents, Bishops and Rulers of it, or the whole Society and meeting of Christians altogether, I see no particular Authority which any private Priest can claim from hence, *to bind or loose* any one by himself; It is *the Church* must do it. The case, upon which our Saviour here Discourses, is of a private offence or Injury betwixt Man and Man; *If thy Brother trespass against thee*, and he will not reform by those Methods there prescribed, *the Church* must be acquainted with it, and if the Offender still be obstinate and refractory, *let him be as a Heathen*, or, as one out of it. But although this Instance here be only in what at first was but a private Offence, and then upon occasion Published, yet by parity of Reason it must be extended to all other notorious or publick Scandals. If *the Church* ought to Censure private Offenders, who being admonished will not reform, much more ought it so to do to those wicked Livers, who daily give Offence and Scandal to the whole Community of Christians. I will add, what is here meant by *the Church* can be no other then *the Rulers and Governors of it*, and not every individual Member, or single Person. For thus it is in all Societies, Corporations or settled Companies of Men; when a Wicked and Refractory Member is to be punished or expelled, the Governors, Presidents, Speakers, Chairmen or chief Person gives Sentence and Censure the Delinquent. So that by this Text it is plain that the Prelates, Bishops, Superintendents, or Governors of the Church, have this Authority of *Binding* or *Excommunicating* publick Offenders, and of *loosening* and restoring them again, upon their publick Acknowledgments, and Repentance. So then *this Power of the Keys* is still manifestly in the Church, though a private Priest hath no right to use it in *Auricular Confession*. Here is plainly *Christ's Charter* given to the Governors of the Church, for Binding and Censuring publick Offenders, and for *loosing* and restoring the Penitent, wherein no Priest, as a private Man, hath any thing to do. The third place is where our Saviour, a little before he left this World, said to his Disciples, (*Thomas* not being with them) *as my Father sent me, so send I you, receive the Holy Ghost, whosoever Sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whosoever Sins ye retain they are retained.* Here again I must first remark, that whatever the Authority was, which was here given to *the Disciples*, it cannot be interpreted as now also given to every private Priest in all succeeding Generations; The *Disciples* or Apostles were *sent* immediately by Christ, as Christ was *sent* by God; and succeeding Bishops were sent by the Apostles, with Authority to send others; and every Priest was to be *sent* by them; but I find not that a Priest (as only such) had any *Power* hereby to himself *to send* any others, or *to remit and retain Sins*, in any other manner then as they had done it before him, and to which he was *ordain'd* or *sent* by them. Now the Authority of *retaining and remitting of Sins*, being here plainly given to *the Disciples* or Apostles, and in them to the Bishops their Successors; and to those *sent* by them, in *what manner* Christ did this of himself, in *the same manner* were they commanded and empowered by him to do the same; So that Christ's Example, both as to *the Mission* it self, and *the manner* of executing of it, must be our Guide to the right apprehending of this whole Matter. Let us therefore a little look into the meaning of these verses; *As my Father sent me so send I you.* This must signify that the Apostles had not only the same Authority and Commission from above which Christ had, but that *this Mission* was likewise given them to *the very same end* also as Christ's was. Christ came to Preach *Repentance*, and upon it *Forgiveness of Sins*, which is *the Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven*. He said it himself, *I must Preach the Kingdom of*

Joh. 20. 21. 22. 23.

T. p. 244.

Tit. 1. 5, 7.

1 Tim. 4. 14.

Rom. 10. 15.

Mat. 4. 17. c.

9. 35.

Luk. 4. 43.

of Heaven which Christ did. *He that heareth you saith Christ, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me, (who sent you,) and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me.* T. p. 244.

Luk. 10. 16.

In the next place let us see the manner or method, how Christ did remit and retain Sins in the Execution of his Mission, and we shall find the Apostles exactly follow the very same Manner or Method, according to his Example and his Command. Christ remitted Sins by giving his solemn Promise so to do to every one that should Repent and Believe his Gospel; and his Promises are the highest and the most infallible Securities that God's Veracity and Everlasting Truth can make to the Children of Men; They are, *Yea, and Amen; the performance of the Condition first, and then the performance of the Promises* are inseparable. Repent, saith Christ, *the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand. Come unto me all ye that Labour and are heavy Laden and I will give you rest. He that believeth on (me) the Son, shall have everlasting Life, and I will raise him up at the last day; nay, he that believeth on me hath, even now, everlasting Life. I am the Resurrection and the Life, he that believeth in me though he were Dead yet shall he Live, and whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall not die forever, He that heareth my word and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting Life and shall not come into Condemnation.* Mat. 4. 17.
c. 11. 28.
Joh. 6. 40. 47.
Joh. 11. 25. 26.
Joh. 5. 24.
Next Christ after his threatening eternal Death to the Unbelievers and Disobedient, retained Sins, by leaving the Impenitent and refractory as he found them, or rather worse, that is, under a much greater Guilt than what they had before they heard his Gospel. *Wo unto thee Chorazin, wo unto thee Bethsaida, for if the mighty Works which were done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have Repented long ago; Wherefore it shall be more tolerable for them at the day of Judgment then for you. So, Thou Capernaum which art exalted to Heaven shall be thrust down to Hell. So to the proud unbelieving Pharisees, because ye say, we see, (yet slight my Doctrine) therefore your Sin remaineth. Ye shall seek me and shall die in your Sins. If ye believe not that I am he, ye shall die in your Sins. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy Children together, as a Hen gathereth her Chickens and ye would not. Behold your House is left unto you desolate. If thou hadst known, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy Peace! But now they are hid from thine Eyes. The Kingdom of God shall be taken from you. Wo be unto you Scribes and Pharisees, fill you up the Measure of your Fathers; ye Serpents, ye generation of Vipers, how can you escape the Damnation of Hell. He that hear my words and keep them not, my words shall judge him at the last day. Sometimes in the same place he forgave the Sins of the Penitent Believers, and retains the Sins of the Obdurate and the Contumacious. He that believeth on him (Christ) is not condemned, but he that believeth not is condemn'd already; The first, hath everlasting Life, and the latter, shall not see Life, but the Wrath of God abideth on him. All that are in their Graves shall come forth; they that have done Good unto the Resurrection of Life, and they that have done Evil unto the Resurrection of Damnation. He that heareth my sayings, and doth them, is like a House built upon a Rock, Immoveable; He that doth them not, is built upon Sand, and must expect nothing but ruin. And where Christ remitted Sins to particular Persons, it was all along upon these Conditions or Terms of the Gospel, Faith and Repentance. He knew their thoughts, he knew their Faith; So that his Key could not err, but the Judgment of any private Priest, at least in these days, is at best but conjectural and uncertain, and therefore may be mistaken, especially if it be positive and not conditional. Thus Christ said to the Man sick of the Palsy, Son be of good cheer thy Sins be forgiven thee; He saw their Faith, and knew their Thoughts. To Mary Magdalen, or the sinfull Woman, Her Sins which are many are forgiven, for she loved much; Thy Sins are forgiven, thy Faith hath saved thee, go in Peace. Christ seemed to make his curing*

Mat. 4. 17.

c. 11. 28.

Joh. 6. 40. 47.

Joh. 11. 25. 26.

Joh. 5. 24.

Mat. 11. 21, 22.

T. p. 245.

Luk. 10. 15.

Joh. 9. 41.

c. 8. 21.

vers. 24.

Mat. 23. 37.

38.

Luk. 19. 42.

Mat. 21. 43.

Mat. 23. 32.

33.

Joh. 12. 47.

48.

Joh. 3. 18. 36.

Joh. 5. 28, 29.

Mat. 9. 2. 4.

Luk. 7. 47, 48.

50.

T. p. 245. of Diseases and his forgiveness of Sins, the Consequences or Fruits of Faith
 Mar. 2. 5. 9. and Repentance alike. To the Man Sick of the Palsy, *Son thy Sins be for-*
 vers. 5. 8. *given thee; Arise take up thy Bed and Walk; he saw and knew the Faith*
 both of the Sick Man and of them that brought him, and in the same mo-
 ment he was actually loosed from his Sins and from his Infirmary. To the
 Joh. 5. 14. Man who lay by the pool of Bethesda, *Behold thou art made whole, Sin no*
 more; his former Sins and Infirmary were remitted together. So to the A-
 Joh. 8. 11. dulteress, *neither do I condemn thee, Sin no more.* To the Woman with the
 Mar. 5. 34. Issue of Blood, *Daughter thy Faith hath made thee whole, go in Peace;* he
 T. p. 246. gave her Peace both of Body and Mind. To the Ruler of the Synagogue, *be*
 Mark. 5. 36. *not afraid, only believe.* This was not a bare belief that Christ could do the
 Cure, but a belief of his Gospel, and therefore he took only those who were
 thus faithfull into the room with him where the Damsel lay, Peter, James,
 and John, and her Father and Mother. So to the Canaanitish Woman, *O*
 Woman great is thy Faith. That is very remarkable which we read of his
 vers. 40. doing Miracles; *He did not, (or could not do) any mighty work in his own*
 Math. 13. 58. *Country because of their unbelief;* as if Cures and forgiveness of Sins de-
 Mark. 6. 5. 6. *pended upon their Faith and Repentance. Behold thou art made whole, Sin*
no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee; Relapses in Sin, may well pro-
duce Relapses in the Body, both are dangerous.

Thus far we have Christ's own Example in remitting and retaining Sins,
 Joh. 20. 21. let us view his Command to his Apostles, *as my Father sent me so send I*
you. To do what? To proclaim Pardon and Forgiveness of Sins to the Pe-
 nitent Believers of the Gospel, and to denounce eternal Death to the Obstinate
 and Refractory despisers of it. For thus runs Christ's last commandment given
 Mark. 16. 15, to them upon Earth; *Go ye into all the World and Preach the Gospel to*
 16. *every Creature;* and immediately he gives them the summ of that Gospel in
 these words, *He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that*
believeth not shall be damned. He gave the very same Commission and Coun-
 Mat. 10. 5. 7. sel more particularly when he first sent forth the Twelve, *go Preach, saying,*
 12, 13. *the Kingdom of Heaven is at Hand; whatsoever City or Town ye shall*
 Acts 13. 48. *enter, enquire who in it is worthy* (who are, *παρακαταμένοι εἰς ζωὴν, disposed to*
life by an honest Heart, and do desire to be reform'd, φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεόν, they
 vers. 26. *that feared God;* as it is their explain'd, *and there abide when you come into*
 an House salute it, say Peace be to this House (which is a common Salu-
 Luk. 10. 5. ration in the East to this very day,) *and if the House be Worthly (if the*
 Luk. 10. 5, 6. *Son of Peace be there), your Peace shall rest upon it. Let your Peace come*
upon it; (what was this but the Peace with God, the Peace of Conscience,
 by their admission into the Covenant of Grace? Thus they were in their Preach-
 ing, to remit Sins to the Hearers (upon their Faith and Repentance;) and
 whosoever shall not receive you, nor Hear your words, when ye depart out
 of that House or City, shake of the dust of your Feet (for a Testimony against
 Mar. 6. 11. them) *verily I say unto you, that it shall be more tolerable for the Land*
of Sodom, and Gomorrah in the day of Judgment then for that City. Thus
 they were to retain the Sins of the disobedient; they were to leave them faster
 Bound in their Infidelity. The very same Command and Instruction Christ
 gave to the Seventy, adding this Seal to their Commission, *he that heareth*
 Luk. 10. 16. *you, heareth me, and he that despiseth you, despiseth me, and he that de-*
spiseth me, despiseth him that sent me.

Now we shall see that the Practice of the Apostles (in doing that for which
 they were sent) in Preaching the Gospel, and thereby in remitting and re-
 taining Sins, which was exactly conformable to Christ's Example, Direction, and
 Command. In the very first Sermon that ever was made, we read, that, the
 Act. 2. 37, 38. *hearers were pricked in their Hearts, and said to the Apostles, Men and*
 41. *Brethren what shall we do?* Peter gave them for Answer, this weigh-
 T. p. 247. ty Summary both of the Gospel and of their Preaching; *Repent and be Bap-*
tized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the Remission of Sins.
 And

And immediately, *they that gladly received his word*, (that inwardly and faithfully renounced their former Sinfull ways) *were Baptized, and the same day were added about 3000 Souls*. It is not likely that so many in one day could each of them come to a Peculiar, Private, Auricular, Confession; but every one of them examin'd himself, and found his own Heart pricked and struck with sincere Repentance, and accordingly they did Unanimously and Cheerfully testify it, by receiving the outward sign of that inward Grace, which is Baptism. So St. Peter Preaching in Solomon's Porch to the People concerning the cure of the lame Man which he and John had Healed, in persuance of the very same end for which he was sent, assures them that upon their firm Faith in Christ, and their sincere Repentance, *their Sins are remitted; His name, through Faith in his name, hath made this Man strong, whom you see and know; yea, the Faith which is by him, hath given him this present soundness in the presence of you all; Repent ye therefore and be Converted, that your Sins may be blotted out; God having raised up his Son Jesus, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from his Iniquities*. In the same manner Paul remitted Sins to the mixed Multitude at Antioch; *Be it known unto you, Men and Brethren, that through this Man (Christ) is Preached unto you the Forgiveness of Sins; and by Him all that believe are justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the Law of Moses*. And immediately, *Many of the Jews and Religious Proselytes follow'd Paul; and as many of the Gentiles as were disposed (that is, feared God,) believed*. Paul at Lystra, steadfastly beholding a lame Man, and perceiving that he had Faith to be Healed, said with a loud Voice, *stand up right on thy Feet; and he remitted his Sins and his Infirmary together; for stand upright, and thy Sins be forgiven thee, are of the same import*. Lydia's Heart was so open'd, that she attended unto the things which were spoken by Paul, and she was baptized and her whole Household; thus their Sins were remitted. So he and Silas said to the keeper of the Prison, *believe in Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved, and thy House; and straightway they were all Baptized*. Thus the Apostles, by their Preaching, remitted Sins, ipso facto, to their faithfull bearers; The sum of which was, Repent, Believe, and be Baptized, and all is done.

Now let us see how they retain'd Sins. We have a notable Instance in Elymas the Sorcerer, who withstood Paul and Barnabas, seeking to turn the Deputy, Sergius Paulus, from the Faith. Paul fixing his Eyes upon him said (after Christ's Example) *O full of all subtilty and all mischief, thou child of the Devil, thou Enemy of all Righteousness; wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord? Behold the Hand of the Lord is upon thee, and thou shalt be blind; and immediately so he was*. Paul thus left him bound under a Curse he retained his Sin, which without Repentance should never be blotted out. So in the same place, after, he had proclaimed Justification to all those that believed, he gives this peremptory Admonition to unbelievers, *be ware therefore lest that come upon you, which is spoken of in the Prophets, behold you Despisers, and Wonder, and Perish, for I work a work in your days, a work which ye shall in no wise believe, though a Man declare it unto you*. That is, your Sins shall be retain'd, and, as Christ himself before declared, ye shall die in your Sins. And so the Jews were in this place served, They were filled with envy and spake against those things which were spoken by Paul, contradicting and blaspheming; Then Paul and Barnabas boldly told them, *it was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you; but seeing ye put it from you and judge your selves unworthy of everlasting Life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles*. And when the Jews still persisted in their Obstinacy, stirring up the devout and honourable Women, and the chief Men of the City, and raised Persecution against them and expelled them out of their Coasts, they (as Christ commanded,) shook off the Dust of their Feet against them; and left their

T. p. 248. *Sins retained* unto this day. So again when the Jews at Corinth, *opposed themselves and blasphemed*, Paul *shook his Raiment and said unto them, your blood be upon your own Heads, I am clean*; and so once more he left their *Sins retained*. It is to this day, amongst many in the East, a token of the greatest Abhorrence and Detestation to *shake the fore part of their Vest* (instead of the old way of rending it) and cry, *Slofre Allóh, God forgive*. And

Neh. 5. 13. so *Nehemiah* of old pronouncing a curse against Usurers and Usury, *shook his lap, and said, so God shake out every Man from his House, that will not restore to every one, what hath been exacted and wrested from him, even thus be he shaken out and emptied*. And Paul meant, by shaking his Raiment, the very same desolation to the *beardhearted Jews*, which Christ himself foretold; *their Sins are retain'd*, and they are for their *Unbelief shaken out of their House and Country*, and become Vagabonds all over the face of the Earth. Again, when Paul had *Preached three Months at Ephesus, and divers were harden'd and believed not, but spoke evil of that way, he departed from them, and separated the Disciples likewise from them; that they should not be partakers of their Sins* which were retained, as their own were remitted.

Rev. 18. 4. Having thus far seen the Practice of the Apostles as to this Matter, take now St. Paul's own account of his Mission, and its end, in the very words of our Saviour to him in the Heavenly Vision; *I now send thee (to Jew and Gentile) to open their Eyes, and to turn them from Darkness and the Power of Satan, and thereby to assure them of forgiveness of their Sins and Inheritance among them which are sanctified by Faith that is in me*. Here is most plainly declared what Christ meant when he gave the Apostles Authority and Power to remit Sins; That is, to give Christ's Words and Faithful Promise of it to all the World; and by Preaching this infallible Truth to turn Men from *Darkness to Light, and from the Power of Satan to set them free from Sin*.

Act. 28. 26, 27. So what was meant by retaining Sin, the same Paul declares to the *disagreeing Jews at Rome*, by Preaching to them *who will not believe and repent, that they are quite deliver'd over to the power of Satan and the Slavery of Sin*; He said it in that one Word, *well spake the Holy Ghost by Esaias the Prophet unto our Fore-fathers, saying, go unto this People and say, Hearing ye shall Hear and shall not understand, and Seeing ye shall See and not perceive, for the Heart of this People is waxed fat, and their Ears are dull of Hearing, and their Eyes have they closed, lest they should see with their Eyes, and be converted and I should heal them*. What is all this but that *their Sins are retain'd*? And that most justly, according to the same Apostle's Doctrine elsewhere, *as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate Mind; their Sins is retained, and made part of its own Punishment, as it was of old with Ephraim, because Ephraim hath made many Altars to Sin, Altars shall be to him to Sin*.

Hos. 8. 21. From all this, I humbly conceive, that a plain and solid Answer may now be given to that Question foregoing, *Quorsum Claves, to what purpose was the Power of the Keys given, if Men are not brought to Auricular Confession*. The Power of Binding and Loosing remain still as valid and secure in the Church as ever it did. The Prelates and Governors of it can and ought to censure, and, if need be, to *Excommunicate all publick, scandalous Sinners*; To give them some publick mark of Disgrace and Reproof, or upon occasion to turn them quite out of the Christian Congregation, and upon their humble Submission and Solemn Renuntiation of their Extravagancies, or upon their publick Expressions and Signs of their hearty and sincere Repentance, to restore them to their former State; Or to readmit them again into the Christian Communion.

2 Thes. 3. 14. This, for my part, I must call, the first Power of the Keys, of Binding and Loosing, lodged in the Governors of the Church, a private Priest hath nothing to do with it. Next the Apostles as sent by Christ, the primitive Bishops

as sent by them, and the succeeding Bishops by them, and every Priest (in all succeeding Ages) duly ordain'd and sent by them, have had, and they that live still have, Authority to *Preach the word of God*, that is, *Power to give* (and as I may so with Reverence say) *to pawn Christ's Infallible Word* to every Sinner, *that if he truly repent and unfeignedly believes his Holy Gospel*, his Sins shall most surely be remitted; But if he will not Repent and Believe, that is, (if I may so have leave to speak) *he will not take Christ's Word or trust his Promise*, but will still go on in his obstinate and wicked Course, he shall as surely die *in his Sins*, they shall be retained. This I take to be the second Power of the Keys, the Remitting and Retaining of Sin. In Popish Authors we meet with a Common objection or two about this Point; It is said that any ordinary Christian can tell his Brother thus much, *if you Believe and Repent you shall be saved, if not you are damn'd*; Right. But I must still think, that every Ordinary Christian (purely as such) hath no Authority or Warrant Positively as a Minister to give Christ's Word for this, *except he be first sent to declare and pronounce it*, that is, before he hath received this Authority from those to whom Christ hath left it, and entailed it; *He that any other way entreteth into Christ's Sheepfold, as a Shepherd, is an arrogant Thief and a Robber.*

T. p. 249.

T. p. 250.

Joh. 20. 21.

22.

Rom. 10. 15.

1 Tim. 3. 10.

Act. 14. 23.

Tit. 1. 5.

Joh. 10. 1.

Again it is said, if this be all that is meant by *remitting and retaining of Sins*, it is the Sinner himself that *remit*s his own Sins by his Repentance, or *retains* them by his disobedience; *The Priest* does neither the one nor the other to him, but leaves him purely to only God and himself. Right again. It is so in all Cures both of Body and Mind, the Power and Effect of it, is only God's; but if a Skilfull Physician coming into a Country, over-run with some Epidemical Disease, should tell them, take this Medicine I will assure you that it shall infallibly cure you, but if you neglect it you will as surely die; Now if those who take it recover, and those who neglect it Perish, though God is the Principal Cause by his Providence of both these Events, and the Patients concurred by willingly taking the Medicine, yet the Physician is rightly said to *have cured* all which recovered, and to have been exactly right in his *Prognosticks* towards those that died. The case is perfectly the same; the Preacher saith, *believe and Repent, and your Sins are infallibly Remitted*, I give you Christ's Word, and this his *Prescription, for your Spiritual Cure*; but if you dispise and neglect it, your Sins are still *Retain'd*, and you can expect nothing but eternal Death. God is the Principal Cause alike in both cases, and the Patient and the Sinner concur in like manner in using or refusing the means; Is not the Preacher then as truly said to *Remit or Retain* the Sins, as the Physician is to work the Cure or foretell the Patient's Death?

That this is the true and plain meaning of *this second Power of the Keys*, besides what hath been said, appears from that of St. Paul, *To us* (the Apostles saith he,) *was given διακονία τῆς καταλλαγῆς, the Ministry, or Administration, of Reconciliation*; which there he thus explains, *God was in Christ Reconciling the World unto himself*, that is, *not imputing their Trespases unto them*; and hath committed to us, or put or placed in us, *ῥέμεν ἐν ἡμῖν τὸν λόγον τῆς καταλλαγῆς, the Word of Reconciliation*, or the Transacting, Reasoning, or Preaching the Terms of Reconciliation, *we are then Christ's Ambassadors, or Plenepotentiaries, as if God himself did intreat or exhort by us, we beseech you in Christ's stead, be ye Reconciled to God*. As God sent Christ, so he sent the Apostles, and they sent the Bishops with the same Authority to send others, *as Ambassadors* to offer conditions of *Reconciliation*, or Peace, *between God and the World*, and to declare an absolute *Amnesty* or Pardon of what Offences were past, if received and performed with the conditions proposed; or to pronounce them for ever Enemies, Rebels, if they refused them. So that all the Authority which Bishops themselves, and every Priest sent, or Lawfully ordain'd by them, hath by *this second Power of the Keys* is no more, but to *Preach the Gospel of Christ*, that is, *In his name and upon his Word*, to propound and to warrant the Conditions of *Reconciliation*,

2 Cor. 5. 18.

19. 20.

T. p. 251.

Joh. 20. 23.

T. p. 251.

ation, and to proclaim the dreadful Doom of Impenitency aforesaid. And therefore all that a Priest can do with a Sinner, whether he comes to him for Counsel and Information, or for Comfort and Consolation, confessing and bewailing his vile inclinations, Infirmities and Failings under Temptations, I say that in these and all other Cases of private Conference, the Priest's Office and Power is only to *Preach* and to Pray for him. To assure him of all Christ's *Promises and Threatnings*, and more fully and plainly to teach him the same Doctrine in private, as he hath done and daily ought to do in the Pulpit. If you *Repent and Believe, according to your Faith and Repentance*; (If you do neither, *according to your Neglect and Unbelief*,) *so be it unto you*. This from the Mouth of a Priest, who is lawfully sent, hath *Authority* with it, and must needs administer true Comfort on one side, and Terror on the other, and must have it, and ought to have more *weight* then if it came from any *Laic* or common Christian; but as for his *Absolution*, at most it can be but thus *Limited and Conditional*, as shall be more fully Discoursed when I come to it; for they make it *the Form*, as they call it, of this pretended *Sacrament*. Christ, as is above observed, ὁ καρδιωγνῶτης, *knew the Hearts of true Penitent believers*, and therefore could positively and assuredly say, *thy Sins are forgiven thee*; but what Priest durst arrogate to himself *that knowledge*; therefore he must only Preach God's certain Promise upon the Conditions of the Gospel to the Penitent, and leave the Effect to God and his Performance. The Master of the Sentences is clear in this Point; Solus Deus demittit peccata, *only God remits Sins*, saith he, *and retains them, but he hath not granted this to Priests, to whom notwithstanding he hath given Power of Loosing and Binding*, that is, *of shewing those Men who are Bound, and who are Loosed*. What is this but laying before Men *the Law of Christ*, shewing who are *Loosed and Bound*, (Saved and Forgiven, and who are damn'd,) by the Terms of the Gospel? This was sound Doctrine in those days, but the next Generation thought that the Quaint Device of *Auricular Confession*, and the Priests necessary *Absolution*, would turn to much better account, and therefore in the many Editions of *P. Lombard*, which I have met withall, there is set in the Margin this *Scarecrow*, Gravis Magistri lapsus, *a grievous slip of the Master*, and in a very fair, and, as I think, an Original MS. of him, (which I have by me) in a much later hand, is in the Margin likewise by some knavish Expurgator written, Agit tamen Ministerialiter, *yet he acts Ministerially*, endeavouring thereby to hook in their present Doctrine, *it is*, say they, *God indeed who Pardons and Absolves, but it also necessarily requires the outward absolution of the Priest, as it is no Sacrament without it*, and by consequence there is no perfect Remission or Forgiveness.

P. Lomb. l. 4.
d. 18. ad fin.
§. nec ideo tamen.
Ibid. §. non autem hoc in mitio.

T. p. 252.

The Catholick Church of Christ, Militant here on Earth, and Triumphant in Heaven, makes up but one *Sheepfold* under one *Shepherd*; Christ, that is, *his Gospel*, is the *only Door* (and the way) by which all *his true Sheep must enter*. The Revelation which was to be made by him, was *that only Door*, and all others who pretended to it besides himself, (who was the true *Messiah*, the true *Shiloh*, the ἐξχόμενος, *God's Ambassador, who was to come* with this peculiar Commission,) and all that shall yet attempt to enter any other way then by it, are *Thieves and Robbers*, are Cheats, Impostors, and Seducers. This *Door* was and still is to be open'd, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, upon Earth; what then can be more clearly signified by *the Key* which opens it, then *Preaching*? Thus Christ himself first open'd it, *Preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom*; and then left the very same *Key* to his Apostles and their Successors. The same figurative Expression is often used and apply'd to *Preaching* in the Scripture; God thus open'd *the Door of Faith unto the Gentiles* by the *Preaching* of Paul and Barnabas; So *a great Door and effectual* was open'd to Paul at Ephesus to let in Converts *by his Preaching*; So *when at Troas he Preached Christ's Gospel, a Door was open'd unto him in the Lord*; and so all *Preaching* in general is called by him *a Door of utterance*, or of the word,

Act. 14. 27.
1 Cor. 16. 9.
2 Cor. 2. 12.

Col. 4. 3.
Ps. 119. 1.

to speak the Mystery of Christ. So Christ, that is, his Gospel, is the way that leadeth unto Life, as the way of the Lord is the Law of God. And thus the Priest is sent and authorized, nay, necessitated to shew it unto Men, but cannot warrant them safe unless he knows that they are really in it and keep it. T. p. 252. Cor. 9 16.

The Gospel is a Covenant between God and Man, and as we enter into it by Baptism, so we revive it, or (if I may with Reverence so say) we *renew it* as our *Heavenly lease* or *Spiritual tenure* by the Eucharist; we must at that *Holy time* diligently search our Hearts, and see if we have forfeited it by failing in any Condition required on our part; if so, we must recover our selves by this one most gracious Clause, *by an humble and serious acknowledging of it to God, and a hearty Repentance and amendment of Life*; for which God hath solemnly there promised *Forgiveness* on his part.

In the Greek Church, besides their daily Administrations, there are four most solemn times set a part for the Celebration of the Eucharist. 1. Easter. 2. The Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul. 3. The Death of the Virgin Mary, which they call, *κοίμησις*, *her Sleeping*; which the Latins have improved and call it *her Assumption*. 4. Christmās. All these four Feasts are usher'd in with a Fast of many Days. The longest and strictest is, as our Lent, before Easter; at the beginning of which there are particularly appointed, by the Patriarchs, and Metropolitans and Bishops in their several Provinces and Dioceses, some Grave and Reverend Persons, (Men that have been bred up in their Monasteries to a strict and mortified Life) to go to their respective Cities and Towns as they are order'd, to Advise, Direct and Assist all good People, who will go to them, for the encouraging and encreasing of their Devotion, and for the better management of their Lives and Conversations, that they may be worthy Communicants at the approaching Festival. A very Pious and laudable Institution! Such a Confession, or rather serious Conference or Discourse as this with a *Ghostly Father*, or discreet Minister, is justly observed and commended by our own Church, as is abovesaid. But to think that the Greek *Itinerary*, (or thus Commission'd) Confessors, do exact a particular Confession of every single mortal Sin, and of all its circumstances from their Devote's, is a meer Jest, it is a thing Impossible. For the number of these Confessors is nothing in comparison to the Multitudes of those who must needs press upon them; Their task would be insupportable if every one was obliged minutely to Confess, much more if the Father were obliged to hear such a Confession. I remember once at *Smyrna* in the time of Lent, there were not above two or three for that City, and all the Villages and little Towns there for many Miles round about. There never were so many at once in *Galata*, as I ever could learn, and yet what a number of Greek Villages are disperst in that corner upon the Bosphorus and the Black Sea; If all these numerous People, Men and Women of Age, (who never yet could take such a Journey or bear the Charge of it) came to them and made such particular confessions of every one of their Sins, and each minute Circumstance of every particular one, forty Confessors would have more work then they could dispatch in twice forty days. I positively affirm that I (who lived at our Country House amongst these Villages, about twelve Miles from *Constantinople*, many Months together for several Years) never heard that any of the Natives ever went to any of these Commission'd Confessors upon this account. These very Latinized Greeks themselves tell us, if the, *ἀπλῆς*, *simple*, plain, Mean, Persons, confess and Communicate once a year, especially in Lent, it is enough; whereas devout People may do it once a Month, or oftner. Thus I have known several devout Persons at *Galata*, that had constantly recourse to them when they came; and many of the Rich and best sort of Men, who for their credit and reputation sake did the same; and therefore these always for their Honour, leave with the Confessor some proportionable Present; for which (let it be Silver, Gold, Plate or Jewels or the like) the Confessor answers an account to the Monastery when he returns. This makes

June 29.

August 15.

Dec. 25.

T. p. 253.

Ορθόδοξ. ὁμολ. p. 199. ἀπόκ.

T. p. 253. makes a Confessor's Office not only *venerable*, but desirable too both to the Monastery and to themselves. God forbid I should say that the Prelate who
 T. p. 254. Constitutes him is concern'd in the prize, but I must say, that it sometimes may look a little suspiciously. The Canon indeed forbids any Money to be given or taken as a Fee, (upon this account or for the Eucharist) but as a free Gift, or Offering, or act of Charity, it may be done unblameably on both sides. The number of these able and approved, *commissioned Confessors*, as I have said, is but small, which makes each Man's revenue (though precarious) the Greater. It would be well if there were ten thousand times more of such fitting Persons found, who could and would afford to do this Duty *Gratis*. But where was there, or can be, ever such a publick Revenue settled as might recompence their care and pains? Certainly they who *thus Preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel*.

1 Cor. 9. 14. As for the common People, especially the poorer sort, you shall now see that not many of them ever come to trouble them. I have largely declared above, that in the Greek Church the Eucharist is dwindled, and in a manner quite changed, into a meer empty shadow of the old primitive Institution. This *Ἀντίθερον*, *Andithero*, (as they pronounce it) which are the overplus pieces of the Bread or Loaves which are offer'd for the Sacrament, (cut into more or fewer, bigger or lesser parts, according to the number of those who they guess will receive it) is distributed by the hand of the Patriarch, or Bishop or Priest (who that day attends or celebrate the Synaxis) to all of the Laity who come to receive it. This is not unlike the old, *Ἐυλογία*, *Holy Bread*, which was so distributed to those who were present; and often carried to those that were absent; When the Greeks first began that Practice, of raking out of the Loaf or Loaves the Saints Portions, the overplus of the Bread and Wine, that had been carried away and Eaten and Drank by the Priests, with *Milk or Flesh* or otherwise, as *common Food*. But this was thought too *Prophane*; and therefore afterwards it was distributed in the Church amongst the Clergy and other faithful Christians that were present. I believe the overplus of the Wine is now the Priest's Fee, who then administers, for I do not remember that I ever saw that distributed amongst them in the Church. *Balsamon* tells us how this overplus of the Bread at last came to be made the *Andithero*, and he there calls it *the Eulogie* or *Benediction of the sanctified Fragment*. I believe in the uncertain Canons, annex to *Basil's* Rules, where it is said of any offender, *γενέτω ἀπευλογίας*, as it properly signifies, *let him be deprived of this Eulogie*, or *Andithero* or *blessed Fragment*, not of the general *Benediction*; and it is manifestly taken in the last Canon there for this *Eulogie*, or *holy Morsel*, which may be sent about as the old *Eulogia* was. I remember I have seen one of these *Fragments* (which were divided for the *Andithero*,) at the request of some devout Woman or pious Person, brought in behalf of themselves or some other Friend, and the Priest (who then Celebrates) taking it makes with it a cross over the Chalice at the Altar, after the *Magarite* are mixt in it with the Wine, and saith, *παναγία θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ δούλῳ σου Ν. Ν. Ο Αἱῶνι Μοῦν* *mother of God help thy Servant*, such a one. And this is called *ὑψωμα* and *ὑψον*. *Hypsoma* an *Hypson*; and is carried about them and used as an Amulet; as the solemn, *παναγία*, *Panagia*, or *Holy Bread* is, which Travellers by Sea and Land have solemnly consecrated, to be carried with them as their safeguard; That office is in *Goar*, where he also takes Notice of this very *Hypsoma* which is thus made at the Eucharist. I find it is often set down in their present Canon, as Penence, to be suspended from the *Communion*, but not from the *Andithero*, or from the *Holy Fragment*, or this *Hypsoma*; and sometimes to be suspended from all these; and sometimes, instead of all, it is permitted to them only to drink the *Holy Water* which is made at the Epiphany; receiving it in a Spoon from the Deacon. Truly to me this *Andithero* seems all that is now left which looks like the old Eucharist amongst them. The, *Magises*, *Saints Portion* or *Memorial*, (which are taken out of the Bread before it is cut in pieces

MS.
 part 2. p. 26.
 27.
Theoph. Alex.
 p. 7.

Bals. in Can. 2.
conc. Antioch.
Beverig. T. 1.
 431. G.
Ἐυλογίαν τῆς ἀ-
γιασμένης κλά-
σματος.
Bas. T. 2. p.
 731.

p. 868 §. 2.
in fin.
 MS. 69. b.

pieces for the *Andithero*) and the Crumbs which are likewise scraped off from it,) are altogether crumbled very small into the Chalice, and two or three of these *Mites*, (which they call, Μαγαρίται, *Jewels*) as I have said, with a little Spoonful of the Wine and Water mixt with them in the Chalice, are given to the devout Receivers, Rich or Poor Laics, as the choicest, (or rather as their sole) Communion. The *Andithero* is (as is said) given to all Laics who will come and receive it, except to those who are Excommunicated or known to be most notorious wretches, and these dare not attempt or come near to take it. The Priests take the Eucharist distinctly in both kinds, the Bread in a little part of Christ's, or the *Saints Portions* by it self; and in three little Sips of the Wine out of the Chalice before the rest of the *Portions and Crumbs* are mixt with it; But these precious *Mites*, thus mixt with some drops of Wine in a Spoon, is all the Communion which the Laymen take; and these are but few, they being only such as devoutly or decently seek it and crave it. For there are Thousands who never receive it at all, thinking the *Andithero* alone sufficient without it; and as many others never receive it but, *in extremis*, upon their Death-Beds, when the Priest (who generally, especially in the Country, is the Parson of the Parish) carries some old, *μεγίδες*, *Saints Portions*, and *Crumbs* consecrated before, (which have been kept, as is very usual, in a Bag a long time for that use,) and moistening them with a little fresh Wine (for they were dipt in consecrated Wine when they were first reserved) he Communicates the sick Person therewith. But as for Confession, it is not to be made to every ordinary Priest, but only to such Confessors (as is above said,) who are chosen out of Monasteries, and are solemnly appointed and authorized to this Office by the Prelates, *γράμματα ἐνταλτογία*, *Letters Mandatory*; whereof I have seen several Forms, and you have one in *Goar*; so that a regular or secular Priest, not thus qualified, durst not attempt to take it. This is established by the old Canons, and from them I find it thus set down in one of my *Canonaria*, *ἐδέτις χωρὶς ἐνταλτηγίῃ τῷ κατὰ τόπον ἐπισκόπῳ*, if any one without the Mandate of the Bishop of the place shall dare to receive, *λογισμὸς καὶ ἐξομολογήσεως*, *Spiritual Accounts and Confessions*, such a one shall be Canonically punished, *ὡς παραβάτης*, as a Transgressor of the Divine Canons; because he hath not only destroy'd himself, but all they also who have been Confessed by him, are still unconfessed, and whatever things he hath Bound are Loosed, are yet, *ἀδιόρθωτα*, uncorrected. And again. Let all the, *ιερεῖς μοναχοὶ*, Priest-Monks, who take Confessions, or Bind and Loose know, that our Holy Fathers will not suffer any Priests to reconcile Penitents without the Archbishops Order. Balsamon indeed saith, that a Bishop may, *κατὰ κρίσιν*, according to his Judgment, give, *τῆς ἐξαγογείας τὸ δίκαιον*, this Right or Power, of receiving Confessions to a secular Priest, but this is to be done discreetly, to some choice or well approved Persons only, and upon some extraordinary occasions.

Give me leave here to make this Reflection. I have several MSS. by me concerning the qualifications and duty of such a Confessor as the Prelate is to chuse out of the Monasteries; He must be Sober, Temperate, Humble, Virtuous, in short, *τύπος ἀγαθὸς τῶν πάντων*, one that is a good, or the best Exemplar amongst them, for Piety and Discretion. The plain meaning of all this is, that a Confessor's business is, *εἰς τὸ διορθώσασθαι τὰς προσερχομένους εἰς αὐτὸν ἐτέροις ἀγατὴν διδάξαι*, to direct, Advise, reprove, Instruct and Inform, Reclaim, Comfort their Penitents, to pray for them, to pray with them, to teach them Prayers, Ejaculations, and (if they can read) to direct them to proper Lessons and Treatises suitable to their Conditions; and what is all this but Preaching still? Whereas if his chief business was only at last to absolve; every ordinary Priest (according to the Latins) could do it as well as this grand Exemplar. But every Greek Priest hath not this Key of Discretion to enable him to be a Confessor; and not one of even these stated or commission'd Confessors (as shall be shewn) pretend to the Popish Key of Absolution, much less

T. p. 254.

T. p. 255.

p. 300.

Conc. Carth. c.

6, 7. & Can.

46.

MS. part 1. p.

20.

part. 2. p. 30.

Resp. 19.

Canon. p. 19.

T. p. 255. dare any private Priest do it; They pray to God indeed *to loose or absolve a Sinner*, but never say nor think that they do it themselves. And it is very remarkable what the Latins say themselves in this Point, *such a Confessor is to be Chosen*, Scientia, Eruditione, Prudentia præditus, quem vitæ Integritas, Doctrina & Judicium commendat, *as is Wise, Learned, Discreet, Unblamable*, whereas according to them every common Priest can *absolve*; but we know very well that very very few, of these amongst them, are thus qualified to take Confessions, and yet *due Confession* as well as *Absolution*, are, with them, a-like necessary to this pretended Sacrament; as *that* without *this*, so *this* without *that* is ineffectual. Where then will the Latins find a *Confessor* amongst them fitting to confess another *Lombard*, another *Aquinas*, or a *Bellarmino*, or a *Baronius*? Or what private Greek Priest will attempt to confess a *Chrysostom*, or a *Damascene*? And yet the Latins tell us that any ordinary Priest can *absolve* any of these, or the very Patriarch or Pope himself. How then, according to them, can the Greeks be said to own this pretended Sacrament, without the *Latin absolution* which is made the *Form of it*; or how can the Ignorant Latin Priests compleat it by their *Absolution*, without *Confession* made before a *duly qualified Confessor*? For my part I should rather think that these and the like learned Men, who most intimately know their own condition, are as better qualified, so be sure more able, *to confess and absolve* themselves, then any Ignorant Priest who knows nothing of the matter more then what they tell him; It is hard if the Pope, who, out of the *Treasury of the Church*, can forgive *all Sinners*, cannot without *Auricular Confession* be Absolved himself, but as we are told, *must daily fall down on his knees to an ordinary Priest*.

Catech. Rom. §. 57 alias. 49.

T. p. 256.

Sands Survey. m. p. 39.

Moreover by *Remitting and Retaining of Sins*, in the Latin Ordination of a Priest, must be meant only, *this Preaching of the Gospel*, that is, *Faith and Repentance*, as the only and infallible means of receiving *Remission of Sins*; and *impenitency as the inevitable Retention of them*; I say, this only is there meant, or else no Latin Priest hath any *Orders or Authority given him to preach at all*, when he is *Ordain'd*. And if by *Retaining and Remitting Sins* was meant *Confession and Absolution*, *Thomas*, who then was absent, had not this Authority given him at all; but he had it, *to preach Remission and Retention*, given him together with the rest. And *Cajetan's* opinion, that the *Scholastick Confession and Absolution* are no ways to be proved by this Text of *St. John*, was good and sound Doctrine before the Council of Trent. And how can the Priest *retain the Sinner*. He is retain'd, if obstinate, by God himself without the Priest, his *Preaching* or Admonition only makes the Sin, unrepented of, the greater. So a Greek Priest, at his Ordination, hath neither *authority to Preach* nor *to take Confessions*, much less *to Absolve*; and therefore, when he is made a *Confessor*, he hath plainly a *new Order* confer'd up-him, a *Spiritual Power, Authority, and Degree*, above what he had before; and by consequence this must be, (according to the Latins,) a *Sacrament* as well as that of *Deacon or Priest*; and if he had not Authority before (when he was made Priest) *to take Confessions*, he had none *to Absolve*, which is a Consequence of it. But more of that by and by.

Joh. 20. 23.

Mat. 28. 19.

I will now a little recount my Thoughts concerning the Greek Canons, and what I have found of the Manner or Office used by the Confessors in managing their Penitents; These may serve as Preliminaries and bring us to a clearer understanding of the Greek Confessions, and the Comparison of them with those of the present Latins. And first I observe that there are two sorts of Canons or Rules prescribed in the Greek Church. Some purely relate to the *Doctrines and Discipline* or Government of the Church. Others are designed wholly to the promoting of a holy Life, and to the discountenancing and suppressing of all manner of Immorality, Wickedness and Sin, and the Recovery and Amendment of such who have any ways offended either God or Man. Those are generally the Products of Synods and Councils; These for the most part were at first the Dictates and prescriptions of pious and holy Prelates and Governors in their

T. p. 257.

their own Churches and Provinces, but afterwards were approved and confirmed by the publick Authority and Practice of all the rest. And therefore they are not now lookt upon as such *ὡς ἡ καθ' ἑαυτόν τις, ἀλλὰ πλείονες ἅγιοι πατέρες* *Blasph. Pref.* *συμμιόντες διατάξαντο, as only private Men made to themselves, but what hath* *a. 1. b.* *been generally agreed upon and allow'd by Synods.*

In these *Moral Canons* (as I shall now call them) those pious Fathers, to shew the heinousness of Sins, and their detestation of them, have fixt and appointed to every Sin certain *Penalties* or *acts of Mortification*; which the Prelate, and by his Order the Confessor, might augment or diminish or quite remit, in proportion to the Fault, and according to the humble Submission, sincere Sorrow, and real Repentance of the Offender.

Most of these Penalties are *Excommunication*; *Separation* for some time from the sacred Offices of the Church; *Admission* only to such and such places in the Congregation in time of divine Service; *Fasting*, or Living only on (*ἐνγοφασία*) *dry Meats*, as they phrase it, (that is, neither Eating of Flesh, nor Fish, nor Eggs, nor Cheese, nor Butter, nor Oyl, nor Drinking of Wine) for a time prefixt; *Watching* so many whole Nights and Days together, or so many in a Week; Making so many *Metanoie* in an hour or a day (that is, *Prostrations*, falling on the Knees and Hands, and kissing the Ground and touching it with the Forehead, and saying every time, *God be Mercifull unto me a Sinner*,) from one hundred, to two, three or more, nay in some cases to a thousand, as the greatness of the Sin deserves. They are advised to give Alms, but that being rather Voluntary, the measure or kind is not prescribed, unless to the Rich, to whom under *that point of Alms*, it is often enjoined to procure at their own expence, *εὐχέλαιον*, the Office of publick Anointing, of which more in another place. These penalties are to last, Months, Years, sometimes for the whole Life; and some are so egregiously extravagant as in my Canons I find this remark, *ἀλλὰ πῶς τῆς σήμερον νῦν εὖρος ἀνθρώπων, νῦν τοιούτον πληρώσει κά- νόνα, but where can you find a Man now to perform such a Canon.*

In a MS. *Canonarion* of mine, amongst the rest I find this surprising Penalty. (for I must call it so in a Greek) Every Monk is bound to sing the four stated hours in their *Horologion*, and if he be illiterate and cannot do that, then he is to make fifty *Prostrations* and say, *κύριε ἐλέησον, Lord have Mercy*, forty times at every hour; but if he is not able to do that, he is to say at every hour five hundred times this Prayer, *Lord Jesus Christ, thou Son of God, have Mercy upon me a Sinner, through the Mother of God.* Or instead of all this, let him turn over his, *κομποροχόνια*, *Beads*, or *Rosary*, at mid-night ten times; at day-break twenty times; at all the other hours ten times each hour; every *Rosary* was to have 103 *Beads*. I must profess that I never saw *Beads* used by a Greek, nor ever before read or heard of any such thing, yet all this is there set down, most ridiculously, as a *Canon of St. Basil himself*. This is a very fair MS. written since the death of *Constantine Cabasilas of Dyrrhachium*, (for he is quoted in it,) who lived about the Year 1200. nay, it was written since *Simeon Thessalonicensis*, who died 1429. for he is quoted likewise. Now I am very apt to think that this Book was collected and made by some Casuist or Confessor at or about *Thessalonica*, which City we know was sold to the *Venetians* by *Andronicus Paleologus*, and was govern'd by them very many Years before it was taken by *Amurath*; Now these Greeks by conversing (as without doubt they often did) with the Latins, might by degrees easily follow some of their Customs, as well as learn some of their Opinions; as in many instances I could prove it was so; or perhaps it might be made by some Latinized Greek after the return from the Council of *Florence*; for the Hand and Character suits well with that time.

St. Basil was a Principal Dictator of these *Moral Canons*, and a grand promoter of an Ascetick or Mortified or Monkish Life. All the Monks and Nuns in the Greek Church, are every where of his Order; and these Canons are particularly design'd for them, and for all that enter into Holy Orders. Many

T. p. 258.
Blasphemes. MS.
c. 15. p. 187.
d. e. f.

hundreds of the *Calogeri* (or lay Brothers, as the Latins call them) and several of those which are of the lesser and greater *Scheme* or *Habit*, have been very wicked, desolate and abominable Sinners, but afterwards being severely touched in Conscience have resolved upon a strict and mortified Life, and so voluntarily coming under the Examination of the Abbot, or Confessor of a Monastery, have earnestly submitted themselves to the Penalties of the Canon prescribed for all their Sins, and after a due time of Probation have been admitted, and there remain'd all days of their Life. As many more having been Crossed, Disappointed, Vexed or Harassed with the Cares and Troubles of this World, have desired and chosen a quiet Monastick Life, according to the Patriarch *Jeremiah's* advice, and declaring the various state of their former lives to their Confessor, have voluntarily taken upon them the strict observance of the Canon. All the Clergy at their first entrance were to be examin'd and undergo the Canon; but if their Sins by it are judged too greivous they are quite excluded. The same is the case of Nuns, nay, of all private Persons, who resolve upon an austere reserved Life, as Virgins, Widows, Votaries of all sorts and Sexes.

Jer. Patriarch.
ad Tubingens.
resp. 1. p. 108.
& Resp. 2. p.
259. & Formu-
lam seu συστα-
τικόν. Goar.
935.

MS. part 2. 28.
b.

MS. part 1. 22.
b. N.B.

T. p. 259.
Zon. in c. 6.
conc. Carth.

p. 680.

Goar. p. 867.
§. 1.

And here again I cannot but take notice that a Greek Confessor ought to be an extraordinary and most exact Casuist; at least to understand the Penalty of every Sin; He is enjoind by their Canon to be at least forty years old; and truly I cannot well see how he can under that Age arrive to so much Skill, as well as to those other qualifications abovesaid. However, as will by and by appear, a Greek Confessor had no more to do but to *Preach*; that is, to declare the Canon, and advise, and pray for, his Penitent; as for example, have you committed *this* or *that* Sin? Then you are obnoxious to *this* or *that* Penalty, or act of Penance and Mortification. And the Bishop, or Confessor, by his Authority can by the Canon (as is said) *increase or relax the Penance of Penitents* as he sees Occasion, but he dare not pretend to *remit the Sin*; He only prays for them, *to God to remit that*, and gives them his best Advice and Counsel how they may obtain it. In *Goar's* Office the Confessor owns thus much most plainly, ἐγὼ ἰχθὺς ἀφέναι ἀμάρτημα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, εἰμὴν ὁ Θεός, *I am not able, saith he, to remit Sins upon Earth, it is God that doth it*, and then mentioning the words of Christ, *whose Sins you remit, &c.* (as if they signified only that the Authority of a Confessor was no more then to pray to God for his Penitent,) he saith, *May God forgive you all your Sins in this World and in the World to come*; for this is no more an Absolution from the Priest, then the same words are at the Elevation of the *Panagia*; And of the Confessors Prayers for their Penitents you shall have instances enough presently.

p. 679.

p. 11. c.
p. 197, 198.
199. &c.

A. 46.

I will now give you some account of the Method or manner of taking Confessions; I have seen many Abridgments or rather Extracts out of *Photius*, and all other Prelates, their Canons, which have been made and received since. These they commonly call *Canonaria*; and in many of them there is a kind of Office or Method particularly set down, (for I never saw one general standing Form) to be used by the Confessor in taking Confessions. I have three or four of these Extracts my self in MS. yet all these are very different from that in *Goar*, as they are also from one another. Which make me think (as I have already noted above concerning the various Forms of *Chrysostom's* and others Liturgies, and concerning the several Forms of Ordination) that Confessors had much the same Canon, but for the Method or Form of taking Confessions, almost every one had his own peculiar way to himself; whence this difference came which we now find of it. In one of mine *The Penitent at his approaching is to make a Prostration before the Confessor, and lying flat is to say, Bless me, Pray for me, Pardon me, O honourable Father. I have Sinned by all my Senses; Then he particularizes in every Sin that is in the Canons Catalogue, and say he hath been guilty of every particular one of them all. Then the Confessor say the two Prayers*

in

in Goar, and another, (which I find not there) to this effect, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, Ἀδελφε, βοηθήσῃ σοι — κατεξιώσῃ σε εἰς τὸν κληρον — ποιήσῃ σε ἄξιον — Brother may our God help you — may he vouchsafe to admit you into the inheritance, — may he make you worthy — then he takes him up and Kisses him, and says, ἔγωσαν τὰντα ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐ, ἀδελφε, λελυμένα ἅπαντα, My Son, may all these things from this minute be loosed. Then they both set down. The Confessor asks him which of the three Penances he will chuse, Fasting, Watching, Prostration and Praying; and to give him the Canon. Such a Confession as this you will find exactly set down in King Edgar's Canons, where the Penitent makes himself guilty of all the Sins that are; and in a Prayer of Simeon. Metaphrastes in the Greeks Horologium, where to God alone he makes himself guilty of all particular Sins imaginable. But this Confession cannot be thus made by an illiterate or ignorant Man; therefore there is there also another Form, wherein the Confessor going through the Catalogue of Sins, asks upon every one, have you done this, have you done that, to the very end. And truly this is as scandalous, as several Confessionaries in the Latin Church (which I could name) for they all plainly teach ignorant Men, and put them upon Practising, many abominable and horrid Sins, which they never heard of or thought of before.

In another Canonarion of mine, is first set down a long but grave and excellent Admonition to the Confessor, made by the Patriarch or Archbishop, who first created him, according to which the Confessor is to proceed. Then he must take the Confession in some Venerable and holy Place. The Penitent must come not with a sower look or Surliness, or ill Habit or Behaviour, but with a clear Countenance and a divine Fear, and the Confessor must receive him cheerfully. Then a little Office follows of some Suffrages, and Versicles, and the Lord's Prayer &c. but different from Goar's. Then the Confessor makes a short exhortation, telling the Penitent, that he is in the presence of Christ, and bid him tell all his Sins sincerely, that he may receive Forgiveness and Blessing from Christ our Lord. Then he asks him of every particular Sin in the whole Catalogue, beginning with the deadly Sins, and at the end sets him his Canonical Penance, καθὼς βλέπει τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν, according as he sees his Virtue or Sincerity, and his free voluntary Dealing or Confession.

In another Canonarion of mine, is first set down the Qualification of a Confessor and his Duty; Then follows a short and grave Admonition to him, but quite different from the former; which he is to consider to himself. "He brings the Penitent uncovered before some Picture or Image of Christ; Then perform a little Office of some Suffrages and Versicles, and Supplications, and the Lord's Prayer, and the 50th. Psalm. Next, he bids him tell all his Misdeeds, that he may receive, ἄφεσιν, Remission from Christ, before whose Image he stands; with much the same sense with the former, but far different words. Then he runs over the whole Catalogue of Sins, and asks upon every one of them, my Son hast thou done this, hast thou done that, and so on upon every particular Sin, staying for the Penitents answer to every particular. This Catalogue is very long, and many many, foul, abominable Sins, are there mention'd, which were scarce ever heard of, I hope were never Practised amongst Protestants; and when all this is over he saith, from hence forward you must beware of all these things, ἐπεὶ δεύτερον ἄρετι βαπτίζεσθαι (Sic. pro βαπτίζῃ aut βαπτίζεσθαι) βάπτισμα, for now you receive (or there is given) a second Baptism. Then the Confessor gives him good Counsel; Then the Penitent bows down his Head, and the Confessor saith the Prayer, which you have in Goar, κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῆς σωτηρίας. Of which more by and by.

When I reflect upon the Qualifications and the Duty of Confessors, thus set down in the Arch-bishops Admonitions to them, when they are first Instituted by him, I cannot but take great Notice of a passage in one of my Canonarions.

MS. part 2,
Out p. 29.

T. p. 260. Out of the second Canon of the second Council of Nice, are set down the Qualifications of a Bishop, viz. *That he should be well acquainted with the Psalter* (which by the Greeks is publicly read over once every week) *and with the whole new Testament, and all other holy writ; and that he should be well Skill'd in the Canons;* then there are added in the Text these very words, ἀλλὰ πῶς τὴν σήμερον τοῖς τούτοις; *But where shall we find such a one now?*

T. p. 261. And immediately follows, Ὡς δοκεῖ μοι ἀρμύζει τὸ τοῦ κεφαλαιου καὶ εἰς τὰς γενομένης πνευματικῆς, ἀγαμμάτων, μὴ γνώσκοντας τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ νόμους, *In my opinion this Chapter, saith my Author, (or Canon) may be very well applied to those who are made Confessors, Illiterate, and Ignorant of the divine Laws.* Nay, I find it there a little farther expressly said of them, *that a Learned honest Laic, may make a better Guide and Confessor then an Ignorant Priest.* This Book (where I find this,) I guess (as above) may be written about two hundred and fifty Years ago; but if Bishops and Confessors amongst the Greeks were so meanly furnished with all this Learning then, I will confidently say that to my knowledge this case is far worse with them now. How therefore this business of Confession goes on now, you may gather from the whole train of this discourse, which I shall now pursue according to their Canon.

That a Catalogue of Sins should always be before a Confessor's Eyes, is very right, (for it should be so before every good Man to keep up his detestation of them, and remind him of his guilt) And I find in the *Venetian Confessionary* also this Reason truly given for it; *many Greeks* (and Latins too,) *are so very Ignorant that,* μήτε νὰ ἀρχίζων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ νὰ περαιώσων τὰ ἀμαρτηματάτης ἱξεύσων, ἀμὴ ἐκδέχονται τὸν πνευματικὸν νὰ τὰς εἰπῇ τὰ ἀμαρτηματάτης, *they know neither how to begin nor how to end (the account of) their Sins, but want the Confessors help to put every Sin into their Mouths.* There is there in the middle of the Book, a little exposition of the ten Commandments, pretended for the use, I suppose, of those that can read and thereby Examine themselves; But at the end there is a short Catalogue of Sins set down for the Penitent and the Confessor to consult about; there are many Sins mention'd out of the Greek Canon, some out of Latin Books, many in general terms, many not liable to any Canon or stated Penance at all; and all others, not mention'd there, are left to the Inquisition and Discretion of the Confessor. I find such a practice in *Theodolphus Capitular;* *Nominatim poenitenti debet sacerdos, the Confessor ought to tell, or recount, all and every Sin by name to the Penitent; and take his Confession* of every particular. And in many of our pious Books, set forth to prepare good People for the Communion, there are judiciously set down all the Transgressions and Sins against every particular Commandment in the

Lab. conc. T. 7.
c. 31. p. 1144.
B.

1 Cor. 11. 28. Decalogue; that every one may thereby know (according to St. Paul) *how to Examine himself before he Eat of that Bread and Drink of that Cup.* And no good Man can find fault with a Greek Confessor for Instructing (but for Debauching) a poor purely ignorant Man, in what are the Transgressions of Christ's commands; by repeating to him all the Decalogue, or by hearing him do it, (for he must be very Ignorant indeed if he cannot do that) and as they gently go on, by shewing him the several Breaches of every Commandment, as our good Books do; and truly I am apt to think that something like this was the very way of the Antient Greeks themselves, before they fell into this wild way, either of putting their Penitents in mind of Sins which they never heard of, by asking them about them; or of hearing them accuse themselves of every particular Sin in the whole Catalogue. That counsel of St. Paul is very aptly apply'd to Confessors in the first Council of Colen. *Warn them that are Disorderly; Comfort the Feeble minded; Support the Weak; Be patient towards all Men.* The good Fathers their plainly shew, *that the Duty of a Confessor is* (not to Absolve, but) *to Comfort the Weak or Dispairing Heart with displaying God's everlasting Mercies to them; To correct and curb the Bold or Refractory, by declaring God's dreadful Judgements against them; And like a judicious Physician, to apply a suitable Cure to every*

1 Thes. 5. 14.
part 7. c. 35.
Lab. conc. T.
14. p. 540.

every Infirmary; and therefore it is there order'd at last, that every, Paro-
 chus, Parish Priest (who can take Confessions,) is to have by him certain
 common places (or Catalogue) drawn out of the Scriptures, as his Canon,
 whereby he may thus deal with his Penitents. Now all this (which to me
 seems to be the true Antient, and I may say, the only End and Duty of a
 Confessor) is nothing else but *Preaching* still; that is, examining Mens Lives
 by the only Canon of Scripture, and the declaring the Effects of true Repent-
 ance and its Fruits on one side, and the dismal end of Impenitency on the
 other. Those, who do this, my Canonarion calls them, τὰς κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς MS. part 1. p
 νομίμως πνευματικὰς, most properly and truly legitimate Confessors. And here 47.
 once again appears good reason, that every ordinary Priest is not fit to be made
 a Confessor; but how then can he Absolve, whom he knows not how regular-
 ly to confess? I know there are, in the Church of Rome, some solemn Confes-
 sors, approved and appointed by publick Authority, (as I have shewn that it is
 in the Greek Church,) and I have often seen them in St. Peter's Church and
 elsewhere. Now if they allow only the Confession made to them, and their
 Absolution to be Sacramental; what signifies the Confession made to a com-
 mon Priest? Both it and his Absolution that follows it, are meer Jest, or empty
 pieces of fruitless and impertinent Formality; what makes one of these Confes-
 sions Sacramental, the other a meer idle Ceremony? Truly it seems to me a
 kind of Contradiction or Absurdity in the Latin Church, (if all this is only
 her Command,) to give to every Priest at his Ordination this Key of Confes-
 sion and Absolution, and then afterwards to forbid the use of it, or restrain it
 to very few. Conc. Trid. T.
 14. p. 869. c.
 Labb.

Next we may well remark from this practice of the Greek Confessors, what
 I have said above, if one Confession must take up so much time whilst the whole
 Catalogue of Sins is examin'd and censur'd, how will it be possible for so few
 Confessors to dispatch so many Millions, if all of just Age were bound to come
 to them once in the beginning of every one of the four Lents or Fasts of the
 Year? But I have told you that only *Votaries* (such as have resolved upon a
 strict or reserved Life) or *old Men*, or *Widows*, or *Virgins* and the like,
 as also the *Rich* and *better sort* of the People, come to these Commission'd
 Confessors; There are hundreds to one of these (out of Monasteries) who
 never trouble themselves with it. And truly since none are forced to confession
 amongst them, (as none are forced with us) these *Volunteers* have a very great
 encouragement amongst them. For there is a very great distinction made in the
 censure or Penalties laid upon a free Confession, in respect to that which is any
 ways urged or forced. All my Canonaria agree with what we find in Patri-
 arch Hierimiah, and Blastares, that he who freely of himself shall come to
 confess his secret Sins, shall be lookt upon as one who is already weary of his
 Sins, and is really enter'd upon true Repentance, and therefore ought to have
 a much lighter Penance laid upon him; whereas he that is brought to it by be-
 ing openly overtaken in a Fault, or by being shrewdly suspected of it, or any
 ways by being discover'd or convicted of it, he comes, (as we say,) with an
 unwilling willingness at best, and therefore ought to be more roughly handled;
 yet a good and hopeful behaviour in him also is to be regarded; we ought not,
 saith the Patriarch, τῆς αὐτῆς ἐν' ἰσὺς ἐπιτιμᾶν, to treat these Men alike. And
 King Edgar's Canons makes the same distinction. Thus he that comes to a
 Monastery and freely Confessing turns Calogero or Lay-Brother, shall be for-
 given some good part of his Penance; but if he turns Monk, and takes up-
 on him the lesser or greater, ὀχήμα, Habit, he shall be excused one half of it.
 For a Monastick Life, saith the Patriarch, τῆς μετανοίας ἐνέχουσαν ὑπάσχει, is a
 pledge of Repentance, 'tis a security for to live a Penitent all the days of ones
 Life; And therefore it is called by Simeon Thessalon. τῆς μετανοίας ἐνδυμα, the
 Vesture or Garment of Repentance, and the angelick Habit. Next the Bishop
 or Confessor can remit or lessen the Canon as he shall think fitting, and there-
 fore they who offer themselves freely, (because we ought to think they do it
 out

T. p. 261.

T. p. 262.

Conc. Trid. T.
14. p. 869. c.
Labb.

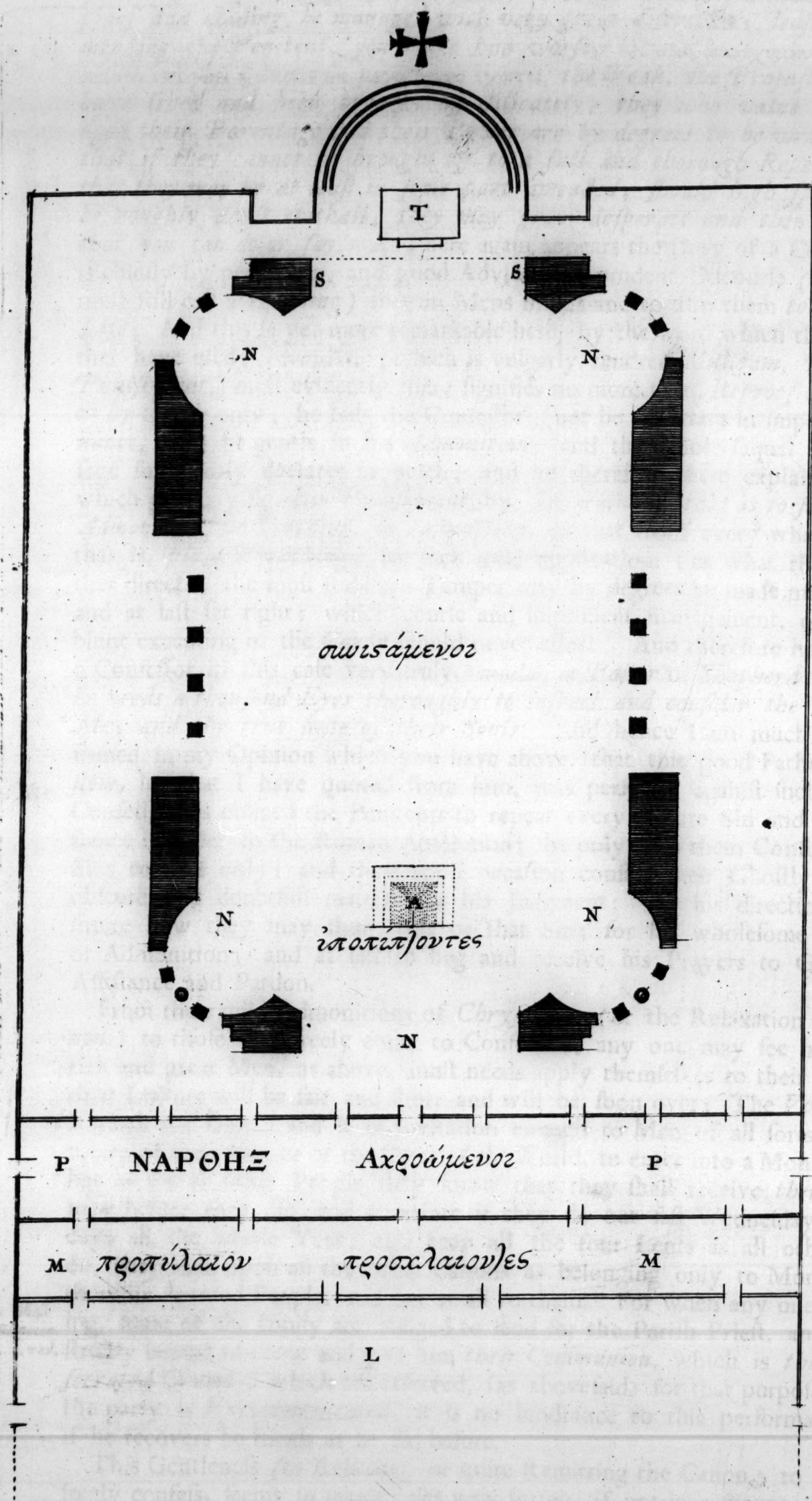
p. 259.

Resp. ad Tub.
1. c. 11. p. 88.
Lit. m. c. 7.
p. 179. My MS.
part 1. p. 25.
verf. 41.Uti supra. c. 3.
part 1, 25, 26.Ibid. p. 79. &
Resp. 2. p. 242.Contra. Hares.
c. 52.Blastar. ibid.
p. 177. & lit.
E. c. 8. Basil.
c. 84.

T. p. 262. out of pure Sorrow for Sin) must be very Mercifully treated. And St. Chrysostom
 L. 2. de Sacr. (who is there quoted) adviseth that the, ἐπιτιμίαν, Canon or Penance,) but re-
 proof and chiding, be managed with very great discretion; least instead of
 T. p. 263. mending the Penitent, you make him worse, ἀδυνάμεις, διακεχυμένοι, τευφῇ δει-
 δυμένοι, ἐπὶ γὰρ ἡ δυνάμεις μεγαθυροὶ ἔχοντες, the Weak, the Profuse, they who
 have lived and been brought off delicately, they who value themselves
 upon their Parentage and their Power are by degrees to be wrought upon,
 that if they cannot be brought off to a full and thorough Repentance, yet
 that they may be at least in some part amended; should high spirited Men
 be roughly dealt withall, they may grow desperate and then despise all
 that you can do or say. And here again appears the Duty of a Confessor; it
 is chiefly by persuasion, and good Advice and prudent Discourse (all which I
 must still call *Preaching*) to gain Mens minds and to turn them to newness of
 Life; And this is yet more remarkable here, by the word which this good Fa-
 ther have used; ἐπιτιμίαν, (which is vulgarly rendred *Mulctam*, Penance or
Punishment;) most evidently there signifies no more then, *Reproof* or *Correcti-*
on by words only; he bids the Confessor (not be moderate in imposing a Pe-
 nance, but) be gentle in his *Admonition*; and the whole sequel of that Pas-
 sage sufficiently declares as much; and he therefore there explains, κόλασιν,
 which properly signifies *Punishment*, by, ἢ τοι παιδείω, that is to say, faith he,
Admonition, or *Teaching*, or *Instruction*, as that word every where imports;
 that is, *plain Preaching*; by such mild application, (as what this good Fa-
 ther directs,) the most stubborn Temper may by degrees be made more flexible,
 and at last set right; which course and imprudent management, or the meer
 blunt executing of the Canon would never effect. And therefore he there calls
 a Confessor in this case very truly, ποιμὴν, a *Pastor* or *Shepherd*; and faith,
 he needs a thousand Eyes thoroughly to inspect and consider the tempers of
 Men and the true state of their Souls. And hence I am much more con-
 firmed in my Opinion which you have above, that this good Father, Chrysos-
 tom, in what I have quoted from him, was perfectly against such a private
 Hic p. 235. Confession as obliged the Penitents to repeat every minute Sin and its circum-
 stance in order to the Roman Absolution; he only bids them Confess all their
 Sins to God only; and then upon occasion consult their Ghostly Father, in
 obscure and doubtfull matters for his Judgment; for his direction for the
 future how they may shun, this or that Sin; for his wholesome Instruction
 or Admonition; and at last to beg and receive his Prayers to God for his
 Assistance and Pardon.

From these mild Admonitions of Chrysostom, (or the Relaxation of the Ca-
 non,) to those who freely come to Confession, any one may see how readily
 rich and great Men, as above, must needs apply themselves to their Confessor;
 their Lecture will be fair and short and will be soon over; The *Votaries* case
 is much the same; and it is Invitation enough to Men of all sorts, who are
 weary of their Sins, or of the Cares of the World, to enter into a Monastick Life;
 but as for all other People they know that they shall receive *their Commu-*
nion before they die, and therefore if they do but fast Wednesdays and Fri-
 days all the whole Year, and keep all the four Lents as all other People
 do, they look upon all the other Canons as belonging only to Monkish or o-
 therwise devoted People, and not at all to them. For when any one lies a dy-
 ing, some of the family are obliged to send for the Parish Priest, and he is as
 T. p. 264. MS. Nomocan. strictly bound to come and give him *their Communion*, which is the *Pre-con-*
 p. 430. c. σλδ. *secrated Crumbs*, which are reserved, (as abovesaid) for that purpose; though
 the party is *Excommunicated*, it is no hindrance to this performance, only
 if he recovers he stands as he did before.

This Gentleness (or Relaxing, or quite Remitting the Canon,) to those who
 freely confess, seems in many cases very fitting, if not in a manner necessary;
 for should the Confessor be strict and severe to the utmost demerits of the
 crime, (or the Canon punctually executed to the height of its Rigour) most
 Men,



Men, who confess their secret Sins, would rather be harden'd by a just, but cruel and unmercifull reproof, (or the Canon would censure his Sins with publick Penance) instead of amendment. For by *ματαιοὶντες*, most properly are meant in the Canons, those who do some manner of publick Penance injoin'd by them; and they are distinguished thus. First *προσκλαίωντες*, *Weepers*, who are excluded the Church at divine Offices, and stood without, at the door or entrance. Next were the *ἀκροώμενοι*, *Hearers*, who stood in the *Narthex*, or just within the first Partition of the Church, and so could hear something of the Service there. Then were the *ὑποπίπτοντες*, *such as Prostrated themselves*; and these were placed just within *the Nave* of the Church, towards the lower end of it. Lastly were *συνιστάμενοι*, *the Associated*, who were hindred from the Sacrament, but were permitted to stand, and pray with the Faithfull about the middle of *the Nave*; you may see these several Stations set down by Dr. Beverege in *the Plan* of a Greek Church; or if you please you may cast your Eye upon this Figure which is exactly *the Plan of S. Sophia at Constantinople*, as to every thing which relates to this Matter. The outward court L. hath buildings on either side to the North and South for Lodgings for some Officers. Out of this are three entrances made in the Wall into (*προπύλαιον*) *the first Partition*; they are not set regularly, the *Turks* having altered that Wall and the whole Court. In this first Partition the *Weepers* were to stand. Thence there are five entrances into *the Narthex* (with one at each end out of the Streets) where *the Hearers* were placed; and this Figure makes the matter in this point more intelligible to you; for there are nine doors out of it into the Church, four on each side, the middle one which is much the largest; by all these open doors the Penitents might hear, and see most of what was said or done within. Then you have the whole *Nave* of the Church marked N.N.N.N.N. Just within it *the Prostrated* were placed; behind (*Ἀμβων*) *the Desk*, (here noted, A.) which quite is taken away, and I do not remember that I saw it now standing in any of their Churches. Then stood *the Associated* in the middle of the Church, (which here is directly under *the Cupola*) and so on to the place where the Singers and Readers are placed on either side. The East end was formerly much after this fashion, but the *Turks* have quite taken away the Skreen, S. S. which parted (*Ἐξῆμα*) *the Chancel* from the Church, and the Altar is destroy'd, and the Patriarch's Throne and the Metropolitans Benches are removed, and the *Turks Kible*, (or *Neeb to South East*) is set on the South side of it. This was their old way, but I never observ'd it solemnly used any where now.

Now I say that great Mercy and Pity was to be shewn to those, who should freely come and Confess their Sins which they had done in Secret. For if they should be censured to the utmost extremity of the Canon, they must in many cases be put, *ἵστασθαι ἐν τοῖς τοῖς ἐπιτιμίων*, *to open Penance*. For example, suppose one guilty of *Incest*, or *Murder*, or *Adultery*, or any other Sin, which by the Canon incurs Excommunication, or the Penance of *the Weepers*, or *Hearers*, or *the Prostrate*; should this Sinner upon his free Confession be brought to do this Penance, would not all the People observe it, and so Judge him guilty of some abominable crime, though they knew not what it was? Ought not the Confessor in such cases to conceal the Crime and Criminal from the World, and make the Offender (if it were possible) truly and thoroughly sensible of his horrid Condition some other way? Nay, should the Crimes by this or any other way be made known, the Offender must by the Civil Law perhaps loose his Life; and the Confessor, if he blab'd, or any ways discovered what he hear'd in Confession, by the same Law must have his Tongue cut out. What would *Nectarius* (*Chrysostom's* immediate Predecessor) have said or done in this Case, who quite took away this Office of a publick Penitentiary or Confessor, and forbad any such Confessions to be made? The learned *Valesius*, after all his Criticisms upon the place plainly owns thus much, *that from that day forward, none were compell'd to come to Confession, but (in Socrates's own words) ἕκαστος every one was left according*

T. p. 264.

Blastar. M. c.

6. 1.

Vid. Canones ad

Amph. 56. 58.

C. c. passim

2.

3.

4.

Synod. T. 1.

p. 7.

T. p. 265.

Can. 32. ad

Amphil. Cani

34. ibid.

MS. p. 47.

Socrat. l. 5. c.

19.

T. p. 265. to his own Conscience to come to the Communion; for this was the only way to preserve the Church from Scandal. And at last he falls in with my Notion exactly, that Men as they were not forced, so they were not forbidden to go to a pious Confessor for his Advice and Counsel when there was a good occasion; and he puts this Case, if a Man (as suppose one of the three Sinners above mention'd) had such scruples upon his Conscience as to deter him so much, as he dares not go to the Communion; if he went to a Discreet, Learned, and Pious Minister to Comfort him, and quiet his Conscience, it would be extraordinarily and rightly done. In these grievous Cases there is no room for the Penance, enjoin'd by the Canon, to be executed; but the Sinner must be left solely to the Preaching, that is, the Admonition, Reproof, Counsel, Direction, Comfort, Prayers of the Ghostly Father; (as is abovesaid) who should he be Enraged, Hasty, Rigid, Rude, Cruel, or any ways Indiscreet, he would quite loose his labour and hopes of any Fruit in his Penitent, or drive him into utter despair. For such is the Soul of Man (saith the same Chrysostom) *ὡς ἐπιδὲν ἀπεγοργιάσαι βιάσθῃ*, when he is forced to cast off all shame, by ill usage, he care not what becomes of him. I have met with many sober and understanding Greeks, some of the Clergy, as well as of the Laity, who were of this Opinion, that these Canons, and the Penances enjoin'd in them, were only at first contrived for Monasteries; and afterwards the *Kotaries* above named applied them to themselves; and therefore they are all from thence most properly called, *κατοικιοί*, Persons govern'd by Canon or Rule; and thence it comes that all other Persons think themselves free and not at all concern'd in them; unless they also become so begott'd as to take the same willfully upon them. And seeing, as I have said, none of these are forced to Confess or to do the Canonical Penance, those who voluntarily desire this way of Mortification by Canon, may take that Course, whilst others only upon occasion shall advise with their Ghostly Preacher as they shall in Heart think fitting; as we read in Bede of Adamantius, who confessed his Faults to his Priest, and desired his Advice how he might flee from the Wrath to come; if Absolution had then been in fashion, he would have desired that, as well as his Advice; but we find nothing there of a Canon.

Hist. l. 4. c. 15. It is plain to me that Chrysostom succeeded Nestorius in his Opinion and Practice as to this Point, as well as in his Throne. For he hath herein taught us only this, that we ought continually to bear our Sins in our Memory, and Confess and Lament them daily over and over to God alone, but to have recourse to our Spiritual, *παιστήρ*, Pastor or Preacher in all Cases which may require it, for his private Direction in our Doubts and Scruples; his kind and Fatherly Admonitions in our frailties and failings; his faithfull Instruction in what we are Ignorant of; his cautions against Temptations; his Help, Comfort, and Prayers in all our present Wants and Infirmities, as I have often observed; and this will more fully appear before I conclude this whole pretended Sacrament. All this surely may be thoroughly performed by laying only what is then necessary before him, without troubling him or our selves with any other foreign Matters or Impertinent punctilios. Such Confession as this, is Rational, Just, and Necessary, and it plainly shews the Duty of a Serious, thinking Penitent, and the true value and use of a worthy Confessor; he ought not to be an Ordinary Priest who undertakes so weighty an Office; I can never sufficiently Praise St. Chrysostom's Confession; we are to make it daily unto God alone in our Prayers, and our repeating it again and again to him in Secret is most acceptable to him; whereas a Sin once confessed to a Romish Priest need not be reiterated or mention'd to him any more, the dangerous Consequence whereof shall anon be more fully examined.

Catech. Rom. part. 2. c. 5. §. 50. In the mean time it seems to me very probable, (and something reasonable,) that Monks, and *Yotaries*, and Clergymen, at their first Entrance or Initiation, might be Examined or Catechised about every Sin in the above mention'd Catalogues. The Indulgence to a Nun, and Prayers set down in *Gar* is of this nature;

ture; and I am the more confirmed in this my Opinion, because I find in *Goar's* T. p. 266.
Formula or Office, and in one of my own; that this is the first Question al-
ways, *whether they be Virgins*; if the answer is, *No*, the next Question is, p. 679.
how were you defiled; which are not proper Questions to those who have T. p. 267.
been Confessed before; for should this nice minute enquiry be always after-
wards repeated at every new Confession; it would be very ridiculous and ab-
surd. Should they Confess four times a Year, or oftner, and all the particu-
lar Sins in the Catalogue be run over again and again, and every minute Cir-
cumstances of them revealed; all this would be at the best but a very nau-
seous entertainment to a good Confessor (or a meer waggish Novel or brutish
Farce to a bad one) rather than *a purging of the Conscience* to the Sinner;
for after his Sins are reckon'd up, meerly to hear the Canon read, and to have
the Penances (therein enjoyn'd,) allotted to him, I fear will not much better
his temper, or cure or ease his ulcer'd Mind. In a free Confession if for
one Sin the Canon sequesters him so many Years from the Sacrament, and
for another Sin so many more, for another twice as many more; if for a-
nother Sin the Canon enjoins fasting for so many Days, or Weeks, or Months,
for another as much or more; if for another Sin three hundred *Prostrations* MS. part 1. 43.
in a day, for another as many; for another five hundred; now if a poor Crea-
ture should happen to have committed all these Sins and confess them
all at once, how will the good Father make up this Account of the whole
Penance? And then (as I have noted above) *what Man will be able to bear* p. 257.
it? How in free Confessions these Canons and their Penances were, (or in-
deed could be) executed in *Basil's* time, I profess I cannot see; I am sure
I never saw or heard any thing of the Practice of it in my time in any
Monastery or Cathedral or any where else, except in the Penitents only, which
are called *συνιστάμενοι*, *Associated*, as above; who are only for some time de-
prived or kept from the Communion. *The Greeks perhaps are grown more*
Mercifull to themselves, and Confessors now know better how and when
to use their Power of diminishing, or, τὰ ἐπιτίμια μεταμείψαν, *Commuting* or
quite remitting the Penance. We need not wonder that Orders and Customs
should be changed amongst them, I could give many Instances of it, and we find
that both *Balsamon* and *Zonaras* took Notice of this in their time, some new
Rites having been taken up and other old ones grown obsolete and out of date.
Basil made his Canon severer in many things then what it was before; He
saith the Fathers before him, ἀπλῶς καὶ πρῶτος συμπεριφερόμενοι ταῖς ἀδυναμίαις τῶν κα-
τοικοδαιόντων, *more kindly and tenderly regarded the Infirmities of those*
that fell, he tells us that Nuns or devoted Virgins if they were defiled,
were kept from the Communion before but one Year, but *Basil* deprives them
there fifteen Years. It is evident in many things that *Johannes Nestates*,
or *Jejunator* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, altered and mitigated many things in
Basil's Canon, and yet I find him also in some things blamed, and why might
not his Orders afterwards be Alter'd or Corrected, as well as others. I find
the Latins at the Council of *Florence* blamed the Greeks for not Confessing
before they say their Liturgy; which shews plainly that they did not then
so fully agree about this Matter, as the *Jerusalem* Synod would make us be-
lieve that they now do; and though the Greeks might then have had *Chryso-*
stom's way of *Confession to God*, and asking *Counsel at the Priest's lips*, yet
it was far enough different from that of the Latins; and I find *Horat. Ju-*
stiniani in his notes upon the place, (I fear very truly) tells us, *that part-*
ly through the severity of the Canons, and the scarcity of legal Confessors,
the Greeks have by degrees quite lost or laid aside the Sacrament of Penance.
It is not a little strange to me to see the different sentiments of great Men con-
cerning the Greeks, *Dositheus* and his Synod would make us believe that he
and all the rest of them have all the seven Sacraments, and this of *Penance*
amongst the rest, exactly as the Latins have them; yet *Justiniani* and many many
more, are so far from that, as they say the Greeks neither have nor yet un-
derstand

Basil. in Can.
74. ad *Amph.*
in *Canon. 46.*
Carthag.
In *Can. 19.*
conc. *Laodic.*

Ad *Amphil.*
Can. 18.
MS. 69.

Labb. T. 13.
524. F.

T. p. 268.
Ibid. p. 1181.
1182. a. b.

T. p. 268. derstand this Sacrament at all. However it is then very plain that the Latins take all the Advantages they possibly can from the Ignorance and Poverty of the Greeks, to impose upon them, and craftily to insinuate their Doctrines and Customs amongst them. And here I must briefly take notice of that clear account of this Practice, as I find it cited out of that Treacherous wretch *Aradius* by *Feblarius*. He adviseth *Cardinal Barbarini* to what is indeed the Practice of the College, de Propagandâ fide, for *Propagating the Faith*, at this very day. That is, to send back those Greeks (which they have there first nurst up and fitted for their service) back again into their own Country, with proper Books revised and printed at Rome, that, suâ ipsorum specie, as if they were honest Greeks, under that subtle disguise, they might trepan their ignorant Country-men and wheedle them into the Roman Pen; imitando peritos Aucupes, imitating cunning Fowlers who breed up and send forth Coy ducks to allure other wild ones and bring them into their nets. Goar hath given this a very clever turn; *The Church of Rome*, saith he, which is solicitous for the good of all the Eastern People, out of pity to the Ignorance and Rusticity or Clownery, of the Greeks, hath Printed (as she hath done many and many more about all their extravagant Opinions) her Form of this Sacrament of Penance, and sent it to be distributed amongst them. It was kindly, shall I say, or cunningly done. I have, ἑξομολογιτάριον, a form of Confession, and direction to Penitents, Printed at Venice, in pure Pity (you may be sure) to the poor Greeks, who, the Author saith, were once σοφὸν γένος καὶ ἐνδοξότατον, a Wise and Illustrious People, but now are quite cover'd over with spiritual Darknes, thicker and worse then that Bodily one of Ægypt. It is a Mongrel piece or Medly; the pure Scholastick notion and Doctrine of the Latin Confession and Penance, but methodized after the Greek ways above mention'd, by enquiring after all manner of Sins, yet not following their Canon, but the order of the ten Commandments. I shall have occasion to quote this charitable *Confessionary* in what follows, and therefore I shall say no more of it here.

Gal. 6. 1. Give me leave now to conclude this long Article of Confession, the Sum of which seems to me to be this, the antient Greek Church commanded her Penitents to confess their Sins in secret to God alone, and bid them consult their Priest or Pastor, in what then was needfull to instruct them, and restore them in the Spirit of Meekness; The Church of Rome commands Confession to be particularly made to a Priest, meerly to Erect a Tribunal for him, and to asfert to him the mighty Power of Absolution and Pardon; the end of that is purely the amendment of the Penitent, the end of this is to magnify the Glory of the Priest; in that Church the Confessors pretend only to abate or remit only the Penance, in this Church they take upon them to remit or forgive the Sin it self.

I will now pass on to what the Latins call the third part of this their pretended Sacrament of Penance, which is Satisfaction. Their Doctrine is this, by Sin we violate both God's Love, or Friendship, and his Justice; now they make this difference between the Guilt, Culpa, of Sin, and Pæna, the Punishment of it, as they say, though Christ satisfied God so far as to restore us perfectly to his Love, or Friendship, and perfectly free us from the Guilt of Sin, yet there still remains a debt to God's Justice, and so some Punishment, here or hereafter, is to be undergone by us to satisfy it, or compound for it. The satisfaction of Christ is own'd by that Church to be so excelling, as, etiamsi Deus summo jure nobiscum agere velit, quicquid a nobis debeatur cumulâtè persolutum est, although God would now deal with us with the highest Right, or Rigour, whatever can be due from us is (Cumulatè) fully paid, (as in the good Measure in the Gospel) for he upon the Cross, plenissimè Deo satisfacit, most fully satisfied God for all our Sins and for the Sins of the whole World. And yet in the same place we are told, that there is another kind of Satisfaction, which they call Canonical; when

a Man

a Man for his Sins undergo for some time some Punishment enjoin'd him by the Priest, or voluntarily take it upon himself; and this Satisfaction only, which is undertaken at the Command or by the Order of the Priest, is Sacramental; what is Voluntary is not therein effectual.

Now to me here seems first a manifest Contradiction; Christ satisfied for all the entire Debt for our Sins, which in Rigour can any ways be demanded of us, and yet there remains still a Debt to be satisfied, or paid by us, to his Justice. And what is more frequent in Popish Authors, then to tell us of the vast Treasure of Mercy and Forgiveness lodged in their Church by the death of Christ; For, say they, so much as one only drop of his most precious Blood in it self would have been a sufficient Ransom for the Sins of ten thousand Worlds; And yet, as to this Point, they tell us that God's Justice is not fully satisfied thereby, but we are still indebted something to it, which we our selves must pay; doing a little enjoin'd Penance will now do more then all the Blood of the new Covenant hath in this case done before.

We are told by them, Satisfactio est rei debitæ integra solutio, Satisfaction is the entire, full, payment of the thing that is due, nam quod satis est, ei videtur nihil deesse, for to what is enough nothing can be wanting; and as to our Reconciliation to God, to satisfy is to do all which is requisite to appease the angry and the offended Person, or fully to compensate the injury done; Now when Christ alone hath fully done both these, (for in him alone God is well pleased; and he hath thoroughly made our Peace, and Redeem'd us, and Justified us by his Blood,) and hath entirely discharg'd our whole Debt, by giving himself, ἀντίλυτρον, a Ransom or Compensation for us all; What Blasphemous assertions must these be, to say, Christ's satisfaction was in this point Imperfect, he left a little Debt still for us, our selves, to pay; The performance of an Injunction made by any Priest, satisfies God for what the Death of Christ satisfied not; Turning over the Beads, and mumbling so many Aves and a few Pater Nosters; Going Supperless to Bed; A gentle unbloody stroak or two with a Discipline; or any the like Penance enjoin'd for Sin by the Priest, and performed by the Sinner, pays a Debt, of his, which the Blood of Christ did not do. The Venetian Greek Confessionary highly Magnifies this Satisfaction, as if without it Christ's freeing us from Eternal Torments was invalid; by this τὰ μεταβαλὼν τὸ αἰώνιον εἰς πρόσκαιρον, what is Eternal is turn'd or changed to Temporal, and thus every Sinner is there Invited, μὲ πᾶσα εὐχαριστία τὰ πάγει τὴν ἱκανοποίησιν τὴν πρόσκαιρον ἀντὶ τῆς αἰωνίης κολάσεως, with all Thankfulness to embrace this temporal Satisfaction instead of eternal Punishment. I would fain see it by the Latins from plain Scripture, or by any way else clearly proved, that the performance of Penance, as meerly enjoin'd or commanded by a Priest only, is Satisfactory to God for Sin. The voluntary Penance, or wilfull deeds of Mortification in a Penitent, are highly acceptable to God (as shall presently be proved) yet this is not Sacramental Satisfaction, say they, or so effectual as lesser performances would be, if they were enjoin'd by the Priest; It is then most evident to me that this their Sacramental Penance, is meant as Satisfaction to the Priest, rather then to God; It is not so much to express a change of mind in the Sinner or thereby to render him inwardly more acceptable or reconcileable to God, as to own the Authority and Power of the Priest. We have this in the new Confessionary, δια τὰ πληρωθῆναι τὴν δικαιοσύνην τῆς Θεοῦ εἰς μέγας, εὐχαριστᾶται μὲ καὶ ἡμῶν. That God's Justice may be compleated, or satisfied, in part, he is gratified with every little and temporal Punishment, which we take from our Ghostly Father. Any little petty Penance enjoin'd and performed asserts indeed the Authority of the Priest, and therefore it must needs please and satisfy him; But where doth God warrant or accept such Satisfaction to himself? If God had said, do in this case whatsoever the Priest require of you, though never so little, and it will satisfy me; such a Text as this had been to their purpose. But I find Micah was quite of another Opinion, he thought Thousands

T. p. 269.

Provin. de Pœnit. c. Remiss. c. cum solubiter verb. Thesaur.

Catech. §. 63.

52.

Luk. 3. 23.
Mat. 12. 18.
Col. 1. 14. 20.
Rom. 5. 9.
1 Tim. 2. 6.

p. 166.

T. p. 270.

Catech. Roman. de Pœnit. §. 65. A. 53.

p. 164.

c. 6. 7.

of

T. p. 170. of Rams, and ten Thousands of Rivers of Oyl, nay, the Fruit of the Body, his very first Born, not Offerings, or Penance, enough for the Sin of his Soul. We have indeed in that new Confessionary a wonderfull Instance of Penance enjoin'd by Christ himself to a Sinner after Absolution, in the case of the Man sick of the Palsey; First he Forgave him, *Son thy Sins be Forgiven thee*; then, (because according to their Doctrine there remain'd still a little Debt behind,) he enjoin'd him *Penance to discharge it; Arise, take up thy Bed and go thy way into thy House.* Ἐπεόταξε τὴν σκευὴν τὸ βᾶσι, τὴν χειρὸν αὐτοῦ, δέχεσθαι τὴν ἰκετιοποίησιν εἰς ἀποπλήρωσιν τῆς χρεὼς τῆς δικαίας τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῆς θεῆς. He commanded him to take up the Burden of his Bed; as much as if he had said, take this satisfaction for the full payment of your Debt due to the Justice of God, and carry it to your House. It is pity this Author did not instance the same thing in the Impotent Man, who lay at the Pool of Bethesda; and urge likewise that it was meer Penance enjoin'd to the Leper, to go shew himself to the Priest and give him the accustom'd gift; as likewise to the ten Lepers to do the same; to the Man born blind, to go wash in the Pool of Siloam, to another blind Man, to go directly to his own House and not in to the Town, and to hold his Peace. Hereafter Naaman's washing seven times in Jordan shall pass for a Penance enjoin'd by Elisha. I am amazed that Men should bring such trifling stuff as this, to Justify the petty Penances enjoin'd by Priests, as their Satisfaction, to supply the defects of that of Christ; and this out of pretended Pity to inform the Ignorant Greeks. When a wretched Sinner is thoroughly smitten with a piercing Sense of his lost Condition; considering the Heinousness of his constant Practice of deliberate and presumptive Sins; weighing his most vile and base Ingratitude in daily affronting and provoking his most gracious Lord, his Maker, his Preserver, the bountiful giver of every good thing which he enjoys; knowing that he himself is but a worm and the Son of Corruption, but that his God is the Almighty King of Kings and Lord of Lords; whose Majesty the very Heaven of Heavens is not able to Contain; That he is a consuming Fire, and will by no means clear the Guilty; Surely a Man thus meditating in such a case as this, would think that Thousands of Rams and ten Thousands of Rivers of Oyl or Wine, Repeated Hecatombs, and whole burnt Offerings, were all infinitely too vile an Offering for his Peace; He would count nothing too dear, nothing too hard, nothing too great, nothing too much to be done, that he may be reconciled to his offended God. Many spared not their first born, nay, their only Child, but Sacrificed them to atone for their Transgressions, the fruit of their Bodies for the Sin of their Souls. Such a deep Sense had our Forefathers of a Sinners case between his God and him; but God's holy Name be for ever Praised, this case is quite alter'd now; By the Cross of Christ we are fully reconciled to God, and have obtain'd our Peace; God having forgiven us, πάντα παραπτώματα, all our Trespasses whatever; blotting out, τὸ κατ' ἡμᾶς χειρόγραφον, the Hand-writing (the Bill or Charge of our Debt,) which was against us. Now then since our Debt is thus fully discharged by God through Christ for all, παραπτώματα, Sins, Failures, Trespasses, Offences and Slips; far be it from us to think that by any performance of our own we can make our Acquittance more full; Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give Glory, for thy Mercy and for thy Truth sake. If all those extravagant performances of the expensive and horrid Sacrifices just above mention'd, are rightly thought infinitely too little to pay the least Debt to divine Justice; I cannot conceive, when Christ had forgiven those Sinners in the Gospel, by Healing them, that it could be any farther additional Satisfaction to God, for one to carry his Bed home, or for the other to go and wash his Eyes in Siloam; For my part I am very well perswaded, that many many Injunctions of the Latin Priests after Confession, are fully as easy Penances as these, and I fear will prove as slight Satisfaction.

I cannot

I cannot think that my doing any Penance, enjoin'd by a Priest, (meerly on that score as being enjoin'd by him) can any ways clear any part of my Debt to God's Justice; especially upon this wicked Supposition, that all of it is not already forgiven in Christ; what I voluntarily do do out of the bitterness of my Soul and my sorrow for Sin, this (as the *meer Fruits of my Repentance*, and the true Effects and Products of the inward Affection of my Soul) I am assur'd is most highly acceptable in the sight of Almighty God, *For the Sacrifice of a broken and a contrite Heart he will never despise*; But I can nowhere find, that, opus operatum, *the bare Deed done meerly upon the Priest's injunction*, without any inward Affection or Relenting of my Soul, will avail any thing; much less any thing to the discharging of *any Debt to God's Justice*. That God had some respect to *Ahab*, is no sufficient Instance to the contrary of this; His Humiliation might be indeed only External, yet it was not enjoin'd him, it was purely *his own choice*, and his own *voluntary Action*; nay, it is plain that there was some inward, though imperfect, relenting in him too; for at *the severe Preaching of Elijah*, and his solemn denuntiation of God's intended Judgments against him and his Family, it is said, *when Ahab heard these words, he immediately* (without any Injunction or Command,) *rent his Cloaths and put Sackcloth upon his Flesh and fasted, and lay in Sackcloth*. It is only the inward change of the Mind, makes its Effects (*Humiliation and Afflicting of the Soul*) acceptable with God; whereas the performance of *enjoin'd Penance* without it, is so far from *Satisfaction*, as it rather increaseth our Condemnation; it is plain *mocking of God*, as well as *cheating the World and our selves*.

A Man may be so inwardly and thoroughly sensible of his Sins that his Sorrow for them may be so intense *that he can neither Eat nor Drink nor Sleep*; or he may be seized, as *Exra* was, with a kind of Divine rage or Religious madness; he may with Fear and Reverence confess them day and night and bewail them to his God; and continually bring forth *Fruits meet for this his Repentance*; shall this Man not be accepted by God, without the Injunction of Penance from a Priest? Can a Priest *enjoin*, or *create* in a Sinner, or *give* him such a *Disposition* as this? Can his *enjoin'd Penance* (be it what it will) without such an inward Affection signify any thing either to God or to the Sinner? Therefore it is only *the Heart*, and the inward Affection and change of the Mind, not opus operatum, *the outward Performance*, or *bare doing of Penance* that any ways recommend us to God. *Bellarmino* himself owns that *Contrition alone may sometimes be so vehement, as to obtain perfect Remission*; but he saith, *this is because such Contrition is it self a sufficient Punishment and equivalent to that temporal Punishment to which the Sinner is obnoxious, notwithstanding Christ's Satisfaction for his, Culpa, Guilt*. But if only the enduring of *the Pain and Torment and outward Punishment* was in it self now *Satisfactory* without its Life and Principle, *the change of the Mind*; A Priest may *enjoin* Sackcloth and Ashes; Lying tied Neck and Heels; Sitting on the wooden Horse, or in the Stocks, without Meat or Drink; and enough more such bitter Punishments; and the Sinner may endure them all and observe them very punctually; and yet *his Heart* may still be Ice or Stone as it was before, or perhaps more Harden'd, rather than Reformed one *Jot*. Hath never Man endured *the Rack* without any change of Mind or Manners? Therefore turn you to me with all your Heart, saith God; Then *Fasting and Weeping and Mourning* follow as welcome attendants; *Rend your Heart*, or else *rending your Garment*, will be but a double loss to you. *Is this a fast that I have chosen*, saith God, *to bow down the Head as a Bulrush, to spread Sackcloth and ashes under you, to be of a sad Countenance and to Disfigure your Faces that you may appear unto Men to fast?* Do ye at all fast to me saith the Lord? Here is, opus operatum, *the enjoin'd Penance done for the Priest as far as he can know*; *Is not this the Fast that I have Chosen to loose the bands of Wickedness, to put away the evil of your doings, to deal thy Bread*

T. p. 271.

1 Reg. 21. 20.

verf. 27.

T. p. 272.

c. 9. 3.

Prov. 23. 26.

l. 4. c. 6. de Penit. D. p. 465.

Joel. 2. 12.

Isai. 58. 5.

Mat. 6. 16.

Zech. 7. 5.

Isa. 58. 6. 7.

c. 1. 16. &c.

c. 58. 7.

T. p. 272. *Bread to the hungry* and to do all *Acts of Mercy and Goodness* to your Neighbour, of *Devotion* towards God, of *Purity* towards your self? This is the inward Part, and *true Life* of Repentance which the Priest cannot Judge of; *but God which seeth it in secret will one day reward it openly.* The Priest can only guess, (and that very uncertainly) at the sincere performance of the outward Penance which *he enjoins*; only God knows and can judge of the inward *Wound and Cure of the Heart.* The Scripture doth every where so plainly distinguish *opus operatum, the meer doing of an Act,* from the true Intent and inward Thought or Design of it, as it declares *that* without *this* it is often very *Evil, or Vain, or at best Insignificant.* Thus invincible *Ignorance, perfect Necessity, unavoidable Mischance,* and the like, excuse an Action which otherwise would be very Evil, because the *Will and Mind* of the Actor were not, nor could be, any ways concern'd in it; So *Heedless or Careless Acting, meer Ceremony, pure Complement, a Grudging or Grumbling Performance,* and the like, can never make the Action either absolutely Gratefull, or truly Commendable; because a true, sincere *Heart* goeth not entirely along with it; the Action is

Mat. 5. 18. *but specious Hypocrisy* with God and Man; as one is *a meer Form of Godliness,* so is the other a meer shadow of Friendship, *without the Power* of either.

T. p. 273.

2 Tim. 3. 5.

Ritual. Rom. in
Rubric. Ed.
Absol. p. 49.
Busenb. Medul.
l. 6. c. 1. d. 4.
art. 1.

But I find in the Latin Church when the Penance is enjoin'd by the Priest, it must be *accepted* by the Penitent before he can be Absolved; and hence it may be pleaded that it is not, *opus operatum, his meer doing the Deed,* for his Consent, Will, and Heart go along with the Performance, and that makes *the Penance satisfactory.* It is very true, (as I have been sufficiently informed amongst them) that there is indeed *a Bargain or an Agreement* always made between the Priest and the Penitent about the Penance. If the Penitent saith it is too sharp or severe, the Priest must lessen it and come to his Terms. If for a great fault in a Lady or Person of Quality, the whole hundred and nineteenth Psalm was *enjoin'd* to be gotten by heart, it will be well at last, if all be compounded for the next Psalm, or perhaps only the hundred and seventeenth. At first a whole *Corona* (or Bracelet) of *Ave Mary's* and *Pater Noster's* is *enjoin'd* to be entirely said over twice every day for such a time; but it is well if at last they agree for a *single Rosary* or *Decimal* to be said once a day, or once a week. A hemping Shirt is hardly *accepted* instead of Sackcloth, and Flannel instead of Haircloth. Procuring some Masses for the Soul of a Man basely *Murder'd, Su'l punto d' honore, upon pretence of saving ones Honour, or Poison'd, per sicurar la riputanza, to avoid some Shame and Disgrace;* To Eat only a little Polenta, or Farro, or Tisana with Posca, (suppose a little of our *Flummery* or *Gruel*) once in one day in the week through all the whole Lent; These and many such other Mortifications (which I could honestly name) have been *agreed* upon, as substantial Penances for the most notorious Sins; The great *Erasmus* facetiously inculcates to us this known Truth; *Only three Pater Nosters hastily hurried over were counted sufficient Satisfaction for thrice repeating of one foul Act of Uncleanness;* and he knew well the common Practice in his Days, which I fear is not yet much amended. A Penitent must *accept* of some Penance; he cannot refuse all under a Mortal Sin, and the Priest (I suppose for his Honour) must enjoin him some, if he confesses himself a Sinner; and so this *agreement* makes the Penance at last *a free Deed,* and on that account you may be sure, it is *Satisfactory* enough.

Colloq. Exorc.

Why should I mention here the pretended Penitents prevarications and cheats put upon their Confessors? They will think, *opus operatum, the plain Deed* of Penance, (done literally after any Fashion,) enough to fulfill the Priest's Injunction. The Sinner who was order'd to go a Mile with Pease in his Shoes under his Feet, thought he had well performed his Task, though he had boyl'd them very tender at first before he used them; let this pass for a meer figment, I could instance in many very true Stories to the same purpose; One I cannot omit; A young ingenious Gentleman of my Acquaintance and partly under my care,

T. p. 274.

care, was two often Guilty of Drinking too much; his Ghostly Father enjoin'd him never more (for a whole Year) to drink a glass of pure Wine but only what was mixt with Water; he observed it punctually for a while; but being one day very much urged by his Companions, and he standing stiffly upon his Injunction, one that sat by dipt his Finger in Water and let a drop or two fall into his brimmer of Wine, and said, come drink it off, for I will now swear it is not a Glass of pure. So the poor Lad fell to his Wine and Penance thus qualified, but soon after lost his Life by this plausible Intemperance. I will yet add one more of another Person, of a good Family and once my Neighbour. He had a very strict severe Father after the Flesh, whose Confessor I knew very well to be a cunning Man; The young Man suspected that, notwithstanding the Seal of Confession, whatsoever he confessed to him went roundly to his carnal Father, and he fear'd by this, that he might in time loose his favour and be disinherited; wherefore he fell upon this project. I had seen him very naughty in two or three vile Practices, and betwixt Jest and Earnest, I said to him, O brave Youth, how will you do to keep these Pranks from your Father's ears; When you confests them to N. N. they will soon come round to the old Gentleman; Oh, quoth he I have a trick for that, I have an honest old Priest in a corner, and to him I always go first and take off the Cream, and then I go to N. N. and tell him that since my last Confession I have done nothing but a few Piccadillos which I have ready to confests to him; and so I am represented to my old Dadde, as White and as Innocent as a Lamb. And this very Practice is with a little limitation allowed to be a good entire Confession by the Jesuits.

T. p. 274.

Busenb. Medul.
l. 6. tract. 4. d.
3. art. 1.

I know the common answer to these and the like objections is this, that they are purely against the Abuses and not against the Constitution of the Romish Church; and the best thing may be Abused, and yet in it self be a sacred Sanction. But I rejoin that as their Constitution it self or order, of Confession, Penance, Satisfaction and Absolution, now stand; it is impossible to prevent, or to take away such Abuses, without reforming and new modelling, or quite taking away their whole Constitution; so long as Men are Men, there will infallibly fall out these vile extravagances from it.

In our Repentance it is the inward Affection and Sincerity of the Heart only, (as it is in all our other Duties to God) which recommends us to his Mercy and Forgiveness, as well as to his Favour and Love; and not any outward performance, unless it springs purely and Originally from that alone and is sanctified by it. It was nothing but this which justified the poor Publican, before the Proud rich Pharisee, who trusted in himself and boasted in his outward Deeds, Fasting, and paying of Tithes. The Publican was in his Heart so truly humble, and had such Sense of his unworthiness, as he would not lift up so much as his Eyes to Heaven; The smiting of his Breast was in it self a vain thing, for who cannot at any time and place do that? But as it rose purely from the Anguish of his wounded Heart, it was a most acceptable circumstance. It was the free and generous Heart, that gave the poor Widows two Mites more value in the Eyes of God, than all the Offerings of the other Rich Men, who brought their Gifts to the Treasury. It was like the poor Persian's offering to Artaxerxes; when he saw all other Men bringing their presents to him, he ran to the River, and brought as much Water as he could hold in the hollow of both his hands, and offering it to him, he said, O King, I could not let you pass without my Present, and therefore I thus honour you, ὅπως ἔχω, at the first opportunity and in the best manner that I can. The reward shews how justly the Prince valued this humble and homely, but Hearty present above all, τῶν πάντων πολυτιμώτερον, the richest things which he received; for besides his perpetual Favour, he gave him, a rich Persian Robe, a Golden Bowl and a Thousand pieces of Gold. Surely the King could not set such a price upon this little Water, meerly as such, for the whole River was his own; but he esteem'd the Deed,

T. p. 275.

Luk. 18. 9, 12.

13.

Luk. 21. 3.

Ælian. Var. hist.
l. 1. c. 32.

T. p. 275. because it came from *the rich Treasury of an honest and good Heart*. And
 Luk. 6. 45. we cannot wonder at this *temporal Reward*, when God himself assures us,
 c. 8. 15. that a *Cup of cold Water* given in the same manner, *freely, in Christ's name,*
 Mark. 9. 41. and for his sake to a *Disciple, shall not loose*, (that is, shall certainly have) a
 2 Sam. 23. 17. *Reward in Heaven*. And hence only it was, that David called *the Water*,
 which three of his Worthies fetcht him from *the Well of Bethlehem, their*
Blood; because they *bravely and frankly hazarded their very Lives for*
it. More instances of *such a Hearty performance of Repentance or Duty*
 will be needless as they may be endless, therefore I will now a little con-
 sider and compare the nature of what is *voluntary Penance and what is*
 enjoin'd. We must needs grant that what is *Voluntary*, (as in the Greeks
freely desiring their Canon) springs from a *living Root*, as real Sorrow for
 what is past, and a hearty Desire and Resolution of amendment; and therefore
 all future Acts of Mortification, and Charity, and Love and Duty both to God
 and Man, flow freely from the same divine Fountain; and are therefore all Matters
 of Thought, Judgment, serious Deliberation and free Choice; Whereas what a
 T. p. 276. *Latin Priest enjoins*, is originally, Matter only of his own Judgment and
 private thought, and is quite external and foreign from the inward Motion of
 the Sinner; and is most commonly thwarting and contrary to his desire, as
 by their Higling and Bargaining, (which I have hinted,) appear; And those
 are counted most Meritorious, which bring most *Trouble and Pain*. And there-
 fore let the enjoin'd Penance be what it will, it cannot go down so well, or be
 Catech. Rom. perform'd with that inward Peace, Comfort, Joy, Earnestness and Zeal, as if
 part 2. c. 5. it was undergone by the proper and inward Motion, Desire, and choice of
 §. 74 58. the Penitent. *Bellarmino* needed not to have taken such pains to prove that
 ut supra. c. 4. *Deeds of Mortification*, though they are *Commanded* by God, may yet be
 H. truly called *Voluntary* when done by us; for we must all say unless we do
 every Duty with a *free Heart and perfect Will*, (which is by *Choice and*
Voluntarily) we by no means *fulfill his Command*. But the Case is far o-
 therwise in the Matter of *Penance enjoin'd or Commanded* by a Priest to a
 Penitent, and that which is *Voluntarily taken upon himself*. God commands
 Joel 2. 12. us to Afflict our selves and to *turn to him with Fasting, Weeping, Mourning*
 Pl. 50. 15. and *Praying* in General; But as he leaves the *doing or not doing of this*
Command to our Choice; So he leaves the particular *Manner, Measure,*
Time, Place, and every circumstance of them, to our *free Choice* also and
 Determination, according to our own *Disposition, Inclination, or Zeal*; our
present Affection, Opportunity, Discretion, Strength and Ability. But the
Injunction or Command of a Priest ties me down positively to every one
 of these Circumstances; and the *Canon or Decree of the Church* does the same.
 Whereas only *Counsels, Advices, Exhortations, Perswasions or Preaching,*
 (in *Chrysostom's* way) had still left me at liberty *Voluntarily* to determine my
 self, who (when all is done) best understand my present Constitution and Condi-
 tion, and therefore know what best suits with it towards the Effecting of my
 Cure. It is impossible that *enjoin'd Penance* can affect my Mind like what
 is *Voluntary and Deliberate*. The Greeks Canon prescribe such or such a num-
 ber of *Prostrations* in an hour; the Sinner performs them with all the Expe-
 dition he can, that he may punctually keep his Score or Reckoning and the
 Time; and his Mind is more intent upon that then upon his Sins. He must
 say, *κύριε ἐλέησον, Lord have Mercy upon me*, thus or thus many times, in a
 certain time. It is scandalous to hear how they hurry them over in their pub-
 lick Offices, and without doubt they make quicker dispatches in Private; One
 Serious, Distinct, Deliberate, Hearty, *Lord have Mercy upon me*, said with
 Attention; or the poor Publican's, *God be Mercifull to me a Sinner*, is
 more worth then a thousand of them. The like must be said of the *enjoin'd*
Penances amongst the Papists. Such numerous *Aves, Pater-nosters, Credo's,*
Psalms, peculiar Prayers to be repeated in a day, must be mumbled over in such
 haste, as they can never consist with any true Devotion. Let any Man repeat,
 Our

Our Father. &c. never so carefully half a dozen time together; and see whether his Devotion will, or can be so intense at the last as it was at the first; and therefore it is no wonder to me, that these *enjoin'd Devotions*, soon dwindled into, *opus operatum*, *only doing the meer Deed*, without any application of the Mind, or *cleansing of the Heart*. How is a Man Mortified by being commanded *not to Eat Flesh*, if he Surfeits on Fish or on any thing else? Whereas, if reflecting upon the state of my Body and Mind, I with my self find what is amiss and resolve to amend it; surely I can moderate and stint my Appetite by Eating and Drinking but little and seldom, (let my Victuals be what they will) and I can best judge, *my self*, what will bring *my Body into Subjection to my Mind*. The same may be said of all other Penances *enjoin'd* in either of these great Churches; what a Man doth, Sponte, *Freely*, on his own inward Motion in this Case, may be *the real Fruits and Effects of his own Sorrow and Repentance*; what is *enjoin'd*, is plainly *the commandment of Man*. The first is purely *his own Deed* and matter of *his own Choice*; the other is a Creature and meer Imposition of another Man; Though I should consent to it (as Papists are obliged to accept what is *enjoin'd*) it would be but with a *willing unwillingness*; I could not be said to undertake it, Sponte, *purely of my own accord*. Bellarmine himself at last there clearly owns as much. Sponte sua excludit peculiare sacerdotis imperium, *to do a thing purely of ones own accord*, excludes, or is inconsistent with, *the peculiar Injunction of a Priest*; as likewise it excludes any certain, determinate, kind or Measure of works particularly prescribed either by Scripture or the Church. As suppose the Scripture, or the Canon or the Priest *enjoin* you to give your self precisely just 40 Stripes so soon as you rise out of your bed; you are bound to give just *so many*, neither more nor less, *at that very time*; you may consent to do it, but it cannot be said that you do it, Sponte, *of your own free Choice and good Will*; there will be some inward Drawback, or Reluctancy mixt with it. But now it seems to me very Remarkable, that whilst the Cardinal hath argued so earnestly for *spontaneous Penance*, and given several Instances out of the Scripture for it, as in Job, David, and Niniveh, and might have added many more; he hath not produced so much as one *for Penance enjoin'd by a Priest*; though that is his next bold Assertion; and he hath only whifled about it, but left it without the least Shadow of a solid proof. He saith, Omnino par erat ut Deus mandarēt, *it was very fitting that God should Command his Ministers to impose such Penance*, but shews us not one syllable or shadow of any such Command; and therefore it remains only as a Command, or Order, of the Conclave. *Enjoin'd Penance* will be but as a Schoolboy's Task, very Irksome and Cross to his Inclination and Humour; and there will be, instead of a Delight and Chearfulness in it, a constant longing that it was over. To this purpose I meet with an amazing Truth in one of the Latin's publick Books, which I will crave leave here to set down. We are there told, that St. Ambrose took a great deal of care and pains to make Men Contrite, or broken Hearted; it seems that Men even then were very backward and hard to submit and be brought to what Penance was *enjoin'd*. Verum postea tantum de veteris disciplinæ severitate remissum est, atque ita Charitas refrixit, ut jam plerique ex fidelibus ad peccatorum veniam impetrandam, nullum intimum animi dolorem, atque genitum Cordis necessarium patient, sed illud satis esse arbitrentur, si speciem tantum dolentis habeant; But since his time so much of the antient severity and Discipline hath been remitted, and Charity, or divine Love, hath grown so cold, that now, (since the Council of Trent,) most of the Faithfull think that inward grief of Mind, and Groaning of the Heart, is not at all necessary to the obtaining Pardon for our Sins, but they count that to be enough, or Satisfaction, if they have only the outward shew of Grieving, or Mourning. For my part I must think no Man can give a better or a truer account of the present Condition of the Romish Church then This. Therefore it must needs be a most shamefull Addition

Catech. Rom.
part 2. c. 5.
p. v. 259. §.
68. A. 55. p.
241.

T. p. 276. tion to their former impudent Assertion, *that God was not fully Satisfied by the Death of Christ for all our Debts to his Justice*, to say, that these Lame, Trifling, Delusory, Ridiculous Performances at the word of a Priest, are able to discharge them. Constant Confession of our Sins, and daily and humbly Acknowledging of our unworthiness to God; Contrition and sorrow of Heart; Feruent Prayer and Ejaculations; Sighing, Groaning, Lamenting and Weeping; are all assuredly *Fruits meet for Repentance*, and are as certainly *acceptable Sacrifices* to God from a true Penitent. Can a Priest (as I have said) make or create these in a Sinner by *enjoining* him to do them, or to do any outward thing in order to them? Whereas by Expostulations, by Advising, Exhorting, Instructing, Admonishing of him, and Praying with him and for him, (all which, as I have often said, are *the true Duty* of a Confessor and are all *but Preaching* still,) he may by God's blessing cherish and quicken *some living Bud* of Repentance in him, so that it will by degrees Sprout and at last bring forth *the true and meet Fruit* of it. But only *Enjoining* any outward *Action* or *Deed*, (which can be, and too too often is, perform'd without *this*, Punctum Saliens, *inward living Principle*,) is purely expecting Fruit from meer Chaff instead of good Seed; whereas the other way of treatment, is as *Seed sown and Springing up in an honest and good Heart, which will bring forth Fruit*, (answerable to the Soil,) *from thirty, to fifty, and to a hundred Fold*. Therefore *as for outward Penances* I will here say no more of them.

Mat. 13. 8.

But since the Romish Doctrine of *Satisfaction* seems to be grounded upon this first Assertion, *that although God in Mercy hath in Baptism quite freed us from, Culpa, all our Guilt, yet, Poena, the Punishment remains still due to satisfy God's Justice*; Let us a little consider the weight of this nice Distinction or Scholastick sublety. I learn'd at School, *Culpam Poena premit comes, Punishment follows Gilt, as an Inseparable Companion*, or rather to our purpose, *Punishment always supposes Guilt foregoing*. If then God hath quite taken away *our Guilt*, how can *any Punishment* (as due only from it) still remain? It would be unjust, if we should now be punished for *that Guilt* which is quite abolished. To say *Punishment* may be forgiven though *the Guilt* remain, seems to have good sense in it; for *the Deed*, which rendred me Guilty, being *once done*, cannot be *undone*; therefore *that Blot* may remain, though *the Punishment*, to which that *Deed* made me obnoxious, is for ever remitted. For a Prince to say to a Robber or Murderer, *you deserve to be hanged, but I will spare your Life; I will forgive your Punishment, though your Desert, your Guilt still remains*; this is Intelligible and Practicable enough; But to say to him, *I freely forgive you all your Guilt or Fault, but you shall be hanged, or branded, or whipt or some ways Punished for all that*; How to call this a *full and absolute Pardon*, I confess I cannot understand. The Prince is in the first case *truly Mercifull*, but in this last, he is but a meer specious deceiver. Therefore to me this Scholastick Criticism seems not only in it self very Absurd, (invented purely to hook in and support that vain Doctrine of *Supererrogation* and *Satisfaction*) but it is quite foreign to the new Covenant of the Gospel. For in it God *on his part* obligeth himself by *his faithfull Promise* absolutely to Pardon and Forgive *all past Sins*, upon this one Condition to be perform'd *on our part*, if we shall truly *Repent of them and do so no more*; *what is past is past*, upon the performance of this single Condition; and for the future we are to lead a new Life according to God's Commandments; and all this is accounted by God not as a *Satisfaction to his Justice* for our Sins past, (for Satisfaction for them was fully made before) but as the common Duty of every good Christian. Every one of us, as such, are obliged, to Fast, to Pray, to give Alms, to forgive our Enemies, to Feed the Hungry, and to do all other Acts of Mercy, and Pity and brotherly Love; to abstain from all Evil and to do whatsoever is Good; especially *all the weightier Matters of the Law, Judgment, Mercy, and Faith-*

Bellarmin. de Poenit. l. 4. c. 2. B.

Horat. Carm. l. 4. 5.

T. p. 278.

Mat. 23. 23.

Faithfulness; as our common Duty appears from Christ's Sermon upon the Mount, and from all the rest of his Commands; He tells us that *he came not to destroy the Law but to fulfill it*, and therefore even all good Moral Precepts and Counsels are our Duty, as St. Paul hath at large in many places told us, and set himself as our example herein, and tells us that *the God of Peace shall be with all them who follow him herein*. Now if our hearty and earnest Repentance, or our striving for the Mastery to obtain the incorruptible Crown, transport us to a higher performance of any of these Duties then ordinary, we cannot count them as *Satisfaction to God's Justice* for our past Offences, or for Works of *Supererrogation*, as if we had made God himself our Debtor thereby; For when we have done all those things which are Commanded us, we ought to say, *we are unprofitable Servants, we have done that which was our Duty to do*; for God knows that even the very best of all our performances are very very imperfect; we even want his Pardon for our Deficiencies therein; and we must depend upon the first perfect Satisfaction made upon the Cross for us to God's Justice, to render even these through Faith in Christ any ways acceptable to him. How then can any Deed of Man be satisfactory to God's Justice, which in it self wants Satisfaction for it self. Again, for one Man to satisfy another, it is certainly to make some suitable return for the offence; But as to God, as Bellarmine truly saith, *I have nothing that I can call truly my own that is worthy or fitting for him, for what have I that I have not received?* And to pretend to give him any thing, would be Restitution, which, Bellarmine himself tells us, *cannot be made to God who can suffer no Loss or Damage by us*; and therefore he there grants that all I can now do, or (on my Condition in the Covenant) ought to do, is humbly and sorrowfully to confess my Faults to him, heartily to beg his Pardon for them, and to do so no more. The inward Fruits of such Repentance, (Love, Joy, Peace, Long-suffering, Gentleness, Goodness, Faithfulness, Meekness, Temperance, Purity, and Charity in its full extent) cannot be produced in me at any Priest's Command; and all the outward Fruits also must be as truly Genuine and Free; if they are forced, or if these or the others are only Formal, they will prove but *Grapes of Sodom and Clusters of Gomorrah*. And now if these spiritual inward Acts of the Mind, at best are all Imperfect, and want God's Pardon and the Original Satisfaction in Christ to make them any ways acceptable; what poor Satisfaction must the bare outward Actions be without them? They are indeed done (as Bellarmine saith) *ex Pacto, Donatione, Acceptatione, by Bargain or Agreement, Enjoining and Accepting*, between the Priest and the Sinner, but I find no such Agreement between God and Him. But he makes the inward and outward Actions of my Repentance my Satisfaction, which I must call *only the performing of the Condition on my part in the Covenant*; full and compleat Satisfaction to God's Justice being made before in Christ for all my Sins; it is only his Satisfaction still both for my Sins and for my Imperfect performances. He may as well say that all the Duties which a Christian now doth, or can do, are only his own Satisfaction to compleat that made in Christ. And truly, he may as well call God's forgiving a Penitent, God's Satisfaction to him, as the Penitent's Acts of Repentance Satisfaction to God; For the same Covenant that obliges me to Repent, the same Covenant obliges God to Forgive me, if I perform the Condition. It was God's infinite Mercy to make this Gracious Covenant with us in Christ, and it is his infinite Justice to see it fulfilled on his own part; He will by no means clear the Guilty impenitent Sinner, but if we Confess our Sins, he is Faithfull and Just to forgive us our Sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. Alas! The Obedience required by the Gospel, is not an Absolute, Perfect, unsinning Obedience; God hath Covenanted to accept what we are at our utmost able to do; if we do as much as in us lie. Our Love to God and our Neighbour cannot be always alike intense, nor can it ever be raised to that true sublime Degree as is prescribed us; and therefore whatever Action springs from thence must be defective.

T. p. 278.

Mat. 5. c. 6.

6, 7.

c. 5. 17.

Phil. 4. 8, 9.

Luk. 17. 10.

ut supra. l. 4.

c. 1. a. b. c.

1 Cor. 4. 7.

Deut. 32. 32.

ut supra. c. 1.

B.

T. p. 279.

Exod. 34. 7.

1 Joh. 1. 9.

Rom. 12. 18.

Mat. 22. 37.

fective. *In many things we offend all, there is not a Just Man upon Earth that doeth Good and Sinneth not.* The most Regenerate Man hath his Infirmities, his Inadvertencies, his Surprises, his Failings notwithstanding all his Resolution and Vigilance. So long as we carry this Flesh about us, there will be some tincture of it in our best performances. *Who can say I have made my Heart clean, I am pure from my Sin. If God should enter into Judgment with us, and mark our Sins, who shall stand and be Justified in his sight.* If this then be every Christian's case, who can be so Bold and Presumptuous, so Daring and Wicked, so Arrogant and Vain, as to say or think that his poor faint Performances, his imperfect Faith, his Repentance to be Repented of, (all which still want in themselves to be Justified before God,) are yet notwithstanding able to satisfy God's Justice, as a Supplement to what is done before in Christ. But now if my best performances in themselves, want still God's Justification and Allowance or Acceptance through Christ for themselves, what Satisfaction can I make with them for another? The vicarious Satisfaction of the Romanists must needs seem very Ridiculous, as well as very Treacherous and Dangerous. One Man, say they, cannot Confess or be Contrite for another, yet, if he hath Grace he may in another's name, pay, what he owes to God's Justice, for him. I think it is plain from what hath been said, that Confession of our Sins to God and our Contrition for them, are the very Life and Soul of true Repentance; then all that one can do for another in this case, is to perform only the outward part of it for him; or (in plain Truth) to present to God only the dead Carcase of Repentance for him in his Name. I know this is their Common practice every where where I have been amongst them. My good Lord, or my Lady, or Master or Mistress, N. N. cannot be at leisure to perform the Offices, which, *Horæ Beatæ Mariæ, the Hours of Prayer* (that are enjoin'd) require; or they cannot attend, or leave off their Diversion, to run over the whole *Corona of Aves and Pater-nosters* so often in a day as they are obliged by their Ghostly Father to do; But good A. or B. or C. full of Grace, can do it for them; These backney Votaries were in England of old, from their Beads, call'd Beads-men, not from their praying to God for you in your behalf, but from turning their Beads, and saying Prayers in your stead. N. N. cannot bear the Fasting or Abstinence, or the hard Lodging, or the Scourging, or the grievous Usage enjoin'd; For Penance, (as hath been noted before,) must have something of trouble or of some (uneasiness at least) But A. B. C. can Fast for them a whole Lent, and will shew their Suffering, the Sackcloth, or Haircloth which they wear for them, and the bloody Stripes that they have given themselves in their stead; and then the Reward given to these Vendipregchiere, Penitentiary Vicars, is counted also good satisfactory Alms, as well to God, as to the Mercenary wretches. My, opus oeratum, bare doing of a Thing, of this nature, for my self doth me no good; much less can, my so doing it for my Neighbour, profit him, my mumbling over the Lord's Prayer, without my Mind and Heart concurring with it, neither Affects me nor Helps me one jot; How then can it Affect or Help my Brother, for me to repeat it for him, whilst he at the same time neither knows nor thinks any thing of it. They who trust to such Vicarious Penance done for them by others, will be as much mistaken as the Jews were, who thought all was well with them, because they had Abraham for their Father; upon which Passage Basil hath grounded this moral Rule, *ὁ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλων κατὰ νόμον, Men ought not to trust to the good deeds, or performances, of others so as to neglect their own. Therefore bring forth Fruits meet for Repentance.* Nothing is more common in many places of Italy then for beggars, especially Boys and Girls, to fall down on their knees before you in your way, and sometime before your Horse in the Road, and presently to run over an Ave or two for you; if you will bargain with them, (as I have sometimes done for Tryal) you may soon be cloy'd with them and Pater-nosters for half a Farthing. I fancy poor People are thus brought up, and used to these Vicarious Satisfaction

T. p. 279.
Jam. 3. 2.
Eccl. 7. 20.

Prov. 20. 9.
Pl. 130. 3.
& 143. 2.

Luk. 10. 1.
2 Cor. 4. 16.
Mark. 9. 24.
2 Cor. 7. 10.

Rom. Catech.
part 2. c. 5.
§. 77. A. 62.

T. p. 280.

Catech. Rom.
part 2. c. 5.
§. 74.

Reg. moral. 15.

factions, that *the Rich, the Lazy, and the Delicate*, when *the enjoined Penances* are too hard or difficult, may the more easily be supply'd with *humble Hirelings* to do them for them; for there we are told, *that*, quodam pacto al-
 ter alterius onera portat, they *treat about it first, and then by agreement they bear one the others burdens*; where the better to colour over *this Charitable cheat*, they abuse the words of St. Paul who is even there directly against them. Gal. 6. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.
 The Apostle exhorts the Galatians *to the Spirit of Meekness*, towards those *who may be overtaken with a Fault*. They should *treat them mildly, and as having a fellow feeling of their burden*, (their Infirmities and Failings) *they should pity them* and by this Charity keep that *grand Law of Christ*, which he a little before pressed upon them, (*they should by Love serve one another*, c. 5. 13, 14, 15. for *this is the fulfilling of the Law, thou shalt Love thy Neighbour as thy self*,) and not bite, or vex, or grieve them by ripping up their Faults. He 1 Cor. 11. 31.
 commands every one to Examine and Judge himself and not to *think himself something*, or any thing *above his Neighbours*, or (to use the words in the Catechism) *more Divinâ Gratiâ Præditus, entitled to the Divine Grace* than T. p. 281.
 they; and better able to *satisfy for them*, than they are for themselves. Then he plainly confutes that Lazy, Vile, pernicious Doctrine, of *Vicarious Satisfaction*; Let every Man, saith he, *prove his own Work, and then shall he have Rejoicing, or Glorifying, in himself alone, and not in another*; (or in respect of himself onely, and not in Respect or Regard of another) now he that *Fasts or Prays, not in his own name, but in another's stead*, may have some vain-glorious in himself; nay some kind of *Satisfaction* or Pleasure to himself, nay, perhaps some kind of Acceptance from God himself, because poor silly Soul he means it well though upon a false ground; But *the other, for whom that is, in whose stead this poor Man Fasts or Prays, hath no Rejoicing in himself*, but, if he hath, it is wholly in or from another. Then the Apostle at last (to shew how absolutely this place is contrary to the Schoolmens Doctrine who strive to rest it to their purpose) saith positively, *every Man shall bear his own burden*; if Βάρος, φορτίον, *Burden*, in this place signifies *Penance or Satisfaction*, one Man is not to do *Penance* for another, but every Man is to do it for himself. The plain meaning of the Apostle in this place, is the very same which he elsewhere often teacheth, *ye that are strong ought not to think too highly of your selves, but to bear the Burdens and Infirmities of the Weak with Pity and Gentleness; Judge your selves from your selves and not from others, examine every one his own Works, for every one shall bear his own Burden, his own Faults, and answer for himself*. Notwithstanding this manifest Sophistry of the Trentine Fathers, yet still they there pursue their assertion with another Argument as Frivolous and Weak. We all believe, say they, *the Communion of Saints, and we are all Members of the same Mystical Body of Christ*; now as the Eye sees not for it self alone but for the Direction of the Feet, and the Feet serve not only themselves but the whole Body to bear it, and all the Members about with it; so the Offices of *Satisfaction* ought to be Mutual and Common amongst us. Methinks this Simily is very lame. Not only the Feet but the Hands and all the rest of the Members have the same common Benefit of the Eyes seeing; and not only the Hands and the Head, but the whole Body and all its Parts are in like manner carried about by the Feet. So then one Man cannot be said to *satisfy purely and solely for one other single Man*, but all the other Members of Christ are equally benefited by it; every Member must partake of *this Satisfaction* alike; Nay, the Head must likewise receive its proportionable part. It is not enough to say, *that the Vicarious Satisfier determines his Satisfaction to his Friend only*, for this cannot consist with their explication of *the Communion of Saints*, and would be as absurd as to say, the Mouth feeds for it self alone, and therefore there may be a Rope fasten'd under the Chin to keep the Meat from going down any farther. But immediately
 these Good Fathers mince the matter and make a very just Exception. *All the Benefit*

T. p. 280.

U. supr. §. 77.

Gal. 6. 1, 2,

3, 4, 5.

c. 5. 13, 14, 15.

1 Cor. 11. 31.

U. supr. §. 77.

T. p. 281.

Catech. ut supr.

U. supr. §. 78.

T. p. 282. *Benefit of Satisfaction does not always accompany that which is thus Vicarious. Because Penance is enjoined as a Medicine for the Cure of the sinfull Affections of the Mind; and therefore they, who do not satisfy for themselves, want this Effect of it. But if this Vicarious Satisfaction do not cure the sinfull Mind of N. N. (the Patron for whom it is made) what is he the better for it? All the Pater-nosters, and Fastings, and Whippings of A. B. C. which are done for him, that is, in his stead, do him no more good then a Plaister clapt to a rotten Post would do to a scald Head. Thus after all their Sophistry and Shuffling they here plainly give up their Cause and own the Imposture, and yet to my knowledge it is to this very day approved and Practised amongst them.*

But let us now a little consider *that principal Assertion* of the Papists upon which this whole *Doctrine of Satisfaction* is grounded; *that after God hath forgiven a Man the guilt of his Sin, and is reconciled to him, yet there still remains a Punishment due to his Justice for it, which he can justly inflict.* In the first place, it seems to me, as I have said, in it self very Absurd and Irrational. For Punishment is *due to God's Justice only from the Guilt foregoing*; then take away Guilt and the Debt is paid; an innocent Man is unjustly punished, for there is *no preceding Guilt* in him; if therefore *a Man's Guilt be fully pardon'd or taken away*, what can still remain to make him obnoxious to Punishment? Next I must observe that there is a vast Difference betwixt *Sufferings* in general, and real *Punishments*. Are all Crosses, and Troubles, and Afflictions, which good Christians meet withall in this World, real Punishments. *We are now the Sons of God; God out of a wonderfull manner of Love, calls us his Sons and himself our Father.* When he chastiseth us, it is *his Love and Mercy* to us; if for *Hardheartedness, Impiety, and Impenitency* he discards any one, and gives him over to a *Reprobate Mind*, this is truly *Punishment, Vengeance and Wrath.* There is now no *Condemnation to us*, (no farther Debt or Reckoning left to be Satisfied upon any formal Score,) *for we have not now received πνεῦμα δουλείας, the spirit of Slavery*, (as both Jews and Gentiles had, to do outward Performances, Penances, Lustrations and the like) or of *Bondage to Fear*, but the *Spirit of Adoption*, whereby we cheerfully cry unto him, *Abba, Father.* Therefore God deals with us as with Sons, his Chastisements are *Acts of his Love*, not of his *Vengeance or real Punishments*; *What Son is he whom the Father Chasteneth not? For whom the Lord loveth he Chasteneth and Scourgeth every Son whom he receiveth; They that are without it, are Bastards and not Sons.* Earthly Fathers Chastise their Children after their own Humour, but God doth it purely, *εἰς τὸ σὺνέρον, for our Profit and good.* Sometimes Afflictions are sent in Mercy only to awaken us and rouse us up and teach us. *It is good for me*, said David, *that I have been Afflicted, that I might learn thy Statutes; for before I was Afflicted I went wrong or astray, but now have I kept thy word;* This is not spoken as God's *Vengeance or Punishment* for his past Sins, but as *his Fatherly Admonition and the Chastisement of a Son*, as shall by and by be more fully explain'd. This makes the difference of Affliction to the *Wicked* and to the *Good*; It is not the same to them both, for it is *Vengeance and Punishment*, to the first, but only *loving and tender Admonition* to the other, is the *Chastisement of Sons, Vengeance?* Is the *Correction or Rebuke of Friends, Punishment?* God forbid. Sometimes Afflictions are only *Tryals of our Faith and Patience.* The *tryal of our Faith* (being much more precious then that of *Gold* which perisheth) tend to our *Praise and Honour and Glory at the last day.* And we must not think it strange concerning this *Tryal*, as though some strange thing happens unto us, but rejoice in it. What occasion would there be for our *Faith or Patience* without it? Sometimes they are purely *Instructions or Informations.* How should I know well, what a *Jewel Health* is, or how to value it, if I never tasted of *Sickness?* I remember that I once saw wrote over the Arch of a Chimney or its Fire place, *Carendo*

Carendo magis quam fruendo, *by wanting more then by enjoying*; The meaning of this *Motto* or saying is plainly this, that Men when they are thoroughly cold, know how to value a *good Fire*, better then they who never wanted it. A crust of Bread and a Cup of cold Water are truly prized by a hungry and thirsty way-faring Man; and the same may be said of all the other Comforts which we enjoy; God in perfect kindness may many times detain them from us, to instruct us in the true value of their Enjoyment; and enlarge our Hearts *with true Thankfulness* for them as well as with *Joy and Gladness*. Every Christian deserves *from his Guilt* all that God can, or doth, lay upon him, but since *that* is fully taken away and *Satisfied* in Christ, Afflictions to a *good Man* cannot be called properly, *Punishment or Displeasure, or Vengeance or Wrath, but a Discipline of tender Love and Compassion*; He *that spareth the Rod hateth his Son, but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes*; yet still he whips *his Son*, not strikes *his Enemy*. But if a Father should tell his Son that he absolutely and freely forgave him *his Fault*, and fully pardon'd *the Guiltiness* and *Offence* of it, and yet should any ways after this *Check him, or Whip him or Punish him* for it, I must think him a *very Faithless*, as well as a *very unkind* Father. Therefore I cannot call a *good Man's* Afflictions *Punishments, or Payments of an old Debt*, remaining still to be accounted for to God's Justice after his general Pardon in Christ, but rather as *Mercifull Momento's or tokens of Love* to him, *for as much as all things work together for good to them that love God*. God's Chastisements to a believer, are only to amend him, and make him repent; not to *satisfy* God's Justice, but to compleat his Mercy to him. *Blessed is the Man whom thou Chasteneth, O Lord, and Teacheest him out of thy Law*. Affliction was the Glory, as well as it was the Portion of the Primitive Church, and it is our Christian School to this very day; I cannot call the Oppressions, Severities, Persecutions, Tyranies, Martyrdoms, which the first Professors of the Gospel suffer'd, *their satisfactions to God's Justice remaining after their Conversion*, but *Illustrious Proofs of their Faith, the Glorious Acts of their spiritual Warfare, their couragious Performances of their Duty as Christ's Souldiers*; *The Blood of the Martyrs was the fruitfull Seed of Christianity*, and our humble and Patient submitting to the will of God in every State or Condition where he is pleased to place us, is the blessed Fruits of it. A good Christian when he considers the strong Temptations and the eminent Dangers of constant *Ease and Prosperity*, will certainly chuse *Adversity* rather then it. See how Moses caution'd the Israelites before they possess the promised Land; *When, saith he, ye are come thither and shall lack nothing, when ye have eaten and are full, then beware that ye forget not the Lord thy God*. And we see by the sequel of that History, how necessary such Advice and Caution was to them, *for they forgot their God again and again in their Peace and Prosperity*; and *Afflictions* as often recovered them to a sound Mind; till at last they are become Vagabonds, and no more a settled Nation. We see God daily Chastiseth true believers, but then it is for their present Sins unrepented of, or cautions for the future, not for any *old Guilt or Fault* that is, or hath been remitted to them in the general Pardon sealed upon the Cross. And yet even in this dealing of God *with Christians or his Sons*, David seems to me to make a manifest Distinction between *the real Punishment of an avenging King*, and the *Castisement of an Indulgent and Loving Father*; In his Sicknels he thus begs of God, *Rebuke me not in thine Anger, neither chasten me in thy hot Displeasure, Chasten me as thy Friend as thy Son, in tender Love and Compassion; and pour not out thine Indignation upon me, neither let thy wrathfull Anger take hold of me, as thine Enemy; Blot me not out of the Book of the Living with the Wicked, but let me stil be written with the Righteous, as thy Child*.

T. p. 283.

Prov. 13. 24.

Rom. 8. 28.

Ps. 94. 12.

T. p. 284.

Deut. 8. 9, 10. 11.

Ps. 38. 1.

Ps. 69. 24, 28.

Bell. ut supra. c. a. c. D.

This being premised, I will now a little examine the Arguments commonly used by the Jesuits and Schoolmen to support the foregoing Assertion. *David*, say they, after he was forgiven, *Culpa, the Guilt* of Murder and Adultery, yet underwent, *Pæna, a Punishment* for it, *he lost his Son*. I humbly con-

T. P. 284. ceive that much more may be said in answer to this objection, then what we commonly meet withall. First it is most evident that *he was not absolutely*, but only in part, *forgiven his Sin*, for before the words of his Pardon, Nathan told him, *that the Sword should not part from his House*, no more it did; and *that God would raise up evil against him out of his own house*, and *that his Wives should be taken before his Eyes*, and *his Neighbour should lie with them*; All this was punctually fulfilled by Absalon. Then David confest, *I have Sinned against the Lord*; and it immediately follows, *the Lord*, Heb. *transcire fecit*, *παρέβη*, *transiit*, *bath passed by*, *ἡμάρτημα*, *thy Sin or Offence*, *thou shalt not die*. As if he had said, *God hath so far overlookt your Fault at present*, as you shall not die, as an Adulterer and Murderer ought to do, by the Law; but he hath suspended the rest of his sentence for a while. How be it because by this deed thou hast given great occasion to the Enemies of the Lord to Blaspheme, the Child shall surely die. It is plain that God took away the Child not so much for a Punishment to David, as it was to Vindicate his own Honour from the Blasphemy of the Ammonites, and from the Scandal which this Fact had brought upon him and upon his peculiar People. Thou didst it secretly, but I will do this thing before all Israel and before the Sun. But if this was also a Punishment to David (as he seems to own it as such; where he saith, *who can tell but God may be gracious unto me and spare the Child*) yet this Punishment was not set to him after Pardon, it was denounced in the very same breath with it; as if it had been said, *God hath pardon'd you in part*, as to the forfeiture of your own Life; But the Rebellion of Absalon and the Death of this Child remain still to be Executed as the other part of his sentence upon you; Thus much to his temporal Punishment, but as to what was to be Eternal, we have his hearty Sorrow and sincere Repentance described in his Penitential Psalms and elsewhere, which continued to his Lives end; and this was the only satisfactory Condition remaining which God required to compleat the entire Forgiveness of his Sin both as to Guilt and to Punishment; that word, *ἡμάρτημα*, Sin, there signifying and including both; *God hath past by*, in part, both *thy Guilt and thy Punishment*; for the matter of Uriah the Hittite remain'd as a blot upon David all the days of his Life. From this Text they farther urge that David's Fasting and lying on the Ground, was his Satisfaction to God's Justice after his Guilt was Pardon'd. But surely Humiliations, Supplications, Entreatise, sorrowfull Intercessions, are Actions far different from Satisfaction; Those always respect what is Future, these what is past. And David fully explains himself, whilst the Child was alive, saith he, *I fasted and wept*, for I said, *who can tell whether God will be Gracious to me*, to reverse his Sentence, that the Child may live; it was not as Satisfaction for Sin past, but as Supplication and Humiliation in order to future Favour; thus it was afterwards with Hezekiah, his Sickness was a Tryal, not Punishment; his Prayers and Tears, were his Humiliation and Submission, not his Satisfaction; For he had walked before God in Truth with a perfect Heart. Besides it is plain that what they would make David's Penance, (*his Fasting and lying on the Earth*) was not Satisfactory, for the Child died. If the Case had stood thus, if Nathan told him *God hath Pardon'd your Guilt entirely*, and excused part of your Punishment, he hath spared your own Life; but there is yet a little Punishment due to his Justice, to wit, your Child must die; and if now you will do the Penance, of Fasting and Crucifying your Body on the Earth; that will Satisfy his Justice for the little debt remaining. If then, upon David's having done this, the Child had recovered, this might have been a pritty pat Instance to their purpose; and Nathan's Penance enjoyn'd to David, and such an Effect of its performance, might have better served them to settle this Point. But as the Case stands set down in Scripture, it is nothing at all to their purpose; David's Sin or Guilt, was not Remitted before his Punishment was decreed; nay,

may, the *Punishment* preceded, or at least was included, as a Condition, in the *Remission*; Then his *Fasting* was *Voluntary*, not *enjoin'd Penance*; It was *Humiliation*, not his *Satisfaction*; It was no more Satisfactory for his Sin, then it was to save the Child's life. See then what goodly Arguments arise from hence. God pardon'd David's Sins of Adultery and Murder, but at the very same time reserved and decreed certain *Punishments* for him inevitably to suffer, as the Death of one Son, and the Rebellion and Death of another; Therefore although you are *fully Pardon'd* in Christ, (upon your *heartly Repentance* only) for all your Sins; you must notwithstanding do some outward Act of *Penance* or *Corporal Punishment* to satisfy a Debt still due to his Justice. He *voluntarily Fasted and lay on the Ground*, to humble himself before God to *intreat his future Favour*; Therefore you must do it *at my Command and as I order it*, to satisfy for a past Guilt or Sin that is forgiven. His *Fasting and Penance* did him little good as to his Sins past, but none at all as to remove the *Punishments* depending; Therefore your Penance by me *enjoin'd* will certainly help you as to both these Points.

T. p. 285.

T. p. 286.

They offer at much such another Argument from *David's numbring the People*; Let us briefly consider the whole matter. First it was not a private but a *National Sin*. The *Anger of the Lord* was, first, kindled against all *Israel*, for some Sin of their own, whether it was the *Rebellion of Absalon*, or that of *Sheba*, or for some other publick offence, I shall not determine; *David was moved by God (or Satan) against them to number the People*. God made use of David's Sin which followed, (*his Vanity and Pride in numbring the People*) to bring this *national Judgment* upon the People who had Sinned before. After David had numbred the People, his *Heart smote him*, and he Confest to the Lord, *I have Sinned greatly in that I have done*, and he prayed, *I beseech thee, O Lord, pass by the Iniquity of thy Servant, for I have done very foolishly*. But I do not find here that God *Pardon'd him*. The next Morning the Sentence of Punishment in general was denounced, but it was left to *David's choice what it should be*. The *Plague followed*, and it lasted a longer time then is usually reckon'd by Interpreters, for David and the Elders of *Israel* took some time to *Cloath themselves in Sackcloth and to be gathered together*; God went to David and David went and *Commun'd with Ornan*; and then built an *Altar*, and prepared and offer'd *Sacrifices*. David like a tender hearted Man, takes the Sin upon himself, and excuses the People; *I have Sinned but these Sheep what have they done*. He makes the *numbring of the People the only Sin*, and by consequence himself only *Guilty*. Then as he was *Commanded or Enjoin'd by the Angel*, he went and offered *burnt Offerings and peace Offerings and called upon the Lord, and the Angel put up the Sword at God's Command*; So the Lord was *intreated for the Land* and the *Plague was stayed from Israel*. I do not find that David, in *Gratiam recipiebatur*, was taken into *Favour*, that is, forgiven, till God answered him by *Fire from Heaven upon the Altar*, which was a certain and usual token of Acceptance. Now for my part I cannot see how any Argument can be framed from hence to prove this proposition, *After Guilt is remitted, or forgiven, a Debt of suffering Punishment for it may still remain*. The *Plague*, that is, the *Punishment of David and Israel for their national Sin*, was first executed, but their *Guilt was not remitted till afterwards, until the Atonement, the burnt Offerings, were made and accepted*; which is quite the reverse of it.

Bell. ut supra.

c. 2. D.

21 Sam. 24.

1 Chron. 21.

1 Sam. v. 1.

1 Sam. 1. &

Chron. 1. 1.

1 Sam. v. 10.

& 11. 13.

Chron. ver. 16.

Chron. ver. 18.

Sam. 17.

Chron. 17.

Chron. 18.

26. 27.

Sam. 25.

Bell. ut supra.

Chron. 26.

Judg. 6. 21.

1 Reg. 18. 38.

T. p. 287.

Next we meet this Argument. If *original Sin is Remitted by Baptism*, and yet *Death, is its Punishment, remain still to be paid*; then a *Debt of Punishment may remain due to God's Justice, after Culpa, the Guilt is remitted*. I must confess that in this Point I have thoughts far different from the Jesuit. Death was in Adam a *Punishment*, but in Christ it is a *Favour*. To every true Christian, it is only a quick passing out of this *Tabernacle of Clay, into Eternal Mansions in Heaven*. What the Enjoyments of this World were before Adam's fall, we can something rationally guess at, from

Bell. ut supra.

c. 2. F.

T. p. 287. the highest Earthly blessings which we now know or can devise; But of *Eternal Life and the Glories of the World to come*, who is able to frame one Thought any ways answerable to it? Whilst we are *Flesh and Blood* we are not here capable of it; *We must all be changed and put on Incorruption*, before we can either *enter in there*, or be able to conceive it; any more then a Child in his Mother's Womb is there able to contemplate *all these Glorious Works of God in this World*, recorded by David, which by great diligence and application and mature Age he afterwards may competently understand. We are assured *that in God's Presence there is fullness of Joy, and at his right Hand there are Pleasures for ever more*; But mortal Eye hath not seen, nor Ear heard, neither hath it enter'd, (nor can enter here) into the Heart of Man to conceive the things which God hath there prepared for them that love him. I think I may boldly say, *that this World*, whatever it was before Adam's fall, *was not a perfect Heaven upon Earth*; Man bore his *Earthly Body* about him at the best; but in the World to come *this Body will be Spiritualized*, and we shall be *as the very Angels in Heaven*. Therefore *Death* was at first a *Punishment* to Adam, and such a one, as Bellarmine owns, *was unavoidable*; and it is so still to *all the ungodly and impenitent Wretches*; when God brings them down to the *Pit of Destruction*, and not suffer them to live out half their Days, they feel his Vengeance in the other World the sooner; the very thoughts of *Death* to them are a *Hell upon Earth*, for by it they drop into another, *there to abide forever with the Devil and his Angels*; But *Death* is now made in Christ, to all Believers, a *Blessing*; *Blessed are they that die in the Lord, they rest from their Labours, and their works follow them*; And they shall have *this Prerogative*, at the second coming of Christ, *they shall rise first*. *Death* then to a good Christian is now so far from being a *Punishment*, as it is his *Preferment*. He hath most reason to say with the Preacher, *better is the day of Death then the day of ones Birth*. This made the Primitive Christians so freely, courageously, cheerfully look it in the Face, that in one Moment they might pass into that *Glorious Kingdom which never shall have an end*. Thus holy Job waited, (longed,) *all his days till this blessed change should come*. St. Paul desired to be dissolved, and was always willing to go out of his Body that he might be with Christ, and was ready to be offer'd for him, and so finish his course, as at last he did, by *Martyrdom*. It is said that Cleombrotus was so ravished with Plato's Doctrine of the Soul's Immortality, as he immediately threw away his Life, as a trifle, that he might enter into that everlasting state; and Calanus the Brachman, and many others, have done the like; If then meer Heathens, who had but a faint Glance, or very dim Prospect of a future State, thus chose, and courted, and gladly embraced *Death, counting it, aut summum bonum aut nihil malum, as the happiest Moment that could befall them in this Life*; surely we, to whom the Sun of Righteousness is risen with healing in his Wings; we, to whom this eternal State is assured, and most clearly made manifest by the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath abolished *Death, and hath brought Life and Immortality to Light through his Gospel*; Surely, I say, we cannot now count *this temporal Death a Punishment*, but rather our happy deliverance from this *Prison of the Body*, or (according to the old Motto) *our, Iter ad vitam, Passage into that which is truly called Life*, whereof this *present Life* is less then a Shadow. What a trifling Argument then is this which is drawn from the *Death* of little Children after their Baptism? Shall I call it now *their Punishment, or their Blessing*. Did they come into this World, as Cato did into the Theater, tantum ut exirent, only that they might go out of it; or were they not rather ordained only to pass through this Valley of Tears, and after a momentary stay to be translated into infinite and endless Happiness; the shorter the stay, the greater the blessing. As for Sickness, and Afflictions I have accounted for them already, they are Tryals, Proofs, Admonitions, Instructions, Medicines and Cures, and to all

all good Men Mercies. If a Papist, who have been *Contrite, Confess, and have done this Penance and have been absolved, and is* (by consequence according to them) *now in the perfect state of Innocence*, should in the next minute fall Sick, or break a Limb, or have some great Loss, I should certainly rank his Calamity under one of these Heads, rather then call it *Punishment or Satisfaction*. *Original Sin* is pardon'd by Baptism, and his *actual Sins* are forgiven by the Priest. And Sicknes and Mishaps to Children newly Baptized, may be even to them *for their good*; they may hasten their Deliverance from this Prison of the Body; and these seeming Evils towards them, and their Death it self, are Memento's to their Parents, and *the rest of the living*; that they might not set their hearts too much upon such transient Enjoyments, *certain Troubles*, but very *uncertain Comforts*. See what a Glorious account we have of afflicted Christians in general, *These are they which came out of Tribulation; They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more, the Lamb shall take care of them, and God shall wipe away all Tears from their Eyes; and they shall be before the Throne of God day and night forever.* This notion fully explains all national Judgments, when both *Good and Bad* are swept away together, by Famine, Fire, Sword, Pestilence, Earthquakes and the like; *To the Wicked, Death* is the suddain and certain entrance *into their endless Misery*; *to the Righteous*, it is a Mercifull and speedy *Deliverance* from all the Evils of this wretched World. We may thus well vindicate God's Providence in those seeming hardships; *Delirant Reges plectuntur Achivi, πολ- λὰκι ἡ ζυμῶσα πόλις.* *When whole Kingdoms and Nations be punished for the Extravagancies of their Kings or Princes; or when a whole City suffers for the sake of one wicked Man.* To one who do not truly consider this matter, it may here seem very great Injustice to involve *the Innocent* in the Judgments of *the Wicked*, and make them Partakers of their Punishments. The Papists tell us that *David's Child was taken away as a Punishment which he ow'd to God's Justice*; and the People were also smitten with the *Pestilence* upon the same account. But one may ask where was God's justice, *to strike an Innocent Babe with Death; and to slay 70000 People at once* (poor *Silly Sheep*, as David himself called them, who perhaps knew nothing of the matter) for David's Extravagance in *numbring them*. But God seeth not as Men seeth; He seeth Wickedness and will consider it. These things are done, *ὡς φεαδμοσυών*, by God's Counsel and Disposall. *The ways of Man are unequal, but the ways of God* (however they may seem to us) *are always equal.* Though we in these general Calamities cannot distinguish *the Good from the Bad*, nor separate *the Sheep from the Goats*, yet *the great Shepherd of Israel can*; and he knows how to reconcile his Mercy and his Justice. In these and the like sacred Histories, where matters are very imperfectly related; and the secret Springs and Motives and Circumstances of Actions are hidden or very obscure; a fair and solid Argument cannot be easily drawn or clearly framed. I shall here rather cry *Ω Βά- θος, O the Depth.* If *Death be Evil*, a Heathen tells us, *uno malo omnia cessant, by this one Evil all others cease*; but that is not the only Comfort of a Christian, *by Death* he is not only freed from all the Evils of this Life, but in exchange he immediately enters upon *his inheritance of a Kingdom of Glory.* *The Righteous perisheth*, saith the Prophet, *and Mercifull Men are taken away, none considering that the Righteous Man is taken away from the Evil to come, and he shall enter into Peace.* Therefore in our Office at the Burial of the Dead, we profess our Faith in this Point *That, the Spirits of them that depart hence in the Lord do live with him, and that the Souls of the Faithfull, after they are deliver'd from the burden of the Flesh, are also with him in Joy and Felicity*; and therefore we give him Thanks for delivering our Christian Brother out of the Miseries of this Sinfull World. And the first Composers of the Roman Ritual, seem to have had the same Sense; what the Cardinal calls a *Punishment* in Children dying soon after Baptism, in the last Prayer at their Burial it is called a *Mercy*; *animam hujus parvuli ad coelorum regnum hodie misericorditer*

T. p. 288.

Rev. 7. 14. &c.

T. p. 289.

Horat. l. 1. Ep.
2. Hesiod. Op.
verf. 238.

2 Sam. 12.

Ibid. c. 24.

Job. 10. 4. 11.

Ezek. 18. 29.

Rom. 11. 33.

Isa. 57. 1. 2.

p. m. 165.

T. p. 289. *ricorditèr dignatus es, thou hast in Mercy this day vouchsafed to call the Soul of this Child to the Kingdom of Heaven.* The Schoolmen make their Priests or Confessors *perfect Judges* over the Consciences of their Penitents; but surely they are not *Judges of God's Providence*, and his dealing with the Sons of Men. When we can give some such fair account of *God's national Judgments, and of the Death and Sicknes of Children or others*, I will not be so bold or daring as to say, *that I have numbred up all the Uses or Ends of God's Providence in them*; but I will rather Cry, *O the Depth of the Wisdom of God, how unsearchable are his Judgments and his ways past finding out? Who hath known the Mind of the Lord, or who hath been his Counsellor?* Our Saviour did not enquire into the *Culpa, Guilt, or Poena, Punishment*, or nicely distinguish them, in the case of the *Galileans*, and those on whom the Tower of *Siloam* fell; but made *this use of the Matter to them, except ye Repent, ye shall all likewise Perish; Death to you shall be the beginning of your Eternal Misery.* And I cannot pass by one other end of God's Suffering these Judgments, which the Apostle himself takes notice of; he mentions many of those Judgments which befell the Israelites, *for their Idolatry, Fornication, Murmuring*; and as he tells us plainly, *that they happen'd to them for Examples*, so he saith as plainly, *that they were written for our Admonition.* These Judgments indeed, as the Cardinal triumphantly saith, *could not be intended for the amendment of those that died, yet by his Favour they remain'd as Cautions and Admonitions to those that lived*, and are transmitted down to us for the very same end, *that he that thinketh he standeth, might take heed lest he fall.*

The Instance in the Worshippers of the *Golden Calf*, is also wholly as foreign to their Purpose. God once was resolving quite to consume them; *Moses*, before he came down from the Mount, *pray'd for them*; God repented of the *Evil which he thought to do.* That is, he did not quite consume them; nor quite acquit them; for at *Moses's Command* Levi slew 3000 of them. *Moses* then told the People *that they had Sinned a great Sin; then prayed for them*; surely then as yet they were not fully pardon'd the *Guilt*; and he desired rather to be blotted out of God's Book himself, than they. I find no forgiveness yet, for God answer'd only *whomsoever hath Sinned against me, him will I blot out of my Book.* And at last to shew that his Anger was not yet fully appeased, though in Mercy he so far condescended to *Moses* as to bid him, *go, lead the People, nevertheless*, saith he, *in the day when I visit, I will visit their Sin upon them; and the Lord Plagued the People because they made the Calf.* Now if the Cardinal's Creatures can shew that God had first in this story fully pardon'd the *Guilt*, (which it is plain he did not,) and then slew them, and Plagued them to satisfy his Justice, it will be something to the Point.

The next Instance is no better, in the Children of Israel's murmuring upon the false report about the *promised Land.* All the People murmured; it was a common *Guilt or Offence.* *Moses and Aaron* fell on their Faces, to Deprecate God's Judgments. *Caleb and Joshua* offer'd to Pacify the People and were in danger of being stoned. God threatens to smite them and disinherit them. *Moses interceeds for them.* God so far Pardon'd them, as not to Disinherit them or quite turn them off, but resolved at the same instant to punish the Murmurers, and by keeping them in the Wilderness till they died, to fill the whole Earth with his Glory, to make them a publick example to all the World. And accordingly he gives his Sentence, *that their Carcases should fall in the Wilderness; I will surely do it unto all this evil Congregation; in this Wilderness shall they be Consumed*; but he did not quite disinherit them, (he pardon'd them so far,) for their Posterity did inherit the *Promised Land.* Let the Jesuits shew me here that the Israelites, *that murmured*, were first clearly forgiven their *Guilt and Offence*, and then afterwards thus punished

ed them to satisfy his Justice; and then they may make some sorry use of it to support their cause; The Author to the Hebrews shews us a truer use that we should make of it, that is, to beware of unbelief. T. p. 290.
Heb. 3. 17.
18, 19.

They farther add the Punishment of Moses and Aaron in not being permitted to go in to Canaan; The whole Congregation gathered themselves together against Moses and against Aaron, and chode with them, for want of Water; Moses and Aaron fell on their Faces, as usual to deprecate God's Anger from them. Moses at God's Command smote the Rock, and they had Water abundantly. And immediately you have God's Sentence upon them, because ye believed me not to Sanctify me in the Eyes of the Children of Israel, ye shall not bring them into the Land which I have Promised. Here is plainly set down their Guilt or Fault; Their unbelief, and their not sanctifying God in the Eyes of all Israel; though the Manner and particular Circumstances of their unbelief are no where set down, and Interpreters cannot agree but have every one a different guess about them. However this Sentence was never reversed, but was executed upon Aaron, and upon Moses, although he most earnestly sued for God's Pardon; The Lord was wrath with him, and would not hear him, but said, let it suffice thee, speak no more to me of this matter. Numb. 20.
vers. 1, 2, 3.
&c.
vers. 6.
vers. 11.
vers. 12.
vers. 24.
Deut. 34. 4.
T. p. 291.
Deut. 3. 26. Do these words sound as if God fully forgave the Guilt and Offence? If God any ways remitted it, it was not absolutely, but with this reserve, to respite the Punishment, and as it were to Reprieve them for a certain time. Therefore this Crime or Guilt remain'd upon them to their dying day, when it met with the decreed Punishment. In the mean time God treated them as his Servants, and dealt with all Israel as a Mercifull King with a stiff-necked and Stubborn People, or as a tender Father with his froward Children; if at any time he chastised them they were his peculiar People and his Children still. He never punished them but for their Guilt; for, (that I may at once answer that trifling Sophistical Proposition, Punishment may remain due, after the Crime or Guilt is remitted,) I will only ask, why is this Man Punished? He hath now no Guilt or Fault, for, (say they) that was fully remitted and pardon'd before. For what then is he Punished? It cannot be to satisfy God's Justice, for without Guilt, there is nothing due to it.

To their instance in the unworthy Communicants, that some are smitten with Sickness, and some with Death after they are reconciled; I answer, if the Sick be smitten before they be reconciled; I say their Sickness is a mercifull Admonition; they are only in Love chasten'd of the Lord, and if they repent upon it, they are then reconciled; but if they repent not, it is a just Punishment of their Unworthiness; and Death is so too; if they are not first reconciled by Repentance, it is their entrance into higher degrees of God's Judgments which shall never end; if they are first reconciled (which cannot be done without Repentance,) Death, as hath been shew'd, is a Mercy, not only in preventing their Relapse here, but in fixing them in everlasting Blessedness hereafter. 1 Cor. 11. 30.
31, 32.
vers. 32.

We readily and thankfully own, that when God for Sin either visits a Nation, or threatens soon to do so, he often ceases from his Anger in the first case, and as often not suffer it to break forth in the next, upon his Peoples due Addresses to him; but what does this make for their purpose? In the first case the Peoples hearty Repentance is the only Condition required of them by God for their Forgiveness. Can the performing of this be properly called Satisfaction, and not rather the general and common Duty of every good Man when he offends? And the Performance of it, God knows, is at best but very imperfect, and wants, as I have said, the Satisfaction made by Christ, to satisfy for it. In the other case, the peoples Humiliation, (their humble Address with Fear and Reverence, with fervent and hearty Prayer, join'd with a solemn and sincere Resolution of amendment of Life,) is then the only Duty required from them by God, and he hath appointed them as the only means to avert his impending Judgments from them. And in both these Ad-

dresses

T. p. 192. dresses to Almighty God, *the Heart alone*, is regarded by him; Bowing, Kneeling, Fasting, Scourging, lying in Sackcloth and Ashes, Alms, and the like, if they be *the real Fruits of a hearty Repentance, and the true and unfeigned effects of Humiliation*, without all doubt, as such, are very acceptable to God; but this is *far short of being Satisfactory, their Satisfaction is made by another hand*. But all these *without the inward Life and spring of the Heart and Affections*, as, *Opus operatum, a meer doing of the outward Deeds, are but plain Mockings of God* and are Abominable in his Sight. And this shall suffice in answer to what the Cardinal suggests farther to establish his satisfaction. Was the *meer Fasting of Man and Beast, and their being all covered over with Sackcloth, that which satisfied God for Nineveh*, without the Heart the Beasts may be said to have Repented as much and as truly as the Men; No, God saw their inward works, that they turned every one of them from the Evil of his way, and from the Violence that was in their Hands. So God promised Solomon, if my People, when Punished, shall humble themselves and pray, and seek my Face and turn from their wicked ways; I will hear and forgive their Sin and will heal their Land. He doth not say, I will forgive their Guilt, their Sin, before their Repentance, and reserve their Punishment still. But the Romanists triumph most in that Text of Daniel, where he thus adviseth *Nebucadonosor*, (as we read in their vulgar Latin) *Peccata tua Eleemosynis Redime, & Iniquitates tuas misericordiis Pauperum*; which word for word is thus in English, *Redeem thy Sins by Alms deeds, and thy Iniquities by Mercies on the Poor*. From hence, say they, it is plain that all Sins may be redeemed and blotted out, by *opus operatum, the plain outward Deeds of giving of Alms; by meer outward Acts of Charity; by Benefactions to the Poor; by making Provisions for the Needy*. But we must consider that *Nebuchodonosor* here is represented as a great Sinner. Can any Man then of common Sense imagine that this only was Daniel's meaning, O King, you are a great Sinner, and there is a heavy Judgment now hanging over your Head; but do you only build some Hospitals for the Poor, and free all poor Debtors every where out of Prison; and sumptuously provide for all distressed Widows and Orphans; and liberally relieve the Sick, the Lame, the Blind and the Naked; and it is no matter though your Heart be as Vicious, Wicked, Proud, Hypocritical, Profane, and in it self as hard as ever; all will certainly go well with you. I must confess, I am afraid, that this Doctrine hath been the occasion of building many a Religious House, and of the Founding many a lazy Fraternity. I will not instance in any particular place amongst us, built under pretence of Satisfaction for Blood, Murders, Incest, Whoredoms, Sacrilege, Usurpation, Oppression, Invasion of Properties, and the like; there is enough of this nature left upon publick record; but I cannot think that any of these specious Acts above mention'd, without a wonderful deep Sorrow for Sin, and a perfect Hatred of what is past, could be in the least an Acceptable, much less any ways a satisfactory Sacrifice to God for such enormous Offences. If the Doctrine of *opus operatum, the outward Deeds alone being Satisfactory*, was true, the Rich and Wealthy Papists were, *terque quaterque Beati, the only blessed and thrice happy People in the World*. They have first wherewithall to support them in all Conditions; to defray the Expences of all the Debaucheries and Lewd Practices which their corrupted Hearts can devise, and their violent Inclinations follow; whilst they themselves wallow in all manner of Filthiness and Extravagancies, for their penny, they can daily have their hireling Beadsmen to perform their pretended vicarious Penances; and when they die, they can leave Churches, Chappels, Hospitals, Chantries, and the like outward and seeming Monuments of Sanctity and Devotion; and make Provision for Thousands of Masses, Dirges, Trentals, and perpetual Anniversaries. Thus to redeem their Sins and save their Souls; so that as though they have lived like Beasts, or rather like Devils incarnate all their Lives, when they die they may not be so much as *sindged in Purga-*

Ut supr. c. 3.
E. F. G. c. 3.

Jon. 3. 10. 8.

2 Chron. 7.
14.

Dan. 4. 27.
vulg. Lat. vers.
24.

T. p. 193.

Purgatory, but immediately be Transported, Enrolled, and Installed amongst the chief Saints in Heaven. *O ye Kings and Potentates, and Grandees and rich Men of this World, who are Dead in your Trespases and Sins,* if ye be wise and can believe this comfortable Doctrine, turn Papists to morrow; *Open but your Purses,* (though your hearts be shut,) they have so largely open'd the Needle's Eye, as the biggest well laden Camel may as easily go through it now as the smallest Mite could do before. It hath been a common saying indeed, *that Money answers all things,* but now with them, *it answers Eternity it self.* But be not deceived; Daniel's meaning was plainly this, *Repent,* and testify this your *sincere Repentance* to all the World by all outward publick *Acts of Mercy,* as the Fruits of it. For if a *Nebuchodonosor* or any other Grievous Sinner does these specious *Acts as Satisfaction* for his Sins, if they are not accompanied with a *thorough change of the Heart,* and spring from an Inward sorrow for Sin, as *Fruits of a sincere Repentance,* they may possibly pass for *Acts of good Nature,* or be accounted as *Acts of Magnificence and Stateliness,* (as that Famous Fabrick, *Les Invalides,* in France is now, or even as *Babylon the Great* it self then was,) but *their Sins lie still uncanceled at their door.* And if on the other side, God should once give any of these Wealthy Sinners a lively sense of his Sins, and beget in him such a profound sorrow for them, and such a perfect Hatred of them, as to make him daily to amend his Life, and to dispose of *all those Revenues,* in Alms and Mercifull Provisions for the Poor, *which before he Consumed upon his Lusts;* without all doubt *these outward Deeds, as Fruits of his Repentance,* will be acceptable to Almighty God; not as a *Satisfaction* to him for his past Sins, (that, as I have often said, was made for him before) but as a *just return to his Duty.* For liberality and Generosity are every great and every good Man's Duty; we are but *God's Stewards* of every good thing which we enjoy; All is but *lent us,* or rather *entrusted to us;* our Duty is only to use and employ the good Gifts of God to his Glory and our own Comfort. *To do good and to distribute forget not, for with such Sacrifices God is well pleased.* Nay, Solomon puts the matter higher; *He, saith he, that hath pity on the Poor lendeth unto the Lord,* he as it were, makes the Lord his Debtor, who certainly will repay him; *His seed shall never beg their Bread; God will bless him with increase.* And *Salvation* was a sufficient Interest for half *Zaccheus his Goods.* Now then as God Requires, Accepts, and Rewards the performance of *this Duty of Charity* (in its full extent,) in every true and pious Christian; so if any such *Prodigal* or wretched Sinner, (as are mention'd above) at last *return'd to his Duty* and come to himself, should double his diligence in doing such generous *Deeds of Mercy and Charity* to the Poor, and now neglect no opportunity of *doing Good,* that he might *redeem* the time which he hath mispent herein, he would undoubtedly be *accepted of God;* but he would not make God his *real Debtor,* but would still want that *grand Satisfaction,* made by Christ, in passing the last accounts of his Stewardship.

And as Alms and mercifull Acts (according to every Man's Abilities) are every good Christian's Duty, so is *Humiliation* in all eminent Dangers and Distresses. But I cannot call our Fasting and Praying and Seriousness at such times, much less our outward gestures, *our Satisfaction,* but *our humble Addresses and Intercessions;* our mournfull *Supplications and Intreaties,* not our Atonements. We humbly beg for Mercy and Pity *as Sons,* not as *Condemn'd Traytors;* and when God is pleased to hear us and spare us, it is from his own *natural Compassion and Essential Goodness,* not from any *Satisfaction of ours;* as *Sons* we pay our Duty to his Commands, and rely upon his *Fatherly and gracious Promise;* *call upon me, saith he, in the day of Trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt Glorify me.* All outward Gestures in our Humiliations and Supplications ought to be lookt upon as only Customs and Fashions of Countries; so with us Western Christians, *Bowing, Kneeling, being Bare-headed;* so *Prostration* with *Armenians,*

T. p. 294. *Greeks, Turks and other Eastern People; beating the Breast, lifting up Hands and Eyes, almost every where; but the inward Affection in all these, is the only thing which is acceptable with God, the rest may be all Feign'd and Hypocritical; and in our private Addresses to God, Sitting, Standing, lying in our Beds, on Couches, in Coaches, falling Prostrate before him, with Heads covered or uncovered, all these outward things are alike in his Eyes; if the Heart in our Prayers, Ejaculations, and Supplications be sincere and right.*

2 King. 1. 13, 14, 15. *Was the third Captain's outward Bowing and Kneeling to Elijah, or his Heart and humble Prayer, that, which found Mercy with him and the Angel of the Lord? Did Christ go with Jairus because he fell at his Feet (as the Custom of Supplicants was) or because he, πολλὰ, greatly and fervently beseeched him, and believed that he could heal his Daughter, only by laying his Hands on her.*

Mark 5. 22, 23. *Christ gratified even the Legion of Devils themselves, not because they (in the Man whom they posselt,) worshipt him; but because afterwards they besought him, πολλὰ, much, that he would permit them to enter into the Swine. The two Servant Debtors fell down alike; the Action was the same, but the Creditors were not; one, like God had Compassion, the other not. I can by no means call these and the like Passages in Scripture Satisfaction, (much less the Opus operatum, outward customary Ceremonies in them,) but humble Intreaties and Supplications. And if the Infinite goodness of God condescended so far as to grant the very Devil's request, surely the fervent and hearty Prayer of a good Christian will avail much more with him; not as a Satisfaction to his Justice, but as a true object of his Mercy. There is a vast difference between what is Acceptable or Well-pleasing, and what is Satisfactory. The bounty of the Philippians sent to St. Paul by Epaphroditus was not their Satisfaction for Sin, but a token of their Christian Love to him, and as such it is called, a Sacrifice acceptable and well-pleasing to God. A poor Man's hearty desire and willingness to pay his Debts, though he is not able to pay one Farthing, must needs be very Acceptable and Well-pleasing to his Creditor; and if a Friend pays all his whole Debt for him, the Creditor will be truly Satisfied by the Friend, and yet with Pleasure quit the well-meaning Debtor. I have said, that our part, in the new Covenant, is Faith and Repentance or Holiness of life; And God's part is Forgiveness through Christ. Now if we have a most hearty desire to be good, and do the utmost that we can do, in forsaking of Sin and cleaving to God's Commands, (this being all that is required of us on our Part) it is Acceptable to him, though in it self it is Imperfect at best, (for we are all still Sinners and have not cleared one Debt;) but yet our Satisfaction is fully made for us in Christ alone; our good Will and what is our best (though very short and weak) Performance that we can make, (being all the Obedience the Gospel requires,) are Accepted from us as our part, and God in Christ hath fully Satisfied both for these and all the rest.*

verf. 6. 10, 13. *Christ gratified even the Legion of Devils themselves, not because they (in the Man whom they posselt,) worshipt him; but because afterwards they besought him, πολλὰ, much, that he would permit them to enter into the Swine. The two Servant Debtors fell down alike; the Action was the same, but the Creditors were not; one, like God had Compassion, the other not. I can by no means call these and the like Passages in Scripture Satisfaction, (much less the Opus operatum, outward customary Ceremonies in them,) but humble Intreaties and Supplications. And if the Infinite goodness of God condescended so far as to grant the very Devil's request, surely the fervent and hearty Prayer of a good Christian will avail much more with him; not as a Satisfaction to his Justice, but as a true object of his Mercy. There is a vast difference between what is Acceptable or Well-pleasing, and what is Satisfactory. The bounty of the Philippians sent to St. Paul by Epaphroditus was not their Satisfaction for Sin, but a token of their Christian Love to him, and as such it is called, a Sacrifice acceptable and well-pleasing to God. A poor Man's hearty desire and willingness to pay his Debts, though he is not able to pay one Farthing, must needs be very Acceptable and Well-pleasing to his Creditor; and if a Friend pays all his whole Debt for him, the Creditor will be truly Satisfied by the Friend, and yet with Pleasure quit the well-meaning Debtor. I have said, that our part, in the new Covenant, is Faith and Repentance or Holiness of life; And God's part is Forgiveness through Christ. Now if we have a most hearty desire to be good, and do the utmost that we can do, in forsaking of Sin and cleaving to God's Commands, (this being all that is required of us on our Part) it is Acceptable to him, though in it self it is Imperfect at best, (for we are all still Sinners and have not cleared one Debt;) but yet our Satisfaction is fully made for us in Christ alone; our good Will and what is our best (though very short and weak) Performance that we can make, (being all the Obedience the Gospel requires,) are Accepted from us as our part, and God in Christ hath fully Satisfied both for these and all the rest.*

Mat. 18. 26, 29. *Christ gratified even the Legion of Devils themselves, not because they (in the Man whom they posselt,) worshipt him; but because afterwards they besought him, πολλὰ, much, that he would permit them to enter into the Swine. The two Servant Debtors fell down alike; the Action was the same, but the Creditors were not; one, like God had Compassion, the other not. I can by no means call these and the like Passages in Scripture Satisfaction, (much less the Opus operatum, outward customary Ceremonies in them,) but humble Intreaties and Supplications. And if the Infinite goodness of God condescended so far as to grant the very Devil's request, surely the fervent and hearty Prayer of a good Christian will avail much more with him; not as a Satisfaction to his Justice, but as a true object of his Mercy. There is a vast difference between what is Acceptable or Well-pleasing, and what is Satisfactory. The bounty of the Philippians sent to St. Paul by Epaphroditus was not their Satisfaction for Sin, but a token of their Christian Love to him, and as such it is called, a Sacrifice acceptable and well-pleasing to God. A poor Man's hearty desire and willingness to pay his Debts, though he is not able to pay one Farthing, must needs be very Acceptable and Well-pleasing to his Creditor; and if a Friend pays all his whole Debt for him, the Creditor will be truly Satisfied by the Friend, and yet with Pleasure quit the well-meaning Debtor. I have said, that our part, in the new Covenant, is Faith and Repentance or Holiness of life; And God's part is Forgiveness through Christ. Now if we have a most hearty desire to be good, and do the utmost that we can do, in forsaking of Sin and cleaving to God's Commands, (this being all that is required of us on our Part) it is Acceptable to him, though in it self it is Imperfect at best, (for we are all still Sinners and have not cleared one Debt;) but yet our Satisfaction is fully made for us in Christ alone; our good Will and what is our best (though very short and weak) Performance that we can make, (being all the Obedience the Gospel requires,) are Accepted from us as our part, and God in Christ hath fully Satisfied both for these and all the rest.*

Jam. 5. 16. *Christ gratified even the Legion of Devils themselves, not because they (in the Man whom they posselt,) worshipt him; but because afterwards they besought him, πολλὰ, much, that he would permit them to enter into the Swine. The two Servant Debtors fell down alike; the Action was the same, but the Creditors were not; one, like God had Compassion, the other not. I can by no means call these and the like Passages in Scripture Satisfaction, (much less the Opus operatum, outward customary Ceremonies in them,) but humble Intreaties and Supplications. And if the Infinite goodness of God condescended so far as to grant the very Devil's request, surely the fervent and hearty Prayer of a good Christian will avail much more with him; not as a Satisfaction to his Justice, but as a true object of his Mercy. There is a vast difference between what is Acceptable or Well-pleasing, and what is Satisfactory. The bounty of the Philippians sent to St. Paul by Epaphroditus was not their Satisfaction for Sin, but a token of their Christian Love to him, and as such it is called, a Sacrifice acceptable and well-pleasing to God. A poor Man's hearty desire and willingness to pay his Debts, though he is not able to pay one Farthing, must needs be very Acceptable and Well-pleasing to his Creditor; and if a Friend pays all his whole Debt for him, the Creditor will be truly Satisfied by the Friend, and yet with Pleasure quit the well-meaning Debtor. I have said, that our part, in the new Covenant, is Faith and Repentance or Holiness of life; And God's part is Forgiveness through Christ. Now if we have a most hearty desire to be good, and do the utmost that we can do, in forsaking of Sin and cleaving to God's Commands, (this being all that is required of us on our Part) it is Acceptable to him, though in it self it is Imperfect at best, (for we are all still Sinners and have not cleared one Debt;) but yet our Satisfaction is fully made for us in Christ alone; our good Will and what is our best (though very short and weak) Performance that we can make, (being all the Obedience the Gospel requires,) are Accepted from us as our part, and God in Christ hath fully Satisfied both for these and all the rest.*

1 Joh. 1. 8, 9, 10. *Christ gratified even the Legion of Devils themselves, not because they (in the Man whom they posselt,) worshipt him; but because afterwards they besought him, πολλὰ, much, that he would permit them to enter into the Swine. The two Servant Debtors fell down alike; the Action was the same, but the Creditors were not; one, like God had Compassion, the other not. I can by no means call these and the like Passages in Scripture Satisfaction, (much less the Opus operatum, outward customary Ceremonies in them,) but humble Intreaties and Supplications. And if the Infinite goodness of God condescended so far as to grant the very Devil's request, surely the fervent and hearty Prayer of a good Christian will avail much more with him; not as a Satisfaction to his Justice, but as a true object of his Mercy. There is a vast difference between what is Acceptable or Well-pleasing, and what is Satisfactory. The bounty of the Philippians sent to St. Paul by Epaphroditus was not their Satisfaction for Sin, but a token of their Christian Love to him, and as such it is called, a Sacrifice acceptable and well-pleasing to God. A poor Man's hearty desire and willingness to pay his Debts, though he is not able to pay one Farthing, must needs be very Acceptable and Well-pleasing to his Creditor; and if a Friend pays all his whole Debt for him, the Creditor will be truly Satisfied by the Friend, and yet with Pleasure quit the well-meaning Debtor. I have said, that our part, in the new Covenant, is Faith and Repentance or Holiness of life; And God's part is Forgiveness through Christ. Now if we have a most hearty desire to be good, and do the utmost that we can do, in forsaking of Sin and cleaving to God's Commands, (this being all that is required of us on our Part) it is Acceptable to him, though in it self it is Imperfect at best, (for we are all still Sinners and have not cleared one Debt;) but yet our Satisfaction is fully made for us in Christ alone; our good Will and what is our best (though very short and weak) Performance that we can make, (being all the Obedience the Gospel requires,) are Accepted from us as our part, and God in Christ hath fully Satisfied both for these and all the rest.*

Ue supr. c. 7. G. c. 14 D. *But to make our Works or Deeds really Satisfactory, the Cardinal and his followers have found out another subtilty, which he repeats as a matter of great weight. Though we have nothing purely of our own any ways Satisfactory in it self, yet for as much as we are by Grace made the Sons of God, our works proceeding from the spirit of Christ, inhabiting in us, have a certain Infinity, and by this also a certain Equality with the Injury which we have done to God by our Sin. Does he not here (by the by) make us Malefactors and yet Co-satisfactors at the same time. And a little before, we can, aliquo modo ex propriis, after a sort, out of what things are properly our own, Truly, and to an Equality, and thereby Justly Satisfy. Again he saith, these two Assertions are well consisting with one another; Our Iniquities are laid in Christ that they may be Expiated in him; and, our works, profecta, proceeding from the spirit of Christ Co-operate with the same Christ to the Expiating of our Sins. Neither do these two differ much, Christ is the propitiation for our Sins, and, our Works, facta, done by the spirit of Christ, Co-ope-*

Co-operate to the Propitiation of the same Christ. I think this plainly makes every Penitent a joint Propitiator with Christ for his Sins. The Scripture saith clearly, that *Christ by his own Blood entred in once into the Holy place, having obtain'd eternal Redemption for us, and is able to save us eis τὸ πάντως to the utmost, to all perfection, to all intents and purposes.* To me it seems Absurd and Ridiculous to say, *he obtain'd Eternal Redemption (to them all) from eternal Punishment, but not temporal Redemption, from temporal Punishment.* Next *our Satisfaction* of Christ's very *Entrance* was then made and sealed at once by his Blood upon the Cross; it was then compleated by himself alone without any Partner. But these Assertions make a new Satisfaction of Christ every hour, when a Sinner brings forth any *Fruit of Repentance* and thereby join with him in it; Nay, Christ's Satisfaction or Propitiation was nothing, there was no such thing, till some good Man or Penitent Sinner (as I may so say) club'd his own works to make it out; Christ every moment wants that *Fruit of Repentance* in a Penitent to make his own first Satisfaction compleat. At this rate all the good which the Righteous, as well as that which the Penitent doth, is only Christ's work; for as much as all these good Actions in them both proceed from the Grace of the spirit of Christ which is given them. So then it is really only Christ who Believes, Repents, Confesses to God or to the Priest; it is he who gives Alms, build Religious Houses, Prays and so forth; for as much as all these Actions proceed from the same Spirit of Christ. Suppose some good Man in a time of Drought, buys or makes a Well or Fountain of wholesome Water, and publickly orders that every one that thirsteth and will come to it, may drink of it freely without any Money; surely they that come and make use of his Bounty are not to be called joint purchasers with him; and although none will come, or though none are Thirsty, yet he hath nevertheless fully paid the Price and cost of this Well and made it publick. If one General hath purchased from another, (or a besieged Governor from the besieger,) peace and freedom for all his Soldiers who will lay down their Arms, or quietly march off; surely the Soldiers who are thus dismiss'd, and accept of this discharge, cannot be said to contribute to this purchase of their Peace and Freedom, though they make use of it, more then those who use it not. It is the Generals or Governors who make and sign Capitulations, the Soldier is only passive in them. Christ upon the Cross thus signed our Redemption, the Forgiveness of our Sins with his Blood, when in his last breath he said, *It is finished*; but according to these new Assertions, Christ's Propitiation or Satisfaction was not then finished, neither will be till the end of the World.

Again, when any one is by God himself Absolved, it is not without his preceding Repentance; and if he continually bring forth Fruits meet for Repentance, or answerable to a true amendment of Life, will they call this his satisfaction? He confesses and bewails his Sin day and night to God, and forsake it and hate it with a perfect hatred; God hath promised him his pardon upon it; is this his Satisfaction, or rather the proper Fruits of his Repentance, or the Condition which God accepts, upon the Satisfaction of Christ?

How, or how far, God's Grace concurs with an human Action I will not undertake to explain or determine; or to distinguish how much of it is God's, and how much is purely Man's Work; but thus much I think I may say without Offence; the Moral Law is written upon the Heart of Man, and there born with him; next, Christ tells us that *he came not to destroy it, but to fulfill it*; to restore it to its true original Lustre. Every moral Action therefore in it self, fulfilled, is good, as being Commanded by God; But in in a Christian, who cannot to the very utmost perfection fulfill it, it is Acceptable to him, because it is a work of Faith. In a Heathen and indeed in every Man else therefore the best moral Action is Imperfect in it self, because not performed with that height, that, πληρωσις Fulness and Perfection, to which Christ hath now restored, or rather advanc'd its Rule; This Deficiency therefore in

T. p. 295.

Heb. 9. 12.
c. 7. 25.

Isai. 55. 1.

Eph. 1. 7.
Joh. 19. 30.
T. p. 296.

Mat. 5. 17.

- T. p. 296. a Christian is supply'd by his Faith; *Do but thy best, and Believe God in*
 Heb. 10. 22. *Christ is fully satisfied for all the rest. Draw near with a true Heart*
 23. *in full assurance of Faith, (let your Will, your Desire, your Heart be*
 vers. 10. *right to do your very utmost) and then hold fast, ὁμολογίαν, the Confession*
of your Faith without wavering, (that God will accept thee, being sanctifi-
ed through the Offering of the Body of Jesus once for all) he is faithfull
that promised. Now any meer Man, much more a Christian, is capable of
a Law, and of Judging what is morally Good and what is Evil; (it is what
is his grand Prerogative above a Beast) and by Consequence hath in him a Free-
dom and a Power to obey or disobey this Law; for otherwise it is an unjust and
unreasonable Command to one that hath not this Power; and very Ridicu-
lous, if it be given to one who can not but do it; neither Absolute and Un-
avoidable necessity of doing, nor Absolute Impossibility of doing any thing, can
ever be the true Subject of a Command.
- To obey then or to disobey a Law is perfectly matter of Man's choice; and*
 Deut. 30. 15. *God hath plainly declared it so to be. See, saith he, I have set before thee*
 19, 20. *this day Life and Good, Death and Evil, Blessing and Cursing; Therefore choose*
 Rom. 2. 14. *Life; Love the Lord thy God for he is thy Life. And as it is matter of Man's*
 choice, so it is plainly (as I have said) in his Power. *Every Man by Nature*
 Pf. 130. 3. *can do the things contain'd in the Law; either Christian, Jew, or Gentile;*
 Mat. 19. 20. *but all these in their several Degrees, left to themselves, do them very imperfect-*
 ly, so as none of them can be able to abide God's strict Inquisition. For did
 the most elevated Heathen ever exactly and constantly manage all what they
 called, τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, *the things in their own Power? Had the young Jew*
 in the Gospel, (as he boasted) *from his youth up most punctually observed*
 every tittle of the Decalogue. Did ever any Christian yet at all times, on all
 occasions, in all Conditions, *Love his God with all his Soul, all his Heart,*
 T. p. 297. *all his Strength, all his Mind; and his Neighbour, really and thoroughly,*
 Luk. 10. 37. *as himself? It is prery Common indeed for Men to say so, nay, perhaps to*
 Jer. 17. 9. *think so; But Man's heart is deceitful above all things, and God knows it*
 to be so. Now then if the best of Men fall very short in performing the Pun-
 ctualities even of their Moral Duties, and much more of their Evangelical ones,
 can I think that any of their poor Deeds can enter in as any ways sharing or
 bearing part in Christ's Propitiation and Satisfaction? Alas! He had made
 them for him long before whilst he was in his Trespases and Sins; and by them
 alone these very Performances, if sincere, are acceptable. By one Offering,
 Heb. 10. 14, 17. *Christ hath perfected for ever, them that are Sanctified (all true Believers,)*
their Sins and their Iniquities he will Remember no more. If some good
Man hath come up to some great degree of Perfection in some Point, yet have
failed in others, we read his doom, he is guilty of all, All have Sinned
 Jam. 2. 10; *and by it have come short of the Glory of God, being Justified freely by his*
 Rom. 3. 23, *Grace through the Redemption in Christ Jesus. Where is boasting then? It*
 24, 27. *is excluded. By what Law? Of Works? Nay, but by the Law of Faith.*
Where then are the pretended Works of Supererrogation? I would fain see what
things there are or can be, which are acceptable and wel-pleasing to God, which
will not fall under some branch of our Duty, either to God, to our Neighbour,
or to our self; if so, the Deed is a Debt and not a free Offering. And in brief,
what work soever the most meritorious Papist can pretend to in this case, I am
sure doth to me, (and must to himself also,) appear to be his very Duty. To do
Good, is always his Duty; to please God by any Deed, is to do Good;
therefore to please God by any Deed, is his Duty. What is more plain then
 those general Commands, *trust in the Lord, and do Good. Depart from Evil*
 Pf. 37. 3, 37. *and do Good. And what is more common in the new Testament, then the same*
 general Precept, *Eschew Evil and do Good; Follow that which is Good,*
 1 Pet. 3. 11. *for he that doth Good is of God. And in particular instances it is Command-*
 3. Joh. 11. *ed again, and again, cleave to that which is Good. Hold fast that which is*
 Rom. 12. 9. *Good, and the like. I would ask any one of these Supererrogaters, why do*
 1 Thes. 5. 21. *you*

you think *that this or that Deed will please God?* (Let it be a thing Com- T. p. 297.
manded, Advised or Counsel'd, or a private Thought;) He must answer, be-
cause it is good, for otherwise it cannot please him. *When you did it, I ask,*
could you do it easily and well? Answer, *Yes, I did it very willingly and*
conveniently. Then I say, you did it as your Duty, (or else it was not accept-
ed,) for we are expressly Commanded, *ὡς καὶ ἔχομεν, as we have Time,* Gal. 6. 10.
Opportunity, Occasion, Convenience, to do good unto all Men. If I think
that it is a very good thing to do this Deed; and I have it in my Power,
at this Opportunity, to do it with Ease and Conveniency; I say *this Deed*
(be it what it will, provided it be Good,) *is by this Command made my Debt;*
if I do it, *I do but my Duty;* if I do it not, *I transgress the Command.*
And therefore (as I have said) not only *all Virtue and all moral Precepts,*
but all those things which are *σεμνὰ, Venerable or worthy of Respect; ἀγνὰ,* T. p. 298.
Pure or Chast; ποσφιλῆ, Lovely or Gratefull and Acceptable; εὖφημα, of good
Report or Commendable; εἰ τις ἔπαινον, if they really deserve any Praise or
Applause; *all these things, I say, by this Text alone, are our Duty;* we are
Commanded by St. Paul not only, *λογίζεσθαι, to think of them, to meditate* Phil. 4. 8. 9.
and ponder them in our Hearts; but, πράσσειν, to practice them after his Ex-
ample; and I would fain see or hear of one Work, which our Supererroga-
tors boast of or pretend to, which doth not fall under the compass of this Com-
mand, and therefore is a Debt.

I find in two of my *Canonaria*, that the Antient and Primitive Fathers did 29. A. 48.
not enjoin as a Canon or Penance, either *Fasting, or Watching, or Kneeling,*
or Prostration, or the like; but only kept Sinners (according to their crimes)
for such or such a time *from receiving the Communion;* and these took up
those Acts of Mortification freely of themselves; and according to their sin-
cerity and their constant and earnest Practice of them, the time of *their depra-*
vation was shortned. *Basil* raised the censure of a Nun or devoted Virgin, ad Amph. c. 18,
if defiled, from one years Deprivation to fifteen; but I find nothing of these
Penances peculiarly enjoin'd Her, and so in many other cases; and those Penan-
ces fixt and settled in their Canons, were allowed (as I have said) by publick
Authority, and not left to the Capriciousness of a single Priest. And this to
me is no small Argument that the old Greeks did not make *Forgiveness or Re-*
mission of Sins the Merit or Effect of, *Opus operatum, the outward perform-*
ance of their Canon, but of *the inward grief only and sorrow for them,*
and of the hatred of them and real forsaking of them; For according to
the Sincerity and Degrees of *this alone, the Canon or outward performance of*
Penance and its fixed time, and circumstances, could be Relaxed, Shortned,
or quite Remitted by their Bishops or Confessors, (as is above said,) as being
only faint shadows of this living Substance, a Broken and a Contrite Heart,
which is absolutely Indispensable.

I will therefore here briefly consider the outward Acts of Penance, or those
which are accounted, by *Bellarmino* and his Council, *Opera Satisfactoria, works*
that are Satisfactory. We shall find that *purely in themselves* they are mo- Ut supr. c. 6.
rally Indifferent, neither Good nor Bad; and they are altogether as Insignifi- C. D.
cant also, as any other common Action of meer Nature. First, *Fasting* in it
self is so. A Soldier often lives only upon a little *Ammunition Bread,* and
a Seaman (when provisions grow scant) must make shift with a *small Allow-*
ance of dry Biscat; and a sup of Water when they can get it; and many a
shipwrackt poor Wretch hath been half Starved, before he could meet with
any relief; May this Fasting be truly said (barely consider'd in it self) either
Righteous or Sinfull? *Scourging* (as we are told) may heighten, as well as
extinguish bodily Lust; and *Scarifying the Body* is often used; But *Whipping*
or *Cutting or Slashing* in themselves, *as purely such,* have no more harm nor
good in them, then *scratching my Head* or rubbing my Nose. The same must
be said of simple Giving. *Cloaths or Bread or Drink* and the like are often
given away to the Poor, when the owner knew not what else to do with them;
and

- T. p. 299. and a Man coming out of one Territory into another (in Italy or elsewhere,) rather than load his Pocket with Brass (which will not pass where he goes next,) will throw all his Farthings amongst the poor; He may on the road *Help* another Man out of the Dirt; or help him to get his Horse or Coach or Cart out of the way, *meerly that himself may get by* more conveniently. *Prostration*, (or lying upon the cold ground with ones Face in the very Dust,) is common amongst Beggars and Labourers when they are weary, or would take a nap. *Crying and Weeping* happens often from a fierce cold Wind; from Smart, Anguish, and Bodily pain. I have seen a Dear *weep bitterly* and heard him *Sigh and Groan* when he was pulled down by the Hounds. *Watching* is the Case of many a Man, in Sicknes, great Pain and Trouble. A Parrot may be taught *to pray*; and meer Atheists by Custom will say, O God, O Lord, Help me, Help us; Good Morrow; Good Night; a Good Journey; Farewell; and the like. Now if all these things purely taken as in themselves, have nothing of Moral or Evangelical *Good or Evil* in them; as all Actions and their Circumstances whatsoever till they are brought to *some Law*, or Explain'd by *some Rule*, can neither be *Justified nor Condemn'd*; so all these must take their Denomination from something else; either from *the Principle from whence they spring*; or from *the Design and Intent of the Actor*; or from *the end and purpose* to which they tend; but most properly from *all these join'd together*. Now then how Empty, Vain, and Ridiculous, must, *Opus operatum*, the *meer doing* of these things be *in it self*, without these Qualifications, which *only* are able to *sanctify and Recommend it*; and much worse will it be, if they proceed from a *false or wrong inward Principle*; it will be so far from being any *Satisfaction* to God, or from so much as obtaining any *the least Acceptance* from him, that it will
- Mat. 6. 2, 5, 16. be a *damnable Sin* in the Actor of them. *Alms and Fasting and Prayer to be seen of Men*, or from any other wicked intent, are *Abominable in the sight of the most High*. Ἀδιάφορα, *Things Indifferent* or Innocent in themselves, from the *wicked design* of the Actor may become most *desperately Wicked*.
- Mat. 27. 39. To put forth a Finger, or to wag the Head, have no harm in themselves that I know of, yet they are recorded in Scripture as horrid Crimes, from the *Sinful inward Design* and meaning of them. To see a Man throw himself Naked upon a Bed of Thorns, or Nettles, or Thistles, I must say still, that *in it self* it would seem to me a *very wild Frolick*; but whether it was a piece of *Fool-hardy Ostentation*, or some real *Fruit of true Repentance*, I must leave that Judgment to the *searcher of all Hearts* alone; yet this I will say boldly, that if any of the abovesaid Acts be at any time *Accepted* by God, it is only as they spring from a *good Heart*, and not as they are *in themselves, meer dead outward Deeds*.
- Resp. 1. ad Tubing. The Greek Patriarch, Jeremiah, useth the word ἱκανοποίησιν, *Satisfaction*; but then he places it only in *inward Repentance and the Spiritual part*; and makes even this *in its self*, not a *Sinners satisfaction* to God's Justice, but
- T. p. 300. only a *performance of that Condition* which is required of him in the *Covenant of Grace*. God in Christ being *fully Satisfied* before, a *heartly Repentance, and a new Life*, is all that is now Expected from him; All *outward Deeds* are no otherwise acceptable, then as they are *true signs or fruits of this hearty Change*, or of *holiness of Life*; which, (as I have said,) is the *Debt or Duty of every Christian, of the Righteous as well as of the Sinner*, that is, *to be fruitful in every good work*. Thus Man, saith he, *must cleanse himself*, κατανοία ἀρετῆς, by *strict or exact Repentance, with Tears and Mourning, and such like*, πνευματικοῖς καθαγίοις, *Spiritual Purifications*, which are, ἡ ἀληθὴς ἱκανοποίησις, *the true Satisfaction*. And again, the power of good works is great, for thus God cleanseth Sinners through Repentance; but we must not be proud of them, or trust in them, ἰσχυράματα γὰρ, for that is *sinfull*; but they must be the *Consequents, or Products, of our Faith*, which we ought to make according to our utmost Power or Ability. For they that
- could

could even cast out Devils, and could Prophecy, were yet rejected by Christ, ^{T. p. 300.} because their Life was not conformable to his Prescriptions. Now to cast out Devils out of Poor Men possess, and to Prophecy, or to Preach, to others, were surely, (at least seemingly,) great works of Mercy and Pity; yet because they were only, *Opus operatum*, meer outward Works, without the, *ἐνδον π*, inward Principle, they signified nothing. Again, where the Divines ^{U. supr. c. 12. p. 89.} had said, that they who Sin after Baptism obtain Forgiveness, if they shew their Conversion and Repentance, by a contrite Heart and sound Faith, he answers, all this is very true. As to the Penalties prescribed in the Greeks Canon, which he calls *Canonical satisfactions*, he saith there, that if these were applied to wicked Sinners as Medicines, *ὡς οἱ θεοὶ πατέρες προσαύξαντο καὶ νομίζουσι τὰς ἐπιστρέφοντας καὶ μετανοήοντας*, accordingly as the Divine Fathers order'd that those who were Converted and did Repent should be Canonized, or Disciplined, *συμβάλλοντα καὶ βοηθῶν*, they do some Good and help them; but if they are not done *ὁρθῶ καὶ ψυχωφελῶ σκοπῶ*, ἕτε ἐπὶ ἰάσει μιᾶς ἐλάτης ἀμαρτίας, with a true Intent, and Purpose, of helping the Soul and for the Cure of every Sin, then we also reject them and say and believe, that they are done, *κακῶς καὶ κενῶς*, wickedly and in vain or to no purpose. Considering this passage we must first note, that he plainly here speaks of only such, who Voluntarily apply themselves to know and undergo the Canon; For he makes, *τὴν ἐκείνων κακωπάθειαν*, voluntary Mortification or Afflicting of the Soul, the very first of the Causes of Remission of Sins, (which there follows,) by Penance. And again his saying, that they are those who are Converted and Repent who are thus Disciplin'd, proves the same thing; for I have told you before out of ^{p. 162. Blastar. lit. M. p. 169. a. b.} their present Discipline, that he that Voluntarily comes to enquire after, and submit to, the Canon, is supposed by them to be already Converted and Changed and to Repent; and this (I also told you) is the present case of all their *Votaries*. But how far is this from the Latin Church, where every one is forced to Confess, and must submit to some Penance enjoined by the Priest; whereas amongst the Greeks it was matter of Choice, and a voluntary Thing from the beginning to this very day. For under the old Discipline, when Sinners were only suspended from the Communion; every one Afflicted and Chastised himself in the mean time as his own Heart moved him; and now every one may Voluntarily come to the Canon for his Sins, or let it alone; and he that taketh it upon him, may lessen the particulars, and shorten the time, by doubling his Diligence; by adding Voluntarily new particulars, or some spontaneous Observances beyond his Canon. There is a force upon none; for Monks and *Votaries* are not forced to be such; they chuse it, and chuse to receive the Canon that shall follow; all others are left at liberty to Confess their secret Sins, to their Ghostly Father for his Advice, or to amend and forsake them between God and their own Consciences. Next it is plain that the Patriarch own'd only the inward change of the Heart to be true Repentance, and allows no outward Acts of Penance, to signify any thing, unless they spring from, or reach down to, the very Soul. Lastly, we clearly here see, what the good Prelate thought of the Latin's, *Opus operatum*, their meer outward deeds of Penance; the Greeks were not then come up, shall I say, or rather, sunk down, to that, *κακὸν κενόν*, wicked Vanity of the Latins, where now Nectarius places them. Again, he makes this a use or cause of Penance, that by it (if it be done from the Heart) we, *πίστιν λαβόμεν*, may be well assured that we perfectly hate Sin; that is, if our Deeds of Penance be, *ἀντίθετα*, as Basil, and the antient Fathers, and he himself calls them) directly opposite to our particular Sins, as all Acts of Humility, to our Pride; Restitution to Fraud ^{U. supr. c. 11. p. 87.} or taking away our Neighbours Goods; Watchfulness to immoderate Drowsiness or Laziness; Labour to Sloath. Fasting and Abstinence to Gluttony and Excess, and the like; and he there positively asserts, *γνωσίαν πρόθεσιν καὶ ἐπιστροφήν ἀγαθῶν*, that a true Resolution and Conversion is sufficient to the Remission of Sins; and therefore when he immediately adds, that they give the Com- ^{c. 12. p. 90.} munion

- T. p. 301. *munion to Penitents, εἰς ἐγγύριον, as a pledge of the Remission of their Sins, he must mean that their Remission is only Conditional, supposing that their Resolution and their Conversion is sincere; and therefore he adds, τὸ γὰρ μετανοῆσαι γνησίως εἰς τὴν γνώμην καὶ τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ, to Repent truly, is placed in the Mind of the Sinner, (he knows best when he doth so;) but whether he hath fulfilled his Penance or no, (that is, Practised, τὰ ἀντίθετα, the Virtues opposite to his Sins,) is left to the Judgment of God. He most highly and worthily Praise and recommend Alms, and saith, μόνη πάντα δύναται ποιεῖν, that it alone can do all things; yet he makes the very Life of it to consist only in this, in Loving and shewing Mercy and Pity to the Poor, δια κλέγον, for God sake; for all other by ends are Wicked and Abominable. I remember it is a laudable Custom in many Turks, when they give an Alms to a poor Man, they usually look up and cry, Alloh Itchium, for God's sake. A little further on, the Patriarch saith, that Alms is a Medicine for our Sins, if as a Penance it be performed, θεῶς καὶ πνευματικῶς, for God sake and Spiritually; for Remission and a true Cure may thus be obtained. You see he all along makes the inward Devotion of the Heart alone, that which makes all these things acceptable to God. I confess that concerning Confession, he saith, that he that Confesseth ought to tell and Confess all his Sins, κατ' εἶδος, especially or particularly; but this is plainly to this end only, that he might be particularly Informed, Instructed, Advised, Admonished, Taught, Comforted, Directed how to leave them, by applying, Ἀντίθετα, the opposite Virtues, and the like; for he there tells us, that a spiritual Physician, (a Confessor,) ought to be, ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμενος τὰ πνευματικά, very accurately Skillfull in all spiritual Matters; which plainly shews that Penitents went to them, only for Direction or Advice and Counsel; for if Absolution had been the only end of their Confession, any ignorant ordinary Priest (as I have said) might (especially according to the Romanists,) have done that, as well as the most learned Prelate.*
- I know the Papalins will catch at that saying of the Patriarch, that Confession ought to be made, κατ' εἶδος, Specially. If he meant it Particularly, of every Sin, and of all its minute Circumstances; he did not answer the Tubbings objection. This, said they, is Impossible, according to that, who can tell how oft he offendeth? And he there owns, that many many Sins may be concealed (and not confess) through Forgetfulness or Bashfulness and yet be Forgiven. Therefore he rather means by κατ' εἶδος, only, every sort or kind of their Sins in general, as Drunkenness, Murder, Fornication, Adultery, and the like; without particularizing the several Circumstances of them. And this was certainly the Primitive way; John Baptist's numerous Profelites could make only a general Confession of their Sins; and the many many Jews and Greeks which were converted at Ephesus, could not particularly Confess and shew their Deeds; and there is no question but the three Thousand, that were Baptized in one day at St. Peter's Sermon, Confest themselves in general, to be Sinners; for the Text tells us that, they were pricked in their Heart, and said, Men and Brethren, what shall we do. I am very apt to believe that the Common Form (Confiteor) of Confession prescribed in the Roman Ritual; and that which a Priest must use when he prepares to say Mass, are Reliques of the old Primitive general Confession; which Rome (as it hath corrupted every thing else) hath new Model'd and stuff with a deal of Trumpery. The latter of these, stript of their Forgeries, would run thus; I confess to Almighty God, and to you my Ghostly Father, that I have Sinned too much in Thought, Word and Deed; It is my Fault, my Fault, my greatest Fault; Therefore I beseech you to pray for me to our Lord God. And the Confessor then might pray for him, as the Ministers answer in the Missal. May the Almighty God have Mercy upon you, and (your Sins being forgiven) bring you to everlasting Life, Amen. I have mention'd above out of my Canonaria, a piece of such a general Confession used by the Greeks, Bless me, &c. I have Sinned
- ubric. de Sacram. Penitens. p. m. 48. Missal. Ord. Missal. p. m. 251.
- Pf. 19. 12.
- Mat. 3. 6.
- Act. 19. 18.
- Act. 2. 37. 41.
- p. 259.

ned by all my Senses, by my Eyes and seeing, by my hearing, by my Tongue, T. p. 302.
by my Touch or Feeling, by my behaviour, by my Thoughts, I have been Pol-
luted and Defiled both in Body and Soul, and so on; till presently every
particular Sin in the Catalogue is Confest by the Penitent as if he was guilty of
them all. Some such general Forms as these, I take to have been the Primi-
tive way of Confession in both Churches; but the Greeks (as I find in
all their *Canonaria*) have made many strange Alterations and fond Additions
after their manner, as well as the Latins, have done after theirs.

The Eucharist is a Renewal of that Covenant of Grace with God in Jesus
Christ, into which we entred at our Baptism, the Condition of it on our part T. p. 303.
(as I have often said) is first a good Life to the utmost of our Power; but if
we at any time transgress, (as God knows it is too often every Man's unhappy
case) to apply our selves immediately to God, by confessing our Faults to
him, with a hearty Sorrow and inward Vexation for them; and by being very
watchfull for the future in all (especially the like) Temptations that we fall
no more into them. Now then when any Christian intends to renew this Co-
venant with his God, by the Eucharist; what can be more reasonable or more
necessary for him to do, then to consider *how his present State and Account*
stand with his Almighty Lord and Master? And what other Man can under-
stand any ways *how this Account stands* better than the poor Sinner himself?
This is the very reason of the Apostle's command, *let every Man Examine* 1 Cor. 11. 28.
himself. For what can any Priest know of the State or Condition of a Sinner,
but what he hath from the Mouth of the Sinner himself? A Poor, Plain, Or-
dinary, contemptible Fellow, knows when he commits any grievous Sin, that
he offends his God; he can acknowledge and confess it to him with such
an inward Sorrow and Hatred of it, as he is not able with any words in
the least to express it to a Priest or to any Man; *The Spirit may assist him* Rom. 8. 26.
with such Groanings as cannot be uttered. If his sorrow, for his Sin, be
stirred, as it was with David, *and his Heart with it wax hot within him*, Ps. 39. 2, 3.
though he is dumb and can speak nothing; Yet God understandeth his
thoughts a far off, for he searches him and knows him, better than any
Confessor can or ever will be able to do; and the same Poor Man *can Judge* 1 Cor. 11. 31.
himself more exactly and impartially, (his own Conscience bearing the truest
Witness) then any Priest can do with all *his pumping Questions*, or *his prompt-*
ing him with words of his own. So that a Priest's Duty in this Case is on-
ly *Preaching*, to them who come to him in order to the Communion; that is,
to Instruct, Admonish, Exhort and press them *to Repentance and to Amend-*
ment of Life. A pious and discreet Minister by laying before them *the dread-*
full Wages of Sin, and their base *Ingratitude to God*, (the giver of all the
good which they enjoy;) by wisely mixing and earnestly urging *the terrors of*
God's Judgments denounced against impenitent Sinners, and *his infinite Mercies*
declared and assured to all humble and true Penitent Hearts; such a one by
this Method may certainly and effectually *so warm the Hearts* of all those
who come to him upon this score, as *a holy Fire would soon be kindled* in Ps. 39. 3.
their very Souls, and *break out*, daily and hourly, into a devout Remembrance
and Confession of their Sins to God, and beget a serious and lasting Re-
pentance in them; *They would be always acknowledging ther Transgres-* Ps. 51. 3.
sions, and their Sins would be ever before them; and then whatever out-
ward *Fruits of Repentance* should follow, would be accepted as the Ef-
fects of *their inward Zeal*. But if a Priest should squeeze out of them a
minute Confession of every particular Sin, and of every little Circumstance
of it, and then set them a Task *for Satisfaction*, they would certainly T. p. 304.
only think and long to get that over, and never trouble their Minds with
those past Sins any more; as shall be more fully handled by and by. David
voluntarily prescribed to himself the former Method; and set himself as an Ex-
ample, *that every one that is Godly might Pray and address himself unto*
God in a time when he may be found; I acknowledged, saith he, my Sin
unto thee, and my Iniquity have I not hid; I said I will confess my Trans-
gressions

T. p. 304. *gressions unto the Lord, and thou forgavest the Iniquity of my Sin.* We have this matter of Fact upon Record in the business of *Uriah*. It was then that those outward Signs and Effects of Repentance follow'd from his most hearty inward Contrition and Sorrow; *He put on Sackcloth; He chasten-ed himself with Fasting; He eat Ashes like Bread, and mingled his Drink with Weeping; He groaned all the Night and watered his Couch with his Tears.* Thus *David's* Confession (as the great *Chrysostom* adviseth us to do) was made to God alone, and his Acts of Mortification and Humiliation were purely *Voluntary*, and sprang from the inward Affection of his Heart, and from the very bitterness of his Soul; and all this was done and accepted without his going to any, *κρίτηριον*, Tribunal, but that of God himself. The new Confessorion, Admires and most justly Commends this great Example to us; *When one, saith it, is prickt at the Heart, let him run, with David, (εἰς τὸ θεῖον δευτέρου λουτροῦ τῆς μετανοίας, To the Divine second Bath, or Font, of Repentance, as the Hart to the Water Brooks; But then it bids him go, εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ φοβερώτατον κρίτηριον, λέγω τῷ πνευματικῷ πατέρῳ, To that most dreadfull Tribunal, I mean, saith the Author, that of a Ghostly Father.* He saith indeed farther on, *that one who is to be Confessed should with an humble behaviour and Eyes cast upon the ground, beat his Breast, and say with the Publican, God be Mercifull to me a Sinner, and with David, my Iniquities are gone over my Head and are as a sore burden too heavy for me to bear.* If such a poor Creature should go on thus in true Sorrow, and a hearty bemoaning and hatred of his Sins; and daily Confess them to Almighty God and implore his Pardon for them; I should think there would be no farther need of a Lordly Priest. But without any farther Addreses now to God, he must go to his Ghostly Father and falling prostrate at his Feet, he must put himself into that humble Posture, (I suppose by lying on his Belly and stretching out each Arm) as to represent the sign of the Cross; τῶν Δαιμόνων τὸ ἀποτρόπος, That same Scare-Devil, by means of which all the Power and Activity of the Devil, which by Sin is found, ὡς τὸ λόγος τῷ, in his Thought, or Rational part; may flee from his Heart. Then follows a Medley of the Old and Modern way of the Greek and partly of the Latin Confession to God himself, something larger but not much unlike that which I have mention'd out of the Latins Mass-book, (but without the Trumpery of the *Virgin Mary* and the Saints and Apostles,) and it contains not much above forty words. Then he falls to his Confession of Sins to the Priest, *Particularly*, as he finds them set down in a Catalogue there annext, which I have mention'd above. Now in this the Direction is right; *That a Sinner so soon as ever he is overtaken with any Sin, he should, with David, early return and seek after his God.* Next the Author truly tells us, ἡ σωτηρία καθ' ἑαυτὴν, ἀν' ἑνὶ ἀληθινῷ, ἔχει δύναμιν καὶ λύσιν τὰς ἀμαρτίας, That Contrition by it self, (or alone,) if it be true, hath Power to loose us from all our Sins; (For indeed, a broken and a Contrite Heart alone, is such a Sacrifice, as God will never despise,) and *Bellar-mine*, (as I have noted above,) owns that Contrition may be so Vehement, as alone to obtain Remission. This I find to have been own'd as antient and solid Orthodox truth. *St. Basil* was as great a Promoter of the Canon or outward Penance as any one whatever; yet he places the fullest Assurance of our Pardon and Forgiveness in this inward Contrition and loathing of Sin alone. He twice puts this Question, πῶς πληροφορηθῇ ἡ ψυχὴ, ὅτι ἀφῆκεν αὐτῇ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ἀμαρτήματα, How may (a Soul) a Man be fully certain that God hath forgiven him his Sins? He answers, if he finds or perceive himself so disposed as to say with *David*, ἀδικίαν ἐμίσησα καὶ ἐδεδούλευμαι, As for Iniquity I hate and abhor it; For God by sending his only begotten Son for the Remission of our Sins, hath, before hand, as much as in him lies, forgiven all Men; If he feels that he hath comply'd with *St. Paul's* Command, In Mortifying all his Members which are upon the Earth; If he is grieved with the Saints, and Concern'd with Pity and Horror, when he sees other Men, ἀσωοτεῖντας, (alias, ἀσωοτεῖντας,) perfidious or prevaricating, (fickle or dealing perversly,) and

and transgressing God's word; If he is weak with the weak, and pities them; T. p. 305.
 If when he sees any scandal he burns; He, saith he, that finds his Soul thus 2 Cor. 11. 29.
 disposed both to his own Sins and the Sins of his Brethren, *πληροφρονήτω*, let
 him be fully assured that he is cleansed from his Sins; and the Master of the
 Sentences was perfectly of the same opinion. Here is no need of a Priest, that
 I see, to rake his Conscience or *Absolve* him; for the Man himself before God
 is the only Judge, whether he be thus disposed or not; A Priest knows nothing
 of the matter, but must only take things as the Penitent tells him; and at most
 can only guess at his Condition, and that very very uncertainly; and there-
 fore ought to Preach Basil's Doctrine, or teach him thus how he may know
 when he is Forgiven. Yet notwithstanding all this the Author of my Venetian
 Confessionary, and the Cardinal too absolutely contradict themselves, and for-
 sake this wholesome Doctrine, and the Trentine Fathers bear them out in it, and Ut supr. l. i. c. 8. p. 388.
 tells us that the very Form and Essence and Power of Penance, is placed, pre-
 cipue, chiefly in those words of the Priest, *Ego te Absolvo, I Absolve thee*, Lab. conc. Trid. Sess. 14. c. 3. 4. T. 14. 816.
 and that Contrition, Confession, Satisfaction, (and by consequence Repentance
 it self) receive all the Power and Efficacy, which they have, from those
 very words of the Priest's Absolution. This seems, to me, a manifest Con-
 tradiction, that Contrition alone may be so perfect as to obtain Re-
 mission; and yet that all its Power and Efficacy is from the Priest's Ab-
 solution alone. T. p. 306.

The Mongrel Venetian Confessor goes on still at the old Rate chiming in p. 170.
 with the Latins, *ικανοποίησις*, Satisfaction, saith he, may be made two ways,
 first when a Sinner, *δεληματικῶς*, Freely and Voluntarily, out of his own in-
 ward Devotion does any of these Deeds of Mortification, purely of himself.
 Secondly when a Ghostly Father enjoins them after Confession; both ways
 satisfaction for Sins may be made by every Man. So that according to him,
 a Sinner in this Point may safely follow either Basil and Chrysostom, or the
 Cardinal and the Council. But then he tells us, that the satisfaction which
 is made, *διὰ τῆς ὑποταγῆς τῷ πνευματικῷ ἐν αὐτῷ πλείονα δεκτὴ καὶ καρποφόρα*, in Sub-
 jection to a Confessor, is much the more Acceptable and Profitable of the two.
 For the second only is, (in their cant,) *Sacramental*; The Priest's Tribunal
 must be uppermost still. He said before, *διὰ τοῦτο διὰ τὴν πληρωθῆναι ἢ διὰ τοῦτο*
τῷ Θεῷ εἰς μέρος, ἐνχαριστῶνται μὲν καὶ ἕκαστον καὶ πρόσκαιρον τιμωρημα, ὅπερ λαμβάνο-
μεν ἀπὸ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ Κεῖν δὲ δεληματικῶς, p. 164.
 To the end that God's Justice may be
 Paid, or Satisfied, in part, it is Gratified, or well pleased, with every small
 and temporary Punishment, or Penance, which we willingly receive from
 the Ghostly, or Spiritual Judge. I could here reckon up sorry Actions enough
 which amongst the Latins are counted and allowed as little Penances; These
 undoubtedly, when they are enjoined and performed, may satisfy the Priest,
 for they make him a Judge, and own his Sentence and Jurisdiction; but that
 they will satisfy God's Justice in part, remains still to be proved. Busenb. ut supr. dub. 4. p. m. 489.

But that which is the Key-Stone and clencheth all the rest, (Contrition Con-
 fession, Satisfaction;) and makes all one entire Sacrament, is Absolution. Bellar. ut supr. l. i. c. 8. F. G. H. p. 387.
 This is made the very Form of this Sacrament as they call it; and is so ne-
 cessary as without the Priest and his Absolution, all the other parts of it are no-
 thing. The words of the Absolution are these; *Ego te Absolvo a peccatis*
tuis; in nomine Patris &c. I absolve thee from thy Sins; in the name of
the Father, &c. and for respect sake instead of, *Te, Thee*, they may say, *I*
absolve your Majesty; your Worship; your Honour, or the like, according
 to the Quality of the Penitent; For the whole Virtue and Efficacy lies in these
 two words, *Ego absolvo, I absolve*. But such words as these, *Absolvat Te*
Christus, Absolvat Te Deus, may Christ, or may God absolve thee, or the like,
 quite spoil the Sacrament and do no good at all. Rit. Rom. p. m. 49. Busenb. de Pœnitent. c. 1. d. 1. p. 473.

The first Reflection therefore which I shall here make, is this, this Form, *I*
absolve thee, is ingenuously confest by Goar, and the rest, not to have been
 ever used or heard of till about four or five hundred Years ago. They make p. 676.

T. p. 307. *Penance* a real Sacrament, and by Consequence should be Instituted by Christ himself; and yet they make these words, *I Absolve thee*, the Form or most Essential part of it, which Form is by their own Confession of a very very late date; I cannot see how these two can consist; for untill this Form was used, they must have had no Sacrament, for they stily maintain this can be none without it.

Secondly, if this Form is the Principal part which make it a Sacrament, and yet (as Goar plainly owns) it was so lately Contrived and Instituted purely by the Church alone, (it is no matter, quo rationum pondere, upon what pretended weighty account, it was done, perhaps to magnify the Priest's Authority or the like) it is most Evident that they make this a Sacrament, not of Christ's Institution, but of their own human Invention.

De Pœnit. dist. 24. A. p. 411. We are taught by the Master of the Sentences, *Pœnitentia dicitur & Sacramentum & virtus mentis, Penance, or rather Repentance, is call'd both a Sacrament, and a virtue of the Mind; For there is an inward Repentance or Penance, and there is an outward one. The outward one is the Sacrament, the inward one is the Virtue of the Mind.* The inward change of the Mind, is the true and only Condition of the Gospel by which Forgiveness of Sin is to be obtained, and is there Commanded and Enjoin'd by Christ himself, and is truly called, *Pœnitentia, Repentance.* But the outward Mortifying of ones self, by Fasting, Watching, Praying, Bowing, Scourging and the like, by the order of a Priest, is now their only proper Sacrament; and without doubt was contrived to establish the Doctrine of Opus operatum, the Efficacy of the bare outward Performance of these things; the Treaty and outward Formalities, Order'd, Agreed, and observed between the Priest and the Penitent, not the inward Repentance of the Sinner, being their proper Sacrament; and, as it now stands, is plainly introduced and made to all an Injunction, only of the Church; as Goar is forced to confess. From the same Latin word *Pœnitentia*, it is in English contra-distinguished from inward Repentance, and called, *Penance*; how they can make such a late Invention, and meer Injunction of the Church alone, as this, agree with their own Definition of a Sacrament, (which must have the Institution of God himself for its Authority,) I cannot see. They may as well make a Sacrament of any other of their outward solemn Formalities, (which are order'd and directed in ther Rituals) as of this of outward Penance; for in enough of them any ordinary Schoolmen may soon find, a sign, and a Holy thing signified, and a Matter, and a Form, and all the other nice Circumstances which Bellarmine count requisite to the making of a Sacrament; but there will still want, the one thing necessary, which is God's own Institution.

By making the Priest's Absolution so absolutely necessary to the Forgiveness of Sin, Bellarmine seems to me plainly to contradict himself; For he positively owns, as I have already noted, that Contrition alone may be so vehement as to obtain Forgiveness without it, why then is the outward formal Absolution of a Priest so necessary? True Contrition can do without that, by his own Confession, but Absolution can never do without this, as I have already said, and it shall be more fully shewn by and by. The case then stands thus, true inward Contrition and sincere Repentance, through Christ fully satisfies Almighty God; But auricular Confession and Absolution and all the outward Circumstances of it, are purely contrived to magnify the Priest's Office and satisfy the Romish Church; and true Repentance, according to them, is indeed alone valid in the Eyes of God to all intents and purposes; but it is not Sacramental or Canonical, that is, valid in the Eyes of their Church, because it wants the outward Mode and Form enjoin'd by it.

Such a Confession or Conference with a Ghostly Father, as I have mention'd above out of Chrysostom and others, is not only profitable but often times very necessary, (as I have said,) for his Advice and direction to the Penitent in amending his Life; but most particularly for his Prayers to God, that he would

Forgive

Forgive him and turn his Heart. This was plainly the way in *P. Leo* the first his days for he forbidding all publick Confession and Declaration of Sins, (especially by any formal Catalogue of them after the Greek way,) saith, *Sufficit illa Confessio, that Confession is enough which is first offered to God, and then also to the Priest, who comes in as (an Intercessor, or) one, who is to pray for the Sins of the Penitent.* The Penitent first humbled himself to God alone, for every Sin; then where he wanted the Priest's help, he beg'd of him to inform him, instruct him, and to pray for him to God to Absolve him and amend him; The Priest's Office was to Pray for God's Absolution, not to give him his own. The same account of Confession is given us by *Theodulphus* Bishop of Orleans in *Charlemayne's* time. *Confessio quam Sacerdotibus facimus, the Confession which we make to Priests bring us this help, for by the whole some Counsel which we receive from them, by their sound Observations, or Directions, for our Repentance, or, mutuis Orationibus, by their Prayers which they afford us; we wash away the spots of our Sins.* In order to this the Priest is to put the Penitent in mind of Gluttony, and all the other deadly Sins, and to arm him against all the perverse Thoughts which may arise in his mind, and against every particular Vice to which he is obnoxious; & juxta modum facti debet ei Pœnitentia Judicari, and according to the Nature or Circumstance of each Deed, his Penance was to be appointed, or rather, his Repentance was to be directed. There is no doubt but the Ghostly Fathers in those days did direct their Penitents to Deeds of Mortification, which you may call Penance; that is, *eis τὰ ἀντίθετα*, (as *Jeremias* and the Fathers call them) to such performances as were directly Opposite to the Vices which they had been Guilty of. They might prescribe or recommend, giving of Alms to the Covetous; Fasting and Abstinence to the Glutton and Lascivious; Silence to the Vain-glorious; and so of the rest; and they did furnish them with Ejaculations and Meditations and short Prayers suitable to their Conditions, and at last dismiss them with Prayers to God for their Absolution and Forgiveness. This was of old and is to this very day the only Method in the Greek Church. Therefore besides those Prayers which I have already had occasion to mention, I will now first look into those *absolatory* Prayers that are in *Goar*, and in the common *Euchologium* printed at *Venice* now in use, and add some which I have in Authentick MSS. of my own, which are not in them; yet as occasion serves are often practised amongst them. First for Pardon of those who have rashly sworn to do some Penance which they could not perform, *οὐδέποτε, δέμεθα, ἐπιχογήησον αὐτῷ τὸ σὸν ἑλεῶν, πάντα τὰ ἀμαρτήματα συγχώρησον αὐτῷ ἐλευθέρωσον ἀπὸ τοῦ δεσμοῦ.* Thou Lord, we beseech thee, supply him with thy Mercy, Forgive him all his Sins, Absolve him from the Bond of his Sins. So to Absolve one from his Penance enjoind, Thou O Lord, ἐλευθέρωσον, Absolve thy Servant N.N. from his Bond, give him leave to beg thy Pardon. Here by the by we may put another interpretation of those words in *Theodulphus* above, *mutuis Orationibus, by the mutual Prayers of the Priest and the Penitent*, for here the Priest prays for the Penitent and prays also that the Penitent may be admitted to pray for himself. Again for rash Swearers, O God vouchsafe to take no notice, and Pardon him or those who unadvisedly Swear, we beg thy Pardon for them and us. So for one who hath eaten any forbidden thing. O Lord God, *παράχρησιν συγχώρησω*, afford thy Pardon, Forgive, vouchsafe to admit him to the Holy Communion. So in the general, general Prayers for Penitents, (which I have seen said with the Book upon the Penitents Head.) O God our Saviour, *πρόσδεξαι*, receive thy Penitent Servant N.N. passing by all his Misdeeds; so in the next which I also have seen in more common use. Release, Remit, Pardon the Sin and Iniquities of thy Servants, (or Servant as occasion requires) be pleased that they (or he) may be absolved by thy word Forgiving them, (or him) even so Lord hear us, Praying for them, (or him) pass by their (or his) Sins, deliver them (or him) from Eternal Punishment. All these Prayers are that God would Absolve

T. p. 308.

Anno. 459.

Labb. conc. T.

Ep. 80. p.

1374.

T. p. 309.

Anno. 797.

Labb. conc. T.

7. p. 1143. c.

30.

c. 31.

Respons. l. c. 11.

P. 87.

T. p. 309.

pag. 662.

p. 666.

p. 669.

p. 670.

p. 673.

p. 673.

p. 673.

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T. p. 309. solve the Penitent, no Confessor dare pretend to do it himself. And in every one of those which Goar hath added out of *Allatius* and other MSS. the *Absolution* is only ascribed to God, and beg'd from him alone. It is very remarkable that in those Prayers in the Euchologium, and in those others which are added there, Christ's words are inserted at least six or seven times, (*whose Sins you remit*, upon which the Papists ground *their Absolution* of the Priest) yet the Prayers are continued still on to God alone, *to Forgive and Absolve*; The Confessor no where attributes any thing of it to himself; Nay, in that large Form or Office, which we have prescribed in Goar, the Confessor, as I have noted before, is obliged plainly to say, ἐκ ἰσχύος, *I am not able to remit Sins on Earth, but it is God that Pardons them*; or *except God Pardons them*. Yet even there are Christ's words inserted also, *whose Sins ye remit*; by all which it is plain to me that the Greeks understood those words of Christ, not as if the Priest or Confessor should have thereby a Power or Authority to himself *to Absolve*, but that he should only have a Privilege thereby *to beg the Penitents Absolution* from God alone; and the words are looked upon as *God Almighty's Promise* upon their Prayers to hear them according to the true inward Repentance of the Sinner, of which only God himself is Judge. I have already said that this was all the way of *Confession and Absolution* according to *Chrysostom*, and I am much confirmed in my Opinion, for Goar hath obliged us with one of *Chrysostom's* Prayers to this very purpose. The good Father Instancing in many of the Penitent Sinners, who are recorded in Scripture as forgiven by God, and appealing to God's Promise, (*Thou hast said, Confess your Sins one to another, as thou hast Called, or Invited, us, so thou art Faithfull and Just to forgive us all things, and to cleanse us from all Defilements of Flesh and Spirit,*) he concludes thus, *thou all Good, and all Mercifull Lord, forgive this my spiritual Son, N.N. both in this World and in that which is to come, all those things which he with a contrite Heart hath before thee Confessed to my, ἐλαχίστην, meanness, and count him worthy to stand uncondemned before thee, who art blessed for ever. Amen.* Here he supposed a contrite Heart in his Penitent, and on that Condition he prayed for him, but he leaves God, before whom all is known and done, to be the only Judge, and arrogated no *Judiciary Authority* to himself as *Priest or Confessor*. I have many more such *Deprecative Absolutions*, in my MSS. I shall instance in some of them, though all, as to this Point, are of the same nature. In one for an Apostate who had denied the Christian Faith and afterwards return'd. First the Person's Age and his Condition and the Circumstances of his Apostacy are considered; then the Canon is proportioned to the Crime. Then follows the Prayer, Δίκαιον εἰ κύριε καὶ εὐθεὺς αἱ κρίσεις σου. *Just art thou O Lord, and Right are thy Judgments.* After the Preface follows, δέόμεθα καὶ ἱκετεύομεν, — μνήσθητι τῶ ἐλέει σου, *we pray and beseech thee remember Mercy, passing by our human transgressions, Pardon us every Fault*; — *Thou, as our Good and Mercifull Lord and lover of Mankind, Ἄφες, ἄφες, πάσις, καὶ συγχώρησον, Release, Remit, pass by, Forgive our Transgressions, καὶ μὴ λογίσῃς μὴδ' εἰσελθῇς εἰς κρίσις, and come not to account, nor enter into Judgment with thy Servant, for in thy sight shall no Man living be Justified.* Then are read Psalm 51. the 38. and 103. (So in *Theodulphus Capitulare* are read upon the like account, Ps. 51. & 25. & 32.) Then follows another Prayer, Δέσποτα κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, O Lord our God, ὁ τὰς κλεῖς τῆς βασιλείας σου, *who hast entrusted Peter, the chief of the Apostles with the Keys of thy Kingdom, and built thy Church upon him, and given him Power to bind and loose upon Earth, Hear us who call upon thee though unworthily ἐν τῷ ἰλασμῷ, for, or in, the Reconciliation, or Propitiation, of thy Servant here present, and, θαυμάσῃς, make thy Mercies Wonderfull upon him*; — *Thou, O lover of Men, turn not this thy Servant, here present, away, who begs Atonement, or Reconciliation, from thee, but look upon him in Mercy, and in Compassion call him back, for thou art the God of those who repent.* This is the order of *Methodius*

Nomocan. p.
452.

U. sup. c. 30.

Nomocan. p.
449.

Methodius Patriarch of Constantinople, it is most likely to be made by the first of that name, who according to Onuphrius's Catalogue was about the Year 842, for the second Methodius was in but three Months. I find this last Prayer of Methodius mention'd by Arcadius, but that is patcht up, for in mine there is no, ego te absolvo, *I absolve you*. There is a deprecatory Absolution much after this manner in Goar, but it is in many things larger, in some expressions shorter; and, δι' ἐμὲ τὸ ταπεινὸν δέλω σε συγχώρησον, *Pardon him by me thy humble Servant*, is foisted in there, for it is not in mine or in any other MS. which I have seen, as I shall be by and by farther noted. It is still very remarkable to me, that here again both in this Prayer and in that of Goar's the Power of the Keys, and St. Peter's Authority in tying and loosing should be mention'd in the Preface, and yet the following Prayer should be made to God alone to Absolve and Forgive the offender. I have an entire Office to Absolve an Apostate Monk, if he returns to his Profession. There are in it, instead of a Priest's Absolution, these very devout Prayers to God for him; The first, κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ δέλων, *O Lord God Almighty who wouldst every Man to be saved*, — we Pray and beseech thee Receive this thy Servant N.N. then follow at least a dozen more Petitions for his Pardon and Restitution. The second begins, ὁ κλίνεις θρόνον καὶ καταβὰς, *O Thou who didst bow the Heavens and camest down through thy Love towards Mankind*, — Thou O Lord, thou lover of Men receive thy lost Sheep, N.N. — As our good Shepherd save him — Receive him and number him amongst those who worthily serve thee, in this Angelick state of Life. The third begins, κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ καταπέμψας, *O Lord God Almighty who sent down thy All-holy Spirit upon thy Holy Apostles* — and who hath turned thy Servant N.N. from the error of Darkness — Thou, O Lord, thou lover of Men, ἀνάδειξον, *make, or declare, him a chosen Vessel, and adorn him with Virtues*, grant that he may always walk according to thy will. These prayers suppose the Penitent hath the necessary qualifications of true Repentance, and accordingly it is express in the first and second, by ἐπιστρέφοντα καὶ μετανοήοντα γνησίως, and ἐξομολογούμενον, *Returning and Repenting, sincerely, and thoroughly Confessing*; for according to the Latins themselves, Absolution, which follows Confession, suppose it to be true and sincere and Compleat, yet that point must still remain at best only Conjectural, as shall be more fully discuss'd by and by. I have those two which are in Goar and a third, not yet Printed, to the same purpose; There is great variety of readings in them, but all are Deprecative to God alone.

I will give you another Absolution of a dead Man Excommunicated, which is to be said by the Prelate, because it is of a singular compofure, and I will conceal nothing from the curious Reader, Ἡ ταπεινότης ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, *Our Humility, by the Grace given to it, from the All holy Spirit*, συγχωρήσει σοὶ τῷ κεκοιμημένῳ δέλῳ, N.N. *will forgive thee, N.N. a Servant who hath slept, (or been Dead) all things wherein thou hast Sinned from thy Youth to thy lives end*. Then several general Sins are at large reckon'd up. Then, ἡ ταπεινότης ἡμῶν, *Our humility through the infinite Compassion of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ who suffered for us Sinners, will Forgive thee (συγχωρήσει σοι) both in this World and that which is to come, and moreover it (our Humilities) prays for you, translate him to dwell in a lightsome place, and so forth as in the Exequies in Goar, that you may be counted worthy, in the hour of Judgment, to stand on the right hand of our Saviour*, — by the Intercessions of our all pure Lady and all Saints, by the Mercy and Compassions and the love to Man, of thy only begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ. This Prayer is in vulgar Greek, very falsely written, and is as if it had been patcht together; in some places something is too much, in others something left out, so as we cannot make either Sense or Concord. It is plain however that the Prelate doth not take this Pardon wholly upon himself, but prays for it to God by the Mercy and Compassion of Christ.

I will

T. p. 312.
 Nomocan. MS.
 p. 81.

I will add one more of *Maximus* Patriarch and Confessor (as he is stiled) for the same purpose. O Lord *Jesus Christ* and *Word of God*, being of one *Substance* and most *Compassionate*—who hast granted to thy holy *Apostles* the *Gift and Grace* to bind and to loose the *Sins of Men*, saying, receive the *Holy Ghost*, &c. and the quickening *Spirit* descending successively from them to us—Thou O *Just and most compassionate God*, pardoning the *Sins of thy Servant N. N.*—make (or cause) his miserable *Body* to be dissolved in to those things out of which it was composed; and we trusting in (δαγ-
 γνύμενοι, o encouraged by,) thy *Compassion and Grace* do loose him from the *burden and band* which lie upon him—and we *Pardon and Absolve* by thy *Power and Grace*, if only thou consentest from above; hear us *Sinners* and thy humble *Servants* and be not angry with us, ὡς παρεγγύησα, as if we trifled with (or carelessly solicited) thy *Goodness*; for not trusting in our own *Righteousness and Virtue* (for they are not in us) but looking upon thy *Goodness*, we beseech thee glorify thy *Church*; And by this *Grace*, as by many *Miracles* thou hast glorified it, dissolve, O Lord, his *Body* entire-ly;—and if thou loosest thy aforesaid *Servant, N. N.* his *Body* from this band, passing by his *Sins*, and shouldest count him worthy of the *Portion of those who are saved*, thou wilt do thy own work, and the work of thy *Love to Man* forbearing evil. So be it by the intercessions of the *Mother* which bare thee, and of all the *Saints*. I find in *Onuphrius's* Catalogue of the *Patriarchs of Constantinople* but three called *Maximus*; the first was an *Arian*, Anno. 381. and therefore he cannot well be supposed to be the Author of this; the second who perhaps composed it, lived Anno. 1215. I rather think it was the third, Anno. 1480. It suits well enough with that Age, and favours of no very great Antiquity by inserting (as in the former) by the *Intercessions of the Virgin Mary and the Saints*. But let the *Latins* make what use they can of it; if they insist upon those words, *we Pardon and Absolve*, let them remember these words are spoken in general, and their *Absolution* is not made absolutely and positively, but by his *Power and Grace*, and only conditionally, if he, ἐπιτίθει, asserts from above. There are two principal Points in the Prayer, to dissolve the *Body*, and to forgive the *Excommunicated Person his Sins*; Now the *Patriarch* can no more pretend by his Authority to forgive his *Sins*, then he can pretend to dissolve the *Body*; and therefore he only prays to God for both alike. The opinion of the *Greeks*, that the *Body of an Excommunicated Person*, (who is still as they think capable of being saved,) will not consume till he be *Absolved*, very much prevails amongst them to this very day, of which I shall at large discourse in a more proper place. *Crusius* hath a wonderful Story of a dead *Body* miraculously dissolved by the *Patriarch's* reading, τὴν ἐν χλω συγχωρητικὴν the *Absolatory Prayer* over him; to which Custom this Prayer alludes. I shall here make this short Reflection upon it; If you believe that this *Excommunicated Body* was by the *Patriarch's* Prayer dissolved then; it is well known that sometimes this prayer is ineffectual; for the *Body* after the prayer now will not always crumble to pieces; which plainly tells me that the *Patriarch's Prayer or Authority* of it self, can no more *Pardon and Absolve* the *Soul*, then it can *Dissolve* the *Body*; it sometimes prevail'd with God for neither; and therefore whilst I lived amongst them, I never knew it tried, but upon occasion (as shall elsewhere be said) the *Body* hath been taken up and cut in pieces and sprinkled with holy *Water*, and after the *Prayer* laid in a new grave.

Nomocan. MS.
 p. 74. 75.

Turco-Grac. p.
 27.

Nomocan. p.
 566. c.
 part 1. p. 8. b.

I will conclude with an *Absolatory Prayer* which is to be said (over the *Head of any one who designs to take the holy Communion*) by the *Prelate, or Confessor or Priest*. O Lord *Jesus Christ*, our God, as also thou *Word of the living God*. Κύριε ἰησοῦ χριστέ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὡς καὶ λόγε τῷ θεῷ—αὐτὸς ἀνέ-
 ἄρας, συγχώρησον τὰς ἀμαρτίας, —Release, Remit, Forgive the *Sins and Iniquities* which have been committed by thy *Servant, N. N.* then is repeated a long Catalogue of *Sins*, of at least thirty or forty lines, and immediately follow.

follow, *from all these and the like grievous things, deliver thy Servant, N. N.* T. P. 313.
O Lord thou lover of Men—have Mercy and Pardon him all;—for this,
ἄθλιος, wretch hath in the presence of thy Kingdom confest that he hath
done these and many more; and for thy Mercy hear me thy Servant;—and
make him heir of the Eternal good things with all those who have ever pleased
thee; and count him worthy, ἀκατακρίτως, uncondemned to partake of thy
dreadfull Mysteries; for thou hast said, O Lord, what things soever ye
shall bind on Earth, &c. for thou only art without Sin, and art able to
remit Sins, and to thee, πέποις, belong Glory, Honour and Worship, &c.
for ever and ever, Amen. Who made this Prayer I know not, but by the
 Stile and words it is undoubtedly antient, for the phrase is all old accurate Scho-
 lastick Greek, and it is purely after *Chrysostom's* way, and without mention of
 the Virgin Mary's *Intercessions*; but here are all the Sins reckon'd up which we
 find in the Catalogues above mention'd out of my *Canonaria*, and therefore I
 cannot think it so old as *Chrysostom*; yet it seems to be a far better way of
 managing Confessions then those I have noted above, all those Sins being par-
 ticularly set down here, and the Confessor prays for *the Penitents Absolution*
 from them and all such like; which may suit with all Capacities, as well those
 who are able to recount their Sins, as those of meanest understanding. I que-
 stion not but that this very Prayer hath been and is yet of common use with
 those that have it; though some Confessors may have some other, or perhaps,
 as I have said, a peculiar one of their own. And here I cannot but again take
 Notice, that Christ's words, *whose Sins you remit, &c.* seem plainly to be
 Interpreted by them, as if the Apostles were order'd thereby only to pray for
God's Absolution, and not to pretend to any of their own; nay, the Confessor
 here is obliged to pray for himself, *that God in Mercy would hear him, and so*
Absolve the Penitent, knowing that his Prayer would do the Penitent no good,
if God heard him not, much less would *his own Absolution* signify any thing.
 My Venetian *Confessionary* upbraids the Greeks for their carelessness, and not
 coming to their Confessor some good time before they receive the Communion,
 but they stay, saith the Author, *almost to the last hour*; If a Penitent hath
 well examin'd himself before and solemnly resolved to repent, and comes with
 a sorrowfull and sincere heart *that very day, nay that very hour*, when he in-
 tends to Communicate, and begs his Confessor to pray for him, surely this Pray-
 er (which is a very excellent and fervent one) on these previous conditions, *de-*
voutly said over him, will be a very good Preparation for his coming to the
 Lord's Table.

Chrysostom's absolutionary Prayer is without all dispute *confessedly Genuine*;
 but these other are of later dates, and of different compositions, yet all, as I
 have noted, are purely, and only, *deprecatory Absolutions*. I thought it
 would be too large a task to set them all entirely down, and therefore I only
 took out of them the most material Expressions, which I have done most faith-
 fully, without concealing or altering any thing which might seem to favour the
 Latins; I must confess I believe that they may have been by degrees depraved (as
 most things else amongst the Greeks have manifestly been,) and perhaps by La-
 tin Emissaries they have been blended by little and little in favour of their Cause;
 my reason is this, because I find (in them, especially) that *Goar* (who once
 lived amongst them) upon every occasion almost Sophisticate and play tricks
 with the Greeks Custom and Constitutions, that they may give them a Latin
 Countenance and Complexion. I have that Prayer for a dead Man Excommu-
 nicated, which *Goar* gives us; in his after, συγχώρησον αὐτῷ, *Pardon him*, T. P. 314.
 are crowded in, δι' ἐμῆ τῆ ἀμαρτωλῆ καὶ ἀναξίου δέλου σε, *by me a Sinner and* P. 685.
thy unworthy Servant, and many other things which are not in mine. So
 in another which is to be said by the Confessor, after, συγχώρων αὐτῷ, *Par-* Nomoc. P. 79.
doning him, is cramp't in, δι' ἐμῆ τῆ ἀναξίου δέλου σε, *by me thy unworthy Ser-* P. 677.
vant, which is not in my old Copy; and I shrewdly suspect these words in MS. P. 1. P.
 the Prayer quoted out of *Allatius's MS.* διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀναξιώτητος, *by my Un-* 23. b.
 P P worthiness,

T. p. 314. *worthiness*, have been in like manner patcht in. However he is so ingenious
 p. 680. as to confess that in the Prayer, ὁ Θεός, ὁ συγχωρήσας Δαβὶδ, *O Lord who didst
 pardon David*, after συγχωρήσῃ σοι, *may Pardon thee*, the words δι' ἐμῆς ἀμαρ-
 τωῆς, *by me a Sinner*, are added, for in his notes upon the place, he owns
 that they are not found in any MS or Printed Copies; and unawares he there
 discovers the Mystery of all this; it is to hook in the *Priest's Authority to
 Absolve*, and his pretended *judiciary Power*, as if he had received it from
 God. So in his notes he would tack τὸ ἄνω, ἄφες, *Release, Remit, Forgive*,
 p. 676. δι' ἐμῆς, *by me*; and instead of, τῷ λόγῳ λυθῆναι, *to be dissolved by thy word*,
 (thy fiat,) he would read it, τῷ λόγῳ μου, *by my word*; and it is ten to one
 that there may be by this time some Copies found with those readings. Yet if
 we should grant that, δι' ἐμῆς, *by me*, was Authentick and Genuine; nay, that
 it was in all these Prayers, I do not see how yet he would gain his point there-
 by; for, *by me*, must plainly then signify no more then, *Pardon him or Ab-
 solve him by my Prayers*, O God, which I beg of thee *in Mercy to hear*.
 p. 676. This is far enough from, ego te Absolvo, *I absolve thee*. When he had con-
 fess, that this Form, *I absolve thee*, is not five hundred years old, it is won-
 derfull to see how he there shuffles and stretch his Wits to make these *Absoluto-
 ry Prayers* of the Greeks and that Latin Form all one. So as to these Expres-
 sions, ἔχω σε συγχωρημένον, *I hold you Pardon'd*, and, in vulgar Greek, ἀς εἶσαι
 συγχωρημένον, *by you*, or may you be, *Pardon'd*, (which are meer Forms of
 his own devising, and used by no Greek that I could observe or hear of,) he
 would have them be perfectly the same with this, *I Pardon*, that is, *Absolve*
 you. He there commends the Greeks modesty in administering the Sacrament,
 for their using the passive Voice thus, the *Servant of God*, Ν. Ν. βαπτίζεται,
is Baptized, χρίεται, *is Anointed*, and the like, ne minister eorum Authorita-
 tis quicquam circa illa sibi irroget, *least he*, saith he, *who administers the Sa-
 craments should take upon himself*, or arrogate to himself, *any Authority
 from them*. And he praises the Prelates meek condescension, in not saying blunt-
 ly, *I hold you Pardon'd*, but *my Humility* or *my Meanness* hold you Pardon'd.
 It would have been well if he could have produced some such authentick Forms
 (out of the Euchologium or elsewhere) as, *my Humility, my Meanness, hold
 you Pardon'd*, or doth Pardon you; I never met with any thing like it, except
 that one which, I have fairly given you above; and in it is twice written,
 συγχωρήσει, in the future tense, *our Humility will Pardon*; but if (as in a
 T. p. 315. hundred places of that MS and in common pronuntiation amongst the present
 Greeks, εἰ, *ey*, and, αἰ, *ay*, and η, *ee*, are promiscuously used one for the other,
 and sounded, as E.) If, I say, the word should be read συγχωρήσαι *synchorese*
 in the optative mood, it would be purely *deprecativè*, *may our humility Par-
 don you*; and the Sense would be then clear and entire, *may our humility Par-
 don you by the Grace given to it*; and again, *may our Humility Pardon you
 through the Infinite Compassion of the great God, &c. and moreover it prays,*
 (that is, I pray) *for you, &c.*

Ut supra.

Lab. T. 14.
316. c.

676.

Medul. de Pœ-
nit. l. 6. c. 1.
d. 1.

I shall with Goar most heartily commend the *Modesty*, shall I say, or rather
 the *Reverence* of the Greeks in this Point of *Absolution*; I wish I could do
 as much for the Latins. The Greeks humbly pray to God (to whom alone
 it belongs) *to forgive their Penitents*; The Latins arrogate that Power to
 themselves, and erect a *Judiciary Court* and boldly pretend to Christ's Com-
 mission for it. Yet it is very observable how the Latins differ amongst them-
 selves, in this point. The Council of Trent positively make the words, *I ab-
 solve thee*, the very Form of this pretended Sacrament, in qua præcipuè ejus vis
 sita est, *in which the Power, or Efficacy, of it is chiefly placed*; Prayers
 may be added, but they are not any ways *Essential* or *Necessary* to the *Ad-
 ministration* of it. The Greeks are for Prayers only, or for begging *Absolu-
 tion* from God alone. Goar tells us, *I hold you Absolved, or be you Absol-
 ved*, is all one with, *I Absolve you*. Busenbaum makes, *Absolvo te, I Ab-
 solve thee*, the only Form; and saith that this, *Absolvat te Christus*, may
 Christ

Christ Absolve thee, (and by consequence all those other Prayers of the Greeks ^{T. p. 315.} above mention'd) non valent, *signify nothing*. Arcudius (who sets up for ^{l. 4. de Concord. Occid. & Orient. l. 4. p. 434. b.} another Reconciler of the two Churches) makes a wonderfull puzzling about this Matter. He owns that the Greeks have a *Form of Absolution*, but reckoning up many, he knows not well which to fix upon. He confesseth *that they have no set common Form, and therefore he exhorts them to pitch upon one, and insert it into their Euchologion or Common Prayer-Book*. At last he propounds this, *as in his Judgment most certain or probable, I hold thee* ^{p. 428. b.} *Pardon'd, or Absolved*, which with him is all one with, *I Pardon, or I Absolve*. First how shall we Reconcile these Reconcilers? Can Dosithens and his Synod say that the Greeks and Latins hold or observe this pretended Sacrament alike; when (as Arcudius rightly observe) *the deprecatory Absolution* (which I have shewn above to be in general use amongst the Greeks, and is alone own'd to be right by those great Men Cabasilas and Marcus Eugenius, as Arcudius himself confesseth,) *quite destroys the judiciary Sentence of the* ^{p. 407. b.} *Latin Priest*? Therefore Arcudius allows their Form only in the Indicative, *I hold thee Absolved*, to make it agree with the Latin, *I Absolve thee*; But for one such example which he shall produce, there are *deprecatory* ones enough, as I have shewn above. He instances in two Forms for the Phrase, *ἔχω σε συγχωρημένον, I hold thee Pardon'd*, or *ἔχω σε ἀφορισμένον, I hold thee Excommunicated*. The first is an Excommunication of Pachomius out of Crusius. But ^{Turco-Gre. p. 149. T. p. 316.} that was plainly, *μετὰ τῆς ἱεράς αὐτῆς συνόδου*, not from himself alone, but *by the Authority of a Synod with him*, and therefore it speaks, *ὅπως ἐν ἁγίῳ ἀποφαινόμεθα πνεύματι, We, in the Plural,* *thus decree in the Holy Ghost*; and *ἔχομεν, we hold them Pardon'd*, as it is the Sentence of the whole Synod. Then as for the Phrase, (notwithstanding all his long Criticisms there) *ἔχω* and *ἔχομεν*, may very properly there be rendred, *our meanness declare or pronounce him; we declare him Excommunicated*, that is, *by the Authority of the Synod, or I in their name declare him so*; not that I, by my self or my own Power and Authority, do this or that; or it may be only, *I take him I look upon him or count him to be such*; as in his own example, *ἔχω σε ἀκωνώητον, I look upon you as a dangerous Man, or not fit for company*. As for his second example out of Crusius, *our meanness, ἔχει, declares Zygomata Pardon'd*, can signify ^{p. 431. p. 103.} no more then the expected Fruits of his Prayer for him, for it is called in the Title, *συγχωρητικὴ εὐχή, an Absolutory Prayer, in which the Prelate begs for τὰ σωτήρια, those things which belongs to the Penitents Salvation, and, καθάρσει, admonish him, or direct him, after the old Primitive way*. And therefore that in Crusius ends thus, *ὅσα καὶ διὰ λήθην, whatever things (that is, Sins) he hath left unconfessed by forgetfulness, or through shame, κακῶνα συγχωρησαι αὐτῷ ὁ ἐλεήμων Θεός, may the Mercifull God forgive even those also*. This, which is the Praying part, Arcudius hath craftily left out; that the Prelate might alone have the Glory of it. Now either in this Prayer (as it truly stands in Crusius) Absolution is beg'd and to be received from God alone, or else the Prelate may pretend to claim some part of it, and beg the other of God; but neither way will consist with the Latin *judiciary Sentence* of the Priest; unless a Man will be so blasphemously bold, as with Arcudius to say, that a Priest ^{p. 424. a.} in this case hath such a transcendent *Judiciary Authority*, as, *Deo optimo imperat he commands the good God himself to obey him*. But it is plain that this way of *Praying for God's Absolution* was in Common use, from the account of it which Patriarch Jeremiah gave to the German Divines about *Confession and Absolution*. ^{Resp. 1. p. 87i} First the Confessors were to press the Penitent, and strictly enquire into his *true Contrition and Repentance*; and then, saith he, (almost in the very words of Crusius,) *ὅσα δὲ διὰ λήθην, whatsoever things he may have left unconfessed through forgetfulness or shame, εὐχόμεθα τῷ ἐλεήμονι καὶ πανοικτίρμονι Θεῷ καὶ ταῦτα συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτῷ, we pray to the Mercifull and All-compassionate God, that these also may be forgiven him*; which is as if he had said, *as we pray for the forgiveness of what he Confesseth, so we pray for the forgiveness of these also*. Goar seems not to have thought either of these

T. p. 316.
P. 434.

p. 421. a.

T. p. 317.

415.

P. 415.

416. a.

Lomb. l. 4. dist.
18. §. E. in fin.
§. F. Goar. p.
680.

Forms or that, (which *Arcudius* quotes out of *Gabr. Philadelph.*) fit for his purpose; else he, who had read *Arcudius*, would have certainly inserted them all in his notes upon the Euchologion. *Arcudius* mentions several objections out of the Fathers, which directly justify the Greeks *Deprecatory Absolution*; which he could not answer, and therefore after his tedious way he only shuffles them off. It is plain by what he quotes out of *Dionysius Arcopag.* that in those days, they pray'd for the Absolution of Penitents, and of Persons who died Excommunicated; and Prelates (as *Arcudius* is so far in the right,) are in a double Capacity, first of *Ministring from God to the People*, next from the People to God; In the first, they Baptize, Communicate, Preach, Rebuke, Comfort their Flock and the like; In the second they offer up the Peoples Prayers and Thanksgivings to God, and both publicly and Privately Pray to him for them, particularly as their several occasions require; and thus this Praying for their Forgiveness is not only their Capacity, but their Duty. Thus far the Office also of every Priest is extended; but a Prelate's Authority reaches yet farther, to Ordain, Confirm, to Excommunicate notorious Offenders, to restore the Penitent to the Church again; and all this and the like belong properly only to the Living; but if any one pretends to Absolve or Restore the Dead, it must be done by Prayer alone; and yet for that, I see neither Authority from Scripture nor truly primitive Practice.

Next he cites *St. Ambrose*; Men contribute their Ministry towards the Remission of Sins, but they do not exercise a Right of any Power, for Sins are forgiven not in their Name, but in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Men pray, or ask; Divinity, or God, grants. Instead of answering this, he plainly owns it to be *St. Ambrose* his meaning, Men ask and pray, God grants; that is, saith he, Sacerdotes de suo nihil aliud interponere posse quam Preces. Priests can interpose nothing of their own, but Prayers; but, I Absolve thee, surely is not a Prayer, but all their own.

Then he plainly shews that in *St. Augustin's* time the Priest pray'd for the Absolution of the Penitent laying their hand upon him, and that, I Absolve thee, could not then be used. To answer this he quotes another place of the same Father, which really is more fully against him. *Augustin* rebukes a sort of haughty Hereticks for taking the Power of Absolution upon themselves, saying, Ego Dimitto, Ego Mundo, Ego Sanctifico, I Forgive, I Cleanse, I Sanctify; he tells them it is not they or their Merits but only the Holy Ghost which forgive Sins. The good Father seems to me by a Prophetick Spirit to have foreseen the present Pride and Arrogance of Rome, and here to have condemn'd it; for is it not the same spiritual Pride for a Latin Priest to say, I Absolve thee, as it was for one of those Hereticks to say, I Forgive, I Cleanse, I Sanctify.

Lastly, out of *Leo the Great*, God ordain'd his Will, or Testament, ut non nisi Supplicationibus sacerdotum Indulgentia peccatore obtineri potest, that Pardon of Sins should not any ways be obtained, but by the Supplications of the Priests. He shuffles this off with a Scholastism of Bonaventure, these Supplications contain a true judicial Form; which to me seems a plain Contradiction, that the Priest should at the same time, and in the same case, give his own Absolution as a Judge, and yet beg the same Absolution from a Superior as his Suppliant.

Give me leave here to advance a Notion of my own, which I hope may clear up many Questions and seeming Difficulties, if not quite determine the whole Point of Absolution in Controversy between us. Absolution from Sin, truly and properly so called (as is own'd by all) can be had from none but God alone. I say then that such true real Absolution is to be expected and obtained but once; and that will only be at the general day of Judgment. I do not here speak of Absolving of those who offend against the Doctrine or Discipline of the Church, that is, taking off any of its Censures laid upon living Persons; But I speak of Absolution only from the Guilt and Punishment of Sins in general

ral committed by us in this Life, *against God, our Neighbour, or our Selves*; from these I say there is *no real or final Absolution* to be expected untill the general Day of Judgment. That saying of a wise Heathen, *no Man is Happy before his Death*, is every good Christian's case. Our Life to its very end is but one probation State; we must not serve God by fits, but *we must be always Praying with all Prayer and Supplication, and we must be watching thereunto with all Perseverance*, to the day of our Death; and from thence we are still in the hands of God alone, and, (as I may so speak,) as it were *Suspended*, and waiting for the last Sentence of the Supreme Judge, who will then *Absolve and Acquit us*, or else *Condemn us*. See the great Apostle St. Paul makes it not only his own but every good Christian's State and Condition. *I have Fought a good Fight*, saith he. *I have finished my Course, I have kept the Faith*, (here is the cheerfull Testimony of a good Conscience, which every true Christian must surely know to himself better then the wisest Confessor can tell him) *Henceforth there is laid up for me a Crown of Righteousness*, (there is his Faith) *which the Lord the righteous Judge shall give me at that day, and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing*; Here is his and our firm hope of our *Absolution* by the last *judicial Sentence* of God, which will not be pronounced till that day; And therefore certainly the Apostle did not in this World desire, or would accept of any Priest's *formal and insignificant Absolution*, no not of the great St. Peter himself, but Patiently and Cheerfully (as we all ought to do by his Example) waited for that Day, of his and our last Account.

Now I must ask this Question here, if a Priest or Confessor is so hardy as to say boldly and without condition or reserve, *I Absolve thee from all thy Sins*; (let it be at the hour of Death or when it will) whether he doth not plainly Anticipate the Work of the day of Judgment, and take the *Judicial Sentence*, (from the Mouth of the true and only Judge) and arrogate it to himself? If the Priest really and thoroughly *Absolve* him, God hath no more to do with him at that great day; but if he be still *suspended*, or obliged to appear before the *Judgment-Seat of Christ* to receive Sentence for what he hath done in his Body, he is yet in his guilty Sinfull State, and the Priest's Absolution, if it signifies any thing, can be but Conditional; *If all at the last day proves right in the Eyes of that great searcher of Hearts*; that is, *if your Contrition, Confession, Repentance, appear sincere*; Or as Christ in his Cures said, *according to your Faith, so the Priest can say no more really than this, according to your sincere Repentance, so be it unto you*. Our Absolution in the Visitation of the Sick is no otherwise then thus *Hypothetically* or *Conditionally* made; The Minister supposing (as the Sick Person *humbly and heartily desires it*) that he *truly Repents and believes in Christ* (they are the very words in the Form as Christ's Commission) *by his Authority* upon this Condition *Absolves him*, or pronounces him Absolved; and upon the very same supposal, of his *true Repentance, his Contrition, his Faith, or full trust in God's Mercy*, he prays for *God's Eye of Mercy upon him, and that his former Sins might not be imputed to him* (therefore he was not by the Form *judicially and positively Absolved*) and that at the hour of Death he might be taken into *God's Favour*. All this therefore plainly shew that our Church of England do not think that her Priests do *judicially and definitively Absolve* her Penitents, but only *Conditionally* declare them so, *upon their true Contrition and Repentance*, which is only *Preaching* to them still as hath been said.

Consonant to this notion of mine are all the *absolatory Prayers* in the Greek Church. First for the state of the Dead; though the Greeks absolutely renounce and laugh at the Latins Purgatory, yet they do own a middle State; that when a Man dies he is in some measure *happy or miserable*, but shall not receive his *Doom* or final Sentence, or be compleated in either Condition till that *last day of Judgment*; and therefore they pray for the Dead, not that God would *Absolve* them now, but that he would have Mercy upon them then; as

we

T. P. 317.

T. P. 318.

Eph. 6. 18.

2 Tim. 4. 7, 8.

2 Cor. 5. 10.

T. P. 319.

T. p. 319. we Pray and Wish for a Criminal in Prison, that he may find Mercy at his Tryal before the Judge, but in the mean time we cannot help him. Hence we have in their *Eucholog.* again and again in their Prayers for the Dead, that God would have Mercy on them, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως, in the day of Judgment, ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ, in Christ's second coming, and most remarkable is that Prayer to the Virgin Mary at the Funeral of a Priest, that she would never cease to pray for him, ὅπως εὖ ἐν ἀφ᾽ ἑσθῆτος τῶν πταισμάτων ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως, that he may find Absolution, in the day of Judgment, of his Offences. The same custom of *Absolatory Prayers* is all over the East. The Armenians use it at their Graves; so do the Jews; so the Turks not only pray for their deceased Friends, but for *Hazaret Isah, the Prophet Jesus*, and amongst others for *Mahomet himself*, that God would Consummate them all in Glory; as only attending for that to be done at the last day.

572.

Lomb. ex August. l. 4. dist. 14. §. A. p. m. 412.

Regg. fufius disp. interrog. 37. p. 479. 480.

Busenb. Medul. l. 5. c. 1. d. 3. art. 2. p. m. 368. p. 438. b. Pl. 51. 3. Ut supr. c. 21.

c. 30. T. p. 320.

And this my notion of *Absolution* is still more clear from the very Nature of *Repentance*, which must go before it. True *Repentance* is not a Momentary fit or two, but from the first stroke or beginning must be one continued Act throughout a Man's whole Life. From the first Conviction of Conscience, or Remorse, for the committing of any Sin, our true Sorrow for it with our Amendment must be renewed every day, and our Hatred of it must every hour encrease and constantly tend to perfection; The Beginning and Progress and Perseverance in this new State of Life to the very hour of Death, is all but one entire Act of *Repentance*; See *Basil's* direction for our addresses to God in all the hours of Prayer. As the Life of a wicked Man from his first committing of some grievous Sin, till he hath enslaved himself to it, and made it habitual to him, and at last it is become in a manner his very Nature, as all this is counted as one continued Course of defiance to God and his Commands; So if his Heart by the wonderfull Power of God should be then prickt with true Contrition, and he becomes by degrees at last a perfect Convert (suppose a Preaching Paul, from a Persecuting Saul,) all this last part of his Life, from the first stroke upon his awaken'd Conscience, to the finishing of his whole Course, is but one continued Fight, one continued Act of *Repentance* and new Obedience. And all this is allowed by *Goar* when it seems to make for his purpose. This was the Practice of David, *I acknowledge my Transgressions and my Sin is ever before me*; And this is the Instruction and Direction of *Theodulphus* in his *Capitular*, we must be often in Prayer, and in it we must daily Confess our past Sins to God with Tears and Groans; we must be always amending our lives. And again, we ought every day in our Prayer to Confess our Sins to God either once or twice, or as much oftner as we can. If now our *Repentance* is, *Res de ambulatoria*, a thing that must be always going on, if it must be daily continued with Perseverance and without interruption, and cannot be said to be Ended, Perfect, or Compleat till the hour of our Death; what room then can there be for *Absolution* in the mean time, when our *Repentance* is Imperfect and Unfinished? Will a Priest Absolve his Penitent at his first Confession? He may perhaps have done his Penance, but as yet he hardly hath begun his Course of Newness of Life. Then if he trips or falls again, he is Absolved again; and these proceedings are repeated again and again; can any Priest think really in his heart, that every one of these *Absolutions* fully Pardon'd him and clear'd him from all his Sins to the very moment when they were given? Shall not the searcher of all Hearts call him to another account at the great Day? What then doth these petty *Absolutions* signify now? *Chrysostom's* method is far otherwise. A Penitent may all along repair to his Spiritual Father, and acquaint him with his present Condition, how he goes on in his new Course of Amendment and Obedience; and may receive his constant Directions and Prayers to Almighty God, not only for his Assistance to him in this great Work of *Repentance*, but also for his Pardon and Absolution at the last Day. This sort of treating a Penitent is plainly prescribed by the Primitive Fathers and by Christ himself, and is very intel-

intelligible and obvious to every Pious and well considering Man; But for the Priest, time after time, to *Absolve him*, that is, *Pardon him and Forgive him* all his then past Sins and Trespases against God; and that only upon his own Narration or Confession (for the Priest knows nothing of the matter more then this,) I say this seems to me as absurd as if a Steward should in the name of his Master give Acquittances and full Discharges to the Tenants meely upon their own word, when he knows nothing either of the real Rents which they are to pay; or of the Repairs which are done or ought to have been done; or of what Deductions and Allowances are to be made; the Landlord having the Lease lockt up and secretly kept and known only to himself; will not a wise Master or Landlord in such a case strictly examine the whole Account himself, and never allow what his ignorant Steward hath carelessly done.

It is the Doctrine and Custom of the Latins, that a Penitent having confest a Sin and been once *Absolved* from it, need not any more repeat that Confession to his Confessor. It was the Opinion of their grand Master of the Sentences, *Sufficit ubi crimen occultum est Soli Deo per Sacerdotem dicere, & semel.* *When a Sin is hidden, or secret, it is enough to tell it to God alone by a Priest, and that once;* and it is also in their Catechism as I have mention'd it before. I pray God many Thousands do not split upon this blind Rock; and when they are once *Absolved by the Priest, with the Adulterous Woman they do not Eat and Drink securely and wipe their Mouth and say, we have done no Wickedness.* I am sure most are perswaded that then all is well, and they never think of it more. I remember at Rome on an Easter-day several of us Protestants were met together, and one of our Countrymen, (a Papist but a very honourable Gentleman) came in and in a very odd kind of droling yet seemingly serious way he said, *Well, good People, I am grieved at my very heart to think that so many Sweet, good natured, worthy Persons, should die in their Sins and go to the Devil as Heriticks; I bless God I have been Confest and done my Penance in Lent, and have been Absolved, and have this day eaten the Lord's Body, and am now as free from all my Sins, as I was at the day of my Birth.* A pleasant Friend of his more intimate acquaintance, said, *well, well, honest Lad, it is ten to one but you will begin a new score in a day or two;* Quoth he, *it may be so, but in our Church we have a Remedy for that, for want of which you are all lost.* It is plain that he had not set Penitent David's example before him, *Repeating the acknowledgment of his Sins, διὰ παντός,* again and again continually; I much question whether his *Absolution* and his *Eating the Passover* that day had quite Purg'd out the old Leaven of Sin. Chrysostom's method of Confession plainly tends to the main end, the *Purging of Mens Consciences from dead works to serve the living God;* But the way of the Latins is a meer Opiate to lull them asleep; Their easing of them only for the present must certainly either harden them, or make them careless, and seemingly secure, *crying to themselves Peace, Peace, when, God knows, there is no Peace.* Besides all this, their Confessions and Absolutions are too too often made a meer Jest or piece of Mockery; I am very loath too much to discover the blots of an Enemy, (as a great Man hath Phrased it) yet I must take leave to relate one passage more amongst many others which I could add of my own knowledge. Some Priests of my Acquaintance, in the Carnival, had been all night, *Fratres in Malo, Companions in Lewdness and Debauchery;* but notwithstanding this, next Morning they all went, and, as usual, said every one their Mass *very Devoutly;* An hour after a Gentleman in our Company slightly but merrily told them of it; *Oh!* said one of them (by way of Excuse,) *but we first Confest and Absolved our selves, before we went to the Altar;* and there it ended. I suppose they meant the formal and mutual Confession and Absolution of the Priests, which they have prescribed, *In the Order of the Mass,* before they go to say it.

T. p. 320.

l. 4. dist. 17.

s. F.

p. 266.

T. p. 321.

1. Cor. 5. 7.
Heb. 9. 14.

Sandy's Surveys

I shall Edit. Ant. 1631.
p. 255.

T. P. 321.

l. 4. dist. 18
S. F.

T. p. 322.

Resp. 1. p. 130.

De Pœnit. l. 1.
c. 6. p. 385. D.

I sholl now a little farther shew the Absurdity of the Latins pretended *Absolution*. All their Schoolmen, after their great Master, tell us that both *binding and loosing*. Clave errante (as they call it) if either be made by mistake, that is, when the supposed Sinner or Penitent doth deserve neither, they signify nothing, and do the Persons really neither Good nor Harm. Now I must ask this Question, how can a Priest certainly know the real qualification or the true Condition of his Penitent? If he cannot be certain of this, he must *Absolve him*, or rather declare him *Absolved*, only upon Supposition or Conjecture; *I have a good Opinion that your Repentance is sincere, and hope that you will persevere to your lives end, and according to the Truth of this, in the All-seeing Eyes of God, so be it unto you*; Or upon this Condition I do assure you in the Name and upon the Word of God, you shall be *Absolved* in the last dreadfull day. Yet still *this Opinion* of the Priest is in it self at best fallible and uncertain; all that he can do herein, is to declare to him *the Condition and the Promise of the Gospel*. Will any Latin Confessor be so bold as to say to his Penitent, *I Absolve thee at a venture, right or wrong*? I suppose not; then he must in his own heart still *Absolve* him only by conjecture and guess; but this uncertain *Absolution* can have no real effect, for if he gueses right, *the true Absolution of the Sinner* is reserved still to only God himself till the last day; if he mistakes and gueses amiss, his *Absolution* is both Wicked and Vain; both ways he arrogantly invades God's sole Prerogative; whereas, (what I call *Chrysostom's Method*,) *Counseling, Directing, Comforting, encouraging the Penitent, strengthening his Faith, and supporting his Hopes, by setting before him God's infallible Promises of Forgiveness or real Absolution to every Sinner who sincerely Repent*; this, I say, is the only *Duty*, τὸ ἐπιμελεσμένον τῆς ψυχῆς, of a true and carefull Confessor. We are very truly told by Lombard, that many Priests have not, Clavem Discretionis, the Key of Discretion, that is they want Knowledge and that peircing Spirit of Wildom to Judge rightly of Mens spiritual Conditions; and by consequence if they venture to *Absolve* they must often *mistake* or be *deceived*; How then can these Men take upon them to say positively, *I Absolve thee*. And therefore here again I cannot but take notice that the weighty Office of a Ghostly Father requires such Men only as are truly Pious, Judicious and Discreet; Men able to examine Mens Lives, and wisely penetrate into their present Spiritual State; Thus by the Latins own account few of their Priests are able to take Confessions; but all are uncapable *positively* to *Absolve* from what I have said. The Greek Patriarch *Jeremiah* was plainly of this Opinion; *First the Penitent must thoroughly examine and sincerely reveal the secrets of his Heart, not to every one, but only to such as are able, διακρίνειν, to work, or direct him in, his Cure*; then concerning his *Absolution*, he quotes these words from *Basil*; Ἐξουσία τῷ ἀφέναι ἐκ ἀπολύτως δέδοται, ἀλλ' ἐν ὑπακοῇ τῷ μετανοῶντι καὶ συμφωνίᾳ πρὸς τὸν ἐπιμελόμενον αὐτῷ τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ ἀληθῆ μετάνοιαν ἐνδείξάμενον, μετάνοια δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ ποιεῖν. *The Power of remitting of Sins is not given Absolutely, but upon the obedience of the Penitent, and upon his observance of his Ghostly Father's Counsel, and his shewing his own true Repentance; but his Repentance is to do those Sins no more*. Here is *Absolution* declared, not to be Positive, but only Conditional; *if the Penitent obeys and strictly follows his Confessor's advice and directions; if he truly Repents, and Sin no more to his lives end*; But how can any Confessor possibly know all this, *so assuredly and fully to be performed*, as that he (even upon that account) might *absolve him*, ἀπολύτως, *Absolutely and without reserve*? *This knowledge* (as the same Patriarch elsewhere saith,) εἰς γνῶμιν καὶ τὰς ἀμαρτήσαντας, *is lodged in the Sinner's own Breast*, but is thoroughly Manifest to none but God himself. Therefore here I cannot but take notice of that Passage in *Bellarmino*, ex evangelio Fides illa, *that Faith whereby any one may certainly believe to himself that his Sins are forgiven him, cannot be conceived, or gathered, from the Gospel; because he cannot learn from thence*

thence, whether he hath true Repentance or no, we may, saith he, and we ought to hope that God will be Mercifull to us, but certainly to believe it, as we certainly believe the Articles of our Faith, is meer folly. But if the Penitent himself cannot certainly tell whether he truly Repents or no, how shall the Confessor know it? All that he can know must come from the Penitent, but how shall he believe the Penitent, in what the Penitent do not know himself. In this Point I find St. Basil much different from the Cardinal, (though I have quoted the words before to another purpose, yet I must beg leave to repeat them again as very proper here,) for he in at least two or three several places shews us how we may to our selves be certain or assured of God's Pardon and Forgiveness. He propounds this Question, πῶς πληροφορηθῇ ἡ ψυχὴ ὅτι ἀφῆκεν αὐτῇ ὁ Θεὸς ἁμαρτήματα, and again, ὅτι τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων χαθάρσεται; How a Soul may be fully assured that God hath Remitted or Forgiveness her Sins; and again, that she is Cleansed from her Sins; to which he answers, If a Man finds himself disposed like David, who said, I hate and abhor, ἀδικίαν, Iniquity, or Falseness, but thy Law do I love; If he hath with St. Paul mortified his Members which are upon the Earth. If he can say, a Froward Heart shall depart from me, I will not know a Wicked Person. Γνωρίζει δὲ τις, and any one knows that he is thus well disposed, if towards Sinners he is with David and Paul touched with the like Pity mixt with Horror and Uneasiness, ὅταν ἐν, whensoever therefore, saith he, any one perceives or finds his own Soul thus affected either as to his own Sins or to the Sins of other Men, τότε πληροφορηθῇ, then let him be full assured, or confident, that his Sins are remitted, or that he is purified from them. And in his Answer to the next Interrogation, he prescribes the sixth Psalm for our Direction in our return from our Sins, which in a manner includes the very same notes of a Sinner's assurance of Pardon, as are here above mention'd; Constant Prayer for Mercy; Sorrow, Trouble, and Mourning for his own Sins; Avoiding all sinfull Company and Conversation, or not partaking of other Mens Sins. St. Basil's assurance from David and St. Paul is also fully confirm'd by that of St. John, If our Heart condemn us not, we have, παρρησίαν, fiduciam, confidence towards God. If in any thing a Man strictly examines himself and find his Conscience clear, he may boldly conclude that his way is right before God; and if a Man can certainly believe that Article of Faith, the Forgiveness of Sins in general, I see no reason but that upon a clear Testimony of his Conscience, he may as well and as certainly believe his own Forgiveness in particular; for it is only Conviction of Conscience that begets Belief in both alike. But after all if any one will Cavil, and say, no Man can be certainly assured of any moral Article in his Mind, for Man's Heart is deceitfull above all things; however thus much I think is clear, that the Penitent in this Point can be more certainly and fully assured, then the Confessor; The Testimony of his own Conscience, that he sincerely Repents and forsakes all his Sins, shall not only Comfort him more, but do him more good without the Priest's Absolution, then the Priest's Absolution can do without that. Moreover it is very plain that the Confessor can by no means be certain, how then (as I have before noted) can his Absolution be certain or effectual, when he knows not whether the Penitent hath truly Confest or not. God himself promiseth no Pardon, but upon Condition; how then can an Ignorant Confessor, give it Absolutely? Suppose the Penitent saith, I have done this, and that, and other grievous Sins; my Confessor will seriously tell him, that even God himself without his true Repentance will not Pardon him; nay, by the Terms of the Gospel he cannot forgive a Rebellious impenitent Sinner; He tells my Confessor, I do heartily Repent and perfectly Hate and for ever will forsake my Sins, and do so no more; the reply can be no more then this, my Son, be it unto thee according to the Truth of what thou sayest, and I do assure thee it will be so at the last day.

T. p. 324.
l. 4. dist. 18.
§. F.
p. 251.

Lev. 13. & 14.

Mat. 16. 19.
Tom. 6. p. m.
33.

14. 1. &c.

Pet. Lombard, as I have noted before, was very clear and very positive to our purpose in this Point; and though in a manner the whole herd of Schoolmen have since left him, and though his Opinion is taxed in the Margin of his Books in Print, by some later busy Scribler, as, *Gravis Lapsus, a grievous Mistake*, yet it is plain that in *Lombard's* days it was counted (by himself at least) current and Orthodox Doctrine. Therefore I will here more fully set it down and more narrowly consider it. *Ita operatur sacerdos Evangelicus, the business of a Priest under the Gospel*, saith he, *in loosing and retaining of Sins, is like that of the Priest under the Law; they only judged and pronounced a Leper, who was brought unto them, clean or unclean as they found him; so he considers the Condition of his Penitent and shew him how his Case is Hopeful or Desperate.* And this, I fancy, was the first aim or use of the Canons, to express what Sins were of a high Nature, and what were of a lower Degree; and accordingly thence arose the Priest's *Counsel* to him and *Prayers* for him. Next the Master there shews that *St. Jerom* expounded *Christ's words of binding and loosing* to the very same Sense. Only that good Father seems as it were by a Prophetick Spirit to foresee and condemn the Roman Arrogance and Pride which followed; *For some Men*, saith he, (*St. Jerom's words are, Episcopi & Presbyteri, Bishops and Presbyters,*) *not understanding this place, aliquid sumunt de Supercilio Phariseorum, take upon them something of the Pharisees Haughtiness, and think that they can condemn the Innocent and acquit the Guilty, when with God not the Sentence of the Priests but the Life of the Guilty is sought for.* In *Leviticus* the *Lepers* are Commanded to shew themselves to the Priests, whom they neither make *Lepers* nor *Clean*, but discern, or distinguish who are *Clean* or *Unclean*. The Master goes on, so here also it is plainly shewn, that God doth not always follow the Judgment of the Church, which sometimes Judge by *Stealth and Ignorance*, but God judges always according to *Truth*. And in *remitting and retaining of Sins* the Priests of the Gospel have the same Right and Office, which they of old had under the Law in curing Lepers. In the first part of these words the Master truly notes the uncertainty, or the gross Mistakes which may, and indeed are in a manner always made by a positive Absolution; *God knows the Life of the Penitent*, which the Confessor neither doth nor can know. In the latter part the Master gives the Sense of *St. Jerom's Words*, by him there left out, and are these, *quomodo ergo ibi Leprosium, as therefore there (under the Law) the Priest makes the Leper Clean or Unclean, so also here the Bishop and Presbyter Binds and Looses; not those who are Innocent or Guilty, but by his Office when he hath heard the Varieties of Sins, he knows who is to be Bound, and who to be Loosed.* This was the Primitive and is now commonly the Modern way of the Greeks, which I contend for; *Those*, whom the Confessor finds by the Canon to be bound, he admonish and acquaints them with their Horrid and Dangerous Condition; *The others*, who he finds more hopeful; He encourages, directs and pray for them. As the Priests under the Law only gave their Judgments and made an outward Atonement for the Leper, so a Christian Priest gives his Judgment also of his Penitent's Condition, and as he finds him he directs him, and makes a *Spiritual Atonement* by Prayer to God for him.

T. p. 325.

It is wonderfull to see what Shuffling and Turning and Criticizing there is made by these late Writers, (which I have mention'd,) to make the Greek and Latin Forms for Absolution agree; but any one of common Sense may easily see their Fallacies and Weakness. These expressions, *may you be Pardon'd, may you be Remitted, God forgive you, may Christ Forgive you or Absolve you, may you be Absolved, O God Absolve or Pardon this thy Servant*, are these the same with, *I Absolve you*; Those relate to God to whom alone that matter belongs; and they justly give him the Glory of it; in this, the Priest takes the Authority and Honour to himself. Those respect what is Future, or what is still to be done, this Expresseth this present moment, and the

the Deed to be now Actually done. So, *be thou Absolved*, if it be any thing more T. P. 325. then, *may you be Absolved*, is still plainly not the same with, *I Absolve thee*; Those seem to own Absolution as in another's Hand, this as if it was in my Own. So, (as I have noted before,) *receive the Holy Ghost is not I give thee the Holy Ghost*; as these, *thy will be done on Earth, Forgive us our Trespases*, are Prayers not commands. Neither are those Forms of Speech, *I Baptize you*, and *I Absolve you*, of like Importance or of equal Intent. The first is an outward Corporal Action which is purely in my Power, and I now Actually do it; but the latter is a spiritual Thing, and not in my Power, but is reserved wholly to God himself to the Day of Judgment. The Greeks Form of Baptism, *N. N. is Baptized*, and our Form, *N. N. I Baptize thee*, are in Intent and Meaning the very same; in both, the outward Action is expressed as now done; whereas that, *may N. N. be Baptized*, shews the Action still depending. Neither are those Forms in Goar, *Receive*, (or *I give thee, Power to say Mass*, or our, *to Preach*, 677. of like Intent and Nature with this, *I Absolve*; For those are Commissions for an outward Office and Action, and no Priest either Greek or Latin or our own, can Act without a special Order in writing, which is far enough from *Absolute Absolution*. Again in the Greek and our Form of Baptism, the outward Action, *the Baptism of Water*, only is exprest, yet the inward *Baptism of the Spirit* is imply'd alike in both, but Pray'd for from Heaven by both, as God's only Gift. The Greeks modestly herein I have already noted out of Goar, the ut supr. Priest say, *N. N. is Baptized*, not *I Baptize*, least (saith he) *he should seem to Arrogate any thing to himself thereby*.

That also is but an impertinent suggestion of them (in this business of *Absolving Penitents* from their Sins;) *That Christ hath often given his Commands or Institutions to the Church in General, and left the Particular Execution of them wholly to her Determination and Disposal. He saith only, whose Sins ye Remit, whose Sins you Retain; But the particular Manner and Form of this Remission and Retaining is left to the Church to establish.* But I have above proved that all the Authority which the Church hath by those words of Christ, is only to Excommunicate Notorious and Publick Offenders, (and that of old was its only Censure) and upon their Amendment to restore them again to the Communion, so as they may then *recover themselves* by true and continued *Repentance*, and thus in Company with other good Christians they may *work out their own Salvation with Fear and Trembling*; And this Authority and Power I have proved to be lodged in the Bishops or Prelates alone; they have Power at their Discretion to take off these Censures, as they have Power to lay them on. But I neither see any *Authority nor Power* which they, much less any ordinary Priest, have, *so positively to Absolve* them from those past Sins which occasion'd their Excommunication, as to set them quite free in the Eyes of God, or to render them never more accountable to him for them; *the Church*, that is, *the Bishops*, may *Remit*, upon Amendment, the publick Scandal given *to it, or to them*; but they must leave the Offence given to God, to his own Mercies only. *Repentance* is enjoin'd to every Christian; it is the *particular and proper Duty or Work, of every Penitent*; it is left to the Prelates and Pastors *in General* to Preach it, and by good Council and Prayers and other such helps to promote it; but *the Absolution* of this Penitent from his Sins, is, *till he hath finished his Work*, reserved to God alone. If the Penitent after *the Roman Absolution*, *like a Dog, returns to his Vomit*, that *Absolution* will aggravate his Faults rather than do him Good; He must *persevere* in bringing forth daily, *Fruits meet for Repentance*, and then with steadfast Faith and lively Hope let him wait for his Absolution till the day of Judgment. The Church of Rome hath been more *modest*, shall I say, or more *Mistrustfull and Doubtfull* of the Efficacy of their Absolutions. After the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Turks*, many poor Greeks came into the West to seek for Relief; some were sent into England by the Pope to sell Indulgences, and by that counterfeit way to spare the Pope's pocket and to fill their

T. P. 326.

T. p. 326.

p. 678.

own. I have taken notice that in several of them, (which still are preserved and which I have seen) after *the august Preface of the Power of the Keys, and the Authority of the whole Court of Heaven*, come in with, *the Absolvo*, this or some such like pretty turn, quantum in me est, (*I Absolve*) *as much as in me lies*; and we have just such another Jest recorded in *Goar*, *Absolvo Te in quantum possum & Valeo, I Absolve thee as far as I can and am able*. Give me leave to set down one *Indulgence* much of that same nature, which was given to *Sr. Will. Berkswell* by *Pope Paul* the second; the Original I have seen at *Warwick*, Dns. Nr. *Jesus Christ* qui dedit Discipulis suis potestatem ligandi & solvendi ipse te absolvat; & Ego autoritate Apostolorum ejus Petri & Pauli & totius Sancte matris Ecclesiae atque virtute hujus Bulle & Papalis Indulgentie absolvo te ab omnibus peccatis tuis & etiam in Apostolicae sedis reservatis Casibus mihi verè confessis & contritis, & de quibus confiteri vellis si tue occurrerent memorie & in Articulo mortis. Concedo etiam tibi plenam remissionum omnium peccatorum tuorum & absolutionem in quantum claves Ecclesiae se extendunt in hac parte, & quantum mihi permittitur. Restituo te ut sis absolutus ante tribunal Dni nri Jesu Xpi ut vivas in Xpo & habeas vitam eternam. Amen. *Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath given to his Disciples Power of tying and loosing, may he Absolve thee; and I, by the Authority of his Apostles Peter and Paul and of the whole holy Mother Church, and by Virtue of this Bull and Papal Indulgence, do Absolve thee from all thy Sins, and even in the Cases reserved to the Apostolical See, being truly Confessed to me and Contrited, and of which thou wouldest confess if they should occur to thy Memory and in the Article of Death. I also grant to thee full remission of all thy Sins and Absolution, as far as the Keys of the Church extend themselves in this part, and as much as is permitted to me. I restore thee that thou mayest be Absolved before the Tribunal of our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou mayst live in Christ and mayst have the Life Eternal*, Amen. The first part is plainly deprecatory. Then poor *Sr. William* is only conditionally Absolved, upon supposition that he had truly confessed his Sins and was Contrite for them. Next the Absolution is limited and goes no farther then the Keys extend; and supposing still that they are in the right Key-hole (that there is no mistake) and lastly that all this hath no farther Virtue, then what is permitted, which on Earth is unknown or uncertain; so that when all is done, his real Absolution is still suspended and reserved to the great Judge himself at the Day of Doom, to whom alone it ought to be refer'd. Any Man may say and do as much as this and to as good purpose; it would be a more tolerable cheat if all their pretended Absolutions from Sin were varnished over with the same Compliment.

p. 678. b.

Goar tells us that there were very great Troubles ready to arise in his time about these Forms of Absolution. Some Greeks questioning the validity of their own Priests Deprecatory way, went to be Confest and Absolved again by a Latin Priest. This Practice would have quite Condemned the Greeks, and lookt as if they did not own or rightly hold this Sacrament as well as the Latins, and this would have spoiled *Goar's* design, (which he all along carries on with such pains) that is, to make both Forms or Methods agree. Whether he hath clearly made it out or no, and whether the most Reverend *Dositheus* and his Synod are in this Point right, the understanding Reader, I hope, may in some measure be enabled to Judge by this Account which I have largely given of the whole pretended Sacrament and of all its Parts.

p. 344. b.

Arcudius acknowledges that the Greeks have no fixed certain Form of Absolution, and intimates that every Confessor, ad libitum, doth use what words and Prayers he pleaseth, (this indeed is their present Practice) and he therefore as I have said, advise them there to set up some one constant, settled, Form for all Confessors to use. Accordingly he hath translated the Latin Form into Greek and would fain perswade the Greeks to use it, and truly he is not ashamed barefaced to discover his design of putting this Holy cheat upon them;

them; non enim populus, *the People*, saith he, *would not trouble themselves about the Matter, nor take any notice whether it was the Latin or Greek Form; if it be but pronounced in Greek all is well.* It is a very pretty Instance of the Latins Artifice and Cunning by which the Latins impose upon the poor Ignorant Greeks, and indeed upon all the World. But at last he is so far from making, with *Dositheus*, both Churches agree in this Sacrament, as he saith positively *that the Greeks are Schismatics and quite separate from Rome; non sunt veri Pastores, they are no true Pastors neither can they Absolve; and by Consequence are so far from agreeing with Rome, as they must make Penance, as they call it, no Sacrament at all, having no Absolution which they count the very Life and only Soul of it.* T. P. 327. 435. b.

I shall now proceed to extream Unction, where I shall first briefly and plainly set down the present Practice of the Latins; Secondly, I shall Examine whether it agrees with St. *James's* his Doctrine, his Epistle being the main, Jam. 5. 14. (indeed the only,) place on which they ground this pretended Sacrament; and next I shall enquire whether the words there, and the Latins present usage, can consist with the nature of a *real Sacrament*. Then at last I will consider the Practice of the Greeks, and see if they so perfectly agree with the Latins herein, as *Dositheus* and his Synod and our late Modern Reconcilers would make us believe they do.

As to the Latins way, we find in the Rubrick before the Office, that extream Unction is only to be administred, *periculose ægrotantibus, & mortis periculo imminente, to those who are just dying, or (as we say) who lie drawing on; that is, in the very Point and Agonies of Death.* I must do them that Justice to own that the Rubrick adviseth, that it should be done, *then, si fieri possit, if it be possible, whilst the Sick Man's Mind is sound and his Reason lasts; but it is most notoriously known that not one of a Thousand of their Patients are thus qualified, they seldom can hit the Critical minute between the Sick Man's use of Reason and his Life ending.* They give it *though the Person cannot speak; though he is perfectly besides himself and Raves, provided that he is not so mad as to Violate or Endanger the Reverence due to the Sacrament; though he is so far spent as they know not whether he hath really any Life at all left in him or no; and therefore in this doubtfull Condition they apply it with this reserve, si vivis, if thou art alive; often the Person dies before one half, or one quarter of the whole Ceremony is performed; and the Priest is forced to leave off abruptly; and for fear of this Accident he often either quite omits, or hastily huddles over all, or part, of the Preliminary Prayers and Observances, and falls to his work in this manner.* Rit. de ext. unct. de visitatione.

First, dipping his Thumb in the holy Oyl, he anoints Crosswise the Patients Eyes, saying in Latin, out of his Ritual, *per istam Sanctam Unctionem, &c.* which is in English, *may the Lord by that holy Anointing and his most pious Mercy pardon thee whatever thou hast done amiss by sight.* Then with a little Cotton he wipes the Ointment off again. Then in the same manner Anoints the other Parts here following, saying the very same Form, only changing the last Expression, *whatever thou hast done amiss, by Hearing, to the Ears; by Smelling, to the Nostrils; by Tast and Speach, to the Mouth; by Touching to the Hands.* I should think for this Sense that the whole Body should have been Anointed, because we Feel in every living Part. And here, by a particular Rubrick it is caution'd, that *a dying Priest's hands are to be Anointed on the outside, though it is very likely that that side hath been less guilty.* 1. Rubric. general. By Going, to the Feet; By the delight of the Loins, to the Loins or Reigns. This last Unction upon the Loins is Graciously and Modestly now dispensed withall, or omitted to Women altogether, and sometimes to Men whom you cannot conveniently turn in their Beds; But I find in a fair old Pontifical, 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. T. P. 328. Lloyd's MS. p. 226. that it was far otherwise formerly; *They then Anointed the Back between the Loins of the Men, and, super Umbilicum, over or above the Navel, of the Women.*

T. p. 328.
P. 365. 18.

Women. I wonder how the Modest Presbyter, Canon, (in Goar) would have liked to have performed this Ceremony. I therefore perceive that this seventh *Unction, to Loins or Reins*, was not counted an absolutely necessary part of this Sacrament; And truly, I must think, all the other altogether as Impertinent and Foreign to St. James his Prescription; as may more fully appear by and by.

Then follow several Suffrages and Prayers, for the Remission of his Sins, and the driving away all pangs from his Body and Mind, and for perfect Health, or Cure, of both, though the Man be past all Hopes, and expiring. But there is seldom any occasion for these Prayers; the Man commonly being at his last Gasps, before the Ceremony begins.

Jam. 5. 14.

Let us now consider the Words in the Text. *Is any Sick amongst you? Let him call for the Elders of the Church, and let them Pray over him.*

First, this surely must be meant, in the beginning of his Sickness, when he first is brought to keep his Bed; whatever is here to be done, the Action by these words seem speedily to be done, and not put off till there is no hopes of Life, or any Sense left; their very Rubrick directs the same. Next I must confess that I see no Relation here to any miraculous Cure propounded or intended, as many Learned and Worthy Men conceive; for certainly every one of these *πρεσβύτεροι Elders*, whatever they are, had not even then, the gift of Healing; and those, who had it, had it not at all times alike to use it upon every Object that hourly presented it self; but they were inwardly directed by the Spirit of God (whose Gift it was) when *ἐν πληροφροσύνῃ πίστεως in the full assurance of Faith* they might exert that Power. The Disciples could

Heb. 10. 22.

Mat. 17. 20, 21.

c. 13. 58.

Mark. 6. 5.

Mat. c. 9. 2.

not cure the Lunatick. Christ himself did not, nay, St. Mark saith, he could not do many mighty Works, in his own Country, because of their Unbelief.

Luk. 5. 17.

Act. 3. 4.

And he cured the Man of the Palsy, seeing their Faith. And that seems much such another like passage, where the Pharisees and Doctors sitting by to hear him, it is said, the Power of the Lord was to heal them. Peter and John, ἀνίστατες, fastening their Eyes upon the lame Man, considered well his Condition, and were inwardly prompted what they were to do. The Apostles did not every where raise the Dead, or cure every one that were Sick; we have but few Instances of these mighty Works, and those were done at particular times and on particular occasions. Here the Elders when any one was Sick, were to be called; For what? To work a Miracle every day; or every hour? No, the Text plainly supposes a Power which, all these who were to be called, always had; and it is expressed, to come and Visit, and Comfort, and Pray over the Sick and minister unto them; and this Power (and indeed Duty) remains in the Church to the end of the World.

There are very different Opinions amongst the Learned, both Papists and Protestants, concerning, *πρεσβύτεροι, the Elders*, who are here to be called; some will have them to be the Presbyters or Priests, that is, the second Order of the Clergy, between the Bishops and the Deacons. Others think that that Order was not yet in the Church when this Epistle was wrote; though they allowed that it was brought in soon after. And hence a very Learned Author of our own will have, the Elders, here meant, to have been only the

Hammond. Jac.

5. 14. c.

Act. 11. 30. b.

Bishops. He would support his notion from the Hebrew words *זקנים זקנים* which are rendred by the LXX, *πρεσβύτεροι, πρεσβύτεροι, Elder, Elders*, and often in the old Testament denote Dignity and Prefecture, signifying Rulers, Administrators, Princes, Heads; and therefore in the new Testament, saith he, (and particularly here by James, who was a Jew, and well acquainted with the words used in the LXX, which was more common then the Hebrew Text amongst the dispersed Jews,) the word *πρεσβύτεροι, Elders*, is fitly here affixed to the Governors, or Bishops, or Rulers of the Church; and Visiting the Sick being Antiently mentioned as one branch of the Bishops Office, only Bishops are here meant.

T. p. 329.

But

But though the Hebrew words are indeed often used in the Old Testament for *Governors, or Heads, or Rulers*, yet with all Reverence and Respect to that great Man's Authority, I must crave leave to say, that they are as often used there in their Primitive and Natural Sense, for *old Men*, *πρεσβύτεροι*, *πρεσβυτέρως τῶν ἡμερῶν*, *πρεσβυτέρως ἡμέρας*, *Old well-stricken in Years*, or rather, *advanced in days*, are used as all one thing; as (to name no more places) they are said again and again, of *Joshua* and *David* and *Job*. Now *Old Men* by reason of their Gravity, Experience, and Judgment were Respected and Valued; and by the Levitical as well as by the Law of Nature, they were ever Reverenced. *Thou shalt rise up before the hoary Head, and Honour the face of the old Man*, saith Moses. And the same Hebrew and Greek words, are very often taken in the old Testament for the chief Men of Advice, Discretion, Counsel and Experience without any Office, and without any Distinction or Dignity or Degree or Respect, more then what their Age and Experience gave them. *Ask thy Father and he will shew thee; thy Elders and they will tell thee*. So Rehoboam the old Men were consulted that stood before his Father Solomon, and askt their advice. So the Elders of the Priests who were sent by Hezekiah to Isaiah, were not their Rulers, but the most Grave and most Renowned for Piety amongst them. And hence was that saying of David, *Ὅτι τὰς πρεσβυτέρας, ὁ δὲ πῶν, οὐκ ὤν, I understand more then the Antients because I keep thy Precepts*; a Pious Life makes me more truly Wise, then all the old Men my Seniors, who by their Age ought to be wiser then I; and hence it is denounced as a Judgment against Israel at their Captivity, that Counsel should perish from the Antients.

It seems therefore (if the Hebrew and Greek words may guide us herein,) to me, most highly probable, that the Elders here signify only, in general, *Seniores Ecclesiæ, the Ancients, Graver, Discreeter Persons* of the neighbouring Christians; the more perfect Men amongst the Brethren who lived near the Sick; And some such were always to be had then, though the numbers of Christians were but small, and they were commonly Dispersed up and down far from one another. For I can hardly perswade my self that Bishops should then be obliged to attend the call of every one who fell Sick in his District; especially if Diseases were very plentiful and spreading. Bishops were then but very few in comparison of the numbers of Proselytes which were daily added to the Church, and were all, for a while, but *Catechumens*; should only Bishops then have visited the Sick, they had had work enough. I am therefore rather apt to believe that nothing else is here enjoined, but the constant and Charitable Visiting the Sick by the Christian Neighbourhood; by those especially who were leading Men, Men of Note for Age, Understanding, Piety, good Behaviour and proficiency in the Faith. This Notion excludes neither Bishop nor Presbyter nor Deacon, if they be nigh or to be had; nay, it takes in the whole community of Christian Brethren; *Is any Sick amongst you, let him call for the Ablest, best Instructed, best Christians, to come and pray over him, or to join in Prayers for him*. The Latin Church it self in some Cases prescribe this very manner of Visiting and Praying for the Sick. If the Parish Priest is any ways hindred that he cannot go and Visit the Sick himself, he must get other Priests, if there are any in his Parish, to do it for him; Aut saltem per Laicos homines, or he must at least get it done by Laymen who are Pious and endued with Christian Charity. The following context plainly implies such a Community, or Congregation; Confess your Faults to one another, not only to the Priest; pray for one another, but let the Priest especially do it, (for it is his peculiar Duty) if he can be procured, or is within call, but if he be not, every good Christian by the Common bond of Charity is bound to Minister unto him; To go to Prayers (for him and with him) if they are wanted or desired by him.

The very word *πρεσβύτεροι*, here rendred, *Elders*, is even in the new Testament taken in its native Sense for *Old Men*, or for those who were most

confi-

- T. p. 330. considerable Men as *being such*. Give me leave to mention a place or two which seem confessedly to our present purpose. *The Centurion* is said to have sent to Jesus *the Elders of the Jews* in behalf of his Servant, which is thus Paraphrased by that great Man himself, *some of the Principal Men amongst them*. So, *by Faith the Elders obtain'd a good Report*, thus paraphrased the *Antients or Fathers of the Old Testament*. Now (to borrow the Doctors Argument) *this Epistle was written to the Jews (as well as that of St. James,) who then only, or most commonly, used the LXX, and must well understand what, πρεσβυτεροι, Elders, with them commonly meant*. I will add one more; the Accusers of the Adulteresses *went out one by one, beginning at the Eldest even to the last; where Precedency or Respect seems plainly to be given according to their Age, and upon no other account*. Again, *let him call for the Elders; that is, for the Bishops*, saith our Author; *for the Presbyters or Priests*, saith *Bellarmino*; yet both are for *only one* at a time of either that or this sort. If *Bishops* are here meant, truly *one* (as hath been said,) seems to be more than what in those early days could have been procured to every one that fell Sick. For I find not above thirty reckon'd in the Apostles time, if we may believe the Apostolical Constitutions. And as for *Priests*, it is made a disputable Point whether there were any then in the Church or no. If the Text is meant but of *one* of these, methinks it had been more naturally exprest, if it had been said, *call for a Bishop*; or, *call for a Priest*; as it is plainer and more usual to say, *send for a Physician*, then to say, *send for the Physicians*. If my Notion may be admitted, no Man can think that, *call for the Antienter and abler Christians*, is all one with, *call for an Antient or able Christian, to pray over him or for him*. I suppose no Man can be against this good Christian Duty, for many to meet in such a Charitable Communion.
- T. i. p. 451. *Bellarmino* himself, who is positively but for *one Priest* to say the Office, l. 7. c. 47. much approves that many others should be at the Ceremony, and join with him in Prayer; and *Goar* though he is positively for but one Priest in the giving the *extream Unction*, yet he owns *a plurality are to be called*, though this seems to have dropt from him unawares, or upon a design. Now my Notion admits not only of *one*, but even of many either Bishops or Priests, as well as of other common Christians, if they can be got together to perform this Brotherly Office.
- l. i. c. 3. p. 485. G. I proceed, *let them pray over him, Anointing him with Oyl in the Name of the Lord*. The main end of their coming together, was to *Help and Relieve* the Sick Person in his Bodily Infirmities; and to *this end only* they were to *Anoint him*, and apply the known *bodily Remedies*, craving God's Blessing upon them. In the first place I must note, that to this very Day, as of old, all over Turkey, where I have been, *Oyl Olive* is a Choice and wholesome part of human Food, in Cakes, baked Meats, Fried Meats, Boiled Meats, Soops, or Pottages; and is admitted in all things else where we commonly use Butter; and is to this day counted every way so delicate eating amongst the Greeks and other Christians, as it is forbidden to Monks and other Asceticks in times and days of Fasting and Abstinence; and yet to shew us the great Plenty and Cheapness of it, it is still used, as of old, every where for *their Lamps* (Candles being very rarely used amongst the common People,) and on every other ordinary or mean occasion.
- Ezech. 16. 13. 19. Next for its Medicinal Virtue, *Anointing with simple or pure Oyl Olive*, is now, as it was in those days, of common use all over those Countries for Distempers and Infirmities; *It was*, saith *Pliny*, and is yet, *used to recreate and refresh the Limbs; to warm the Body and defend it from cold, and yet it will abate and cool the burning heat of the Head*. And therefore it is truly called by *Plato*, πῶλον ἀγῶνι, *A remedy from all Grievs, and Pangs, and Weariness*. It is notoriously known, that of old, *the Wrestlers and Champions* at the Olympick and other Games, and all those that were train'd up in their *Gymnasiums* or Schools of bodily Exercise, *Anointed* themselves with it; as all those in Turkey to this day, who profess *Wrestling and Weilding*.
- l. 12. c. 1. l. 15. c. 4. In Mex. T. P. 331.

Weilding or Managing of great Weights and other feats of Strength, (whom I have seen act before the Grand Seigneur and other great Men,) do in like manner prepare their Bodies by it. *Solon* in *Lucian* tells us the Effect of it. *They Anoint their Bodies with Oyl*, *ὡς ἐντονώμεγα γίγνεται*, that they may be more Firm or Compact and Strong; for when we see, saith he, *Hides* (that is, Leather,) when they are softened (or as we say Liquored) with Oyl, are so tough and lasting and not apt to break, (which are but dead things) it is very absurd to think that our Body, which hath Life in it, is nothing the better for being thus Anointed. I doubt not but that the Jews thus Anointed their new born Infants with Oyl to strengthen them; as we may well gather from the words of *Ezekiel*; who comparing Jerusalem to a new born Babe, and shewing God's tender and Fatherly care over it, alluding to this custom, saith, *I said unto thee in thy Blood, Live; Then I washed thee with Water, yea I thoroughly washed away thy Blood from thee, and I Anointed thee with Oyl.* And I cannot but believe that the Jews Anointed upon occasion, all other parts of their Bodies with Oyl, as well as their Heads or Faces. For their being deprived of this Anointing is threatned as a Curse to them; *Thou shalt have Olive Trees through all thy Coasts* (note the plenty of them) *but thou shalt not Anoint thy self with the Oyl; for thy Olive shall cast his Fruit. Thou shalt tread the Olives but thou shalt not Anoint thee with the Oyl.*

Plain Oyl was used for many Sickneses, as a common Remedy, as well as in a Miraculous Cure; as shall be farther considered by and by; and not to mention any thing of Learned compound Oyls or Physicians receipts, there is now (and I question not but there was then) scarce an antient Matron, especially in Country Villages, but she knows the ordinary use of Oyl, to mix it with some common Flowers or Herbs or other Simples, (which are every where at hand,) for several intentions and purposes; as with *Roses*, *Camomil*, *St. John's Wort*, *Saffron* (which they have in plenty,) and such like. *Wine and Oyl* is still used for Wounds, as of old; and the Greeks in their, *ἐυχέλαιον*, *Prayer Oyl*, (which the Latins would fain make the same with their Extream Unction,) use to this very day *Wine and Oyl mixt together*, with which they Anoint their Sick and Infirm; and you have the very words by which they Pray in Faith for God's Blessings upon it. *Surgions and Physicians* are as scarce amongst poor Greeks, as amongst the Turks. The use and virtues of, *Oleum Omphacinum*, *Oyl of unripe Olives*, and that also made of wild ones; as also, *Amurca*, the dregs of Oyl, are well known, and most good People have such common things by them. *Oyl that is old and thin and will easily run and spread*, was always esteemed the best; because it pierces and enters the Pores more quickly; and therefore they will, even now, beat Salt very fine and mix it with common Oyl to make it more Fluid. This very Medicine alone of Oyl and Salt (which is very plain and easy to be had by every one,) is so extol'd by *Ætius*, as he makes it almost a general Remedy for all distempers. In the declining, or ending, of a fit of the Gout, saith he, in all who are chafed or gently rubbed with this, the inbred Heat is increased, and what is unnatural is discussed; and the vicious humors are consumed; and the parts that were affected, are made more strong and firm to resist that Evil; and it makes them less Subject to it; especially if after the Pangs are lessening, they use it every Morning and Evening all their Life long as a Preservative. And *Philagrius*, saith he, confidently affirms that this Remedy is sufficient for those who (Surfeit themselves, or) transgress most in their Diet, or who are cooled immoderately, or are Sick with Labour, or have used Women too much, aut quemcunque alium fortem excessum admiserunt, or have committed any other strong Debauch, or Excess, whatsoever. I will mention but one Oyl more which is common in those hot Countries. There are infinites of Scorpions lurking and creeping about every where; they gather them and put them alive in-

T. p. 332. to Oyl, and there let them die and be digested in it; This Oyl is not only used as a present Remedy being Anointed and Chafed on the Wound made by the sting of that pestilent Animal, but they use it, to my knowledge, with admirable success to the Reins for Suppression of Urine, Gravel, Stone and many other Infirmities of the Kidneys; as also from many pangs and swellings, and, as Clem. Alex. I have been credibly informed, in the very Plague, for it makes (as is said of Paed. l. 2. c. 18. Unguents apply'd to the Feet for to ease the Head,) ὁλαίω πῖνα ὑποχέσθαι an *Attraction of the Evil humor and a Diversion of it outwards.*

Thus much being now premised, I must still freely confess, that this place in St. James, seems to me no more to aim at any *Miraculous Cure*, then what is in every Disease where Prayers to Almighty God are join'd with what are thought proper Medicines for the Patients recovery; and since *simple Oyl alone*, or as it was impregnated with some common and familiar *Plants or Simples*, was certainly used as the general means of Cures in those days; nothing can be here more plainly and clearly meant, then that the *Antientest, Good and Experienced Christians*, (most noted for Piety and Knowledge,) in the *Neighbourhood*, should come and Pray for those who were *Sick amongst them* (or of their Community) *Anointing them* (as their Custom was,) or applying to them such things as they esteemed most proper and convenient for them, *in the name of God*, that is, *beging his Blessing* to go along with them; and why might not even plain Oyl in those days, with *servent Prayer* to God, from an honest and plain Christian Heart, for his blessing upon it, have as good success as the Greeks Oyl now which is solemnly Consecrated for such common use? That was Sanctified then by the private Prayers of the charitable Visitors, as their Holy Oyl is now by publick Authority. If it had been said, *Pray over*, or for, *the Criples or Disabled Men amongst you*, who have quite lost *their Eyes, their Arms, their Legs*, or any other Member; (as ἀδυνάτους, *impotent* may sometimes signify;) Or who have any disease upon them *Absolutely* incurable by Man's help, *Anointing them with Oyl* (which is quite Foreign to any such Cure) the words had plainly directed them to expect a *Miracle*; But, ἀδυνάτους, *Is any Infirm or Sick amongst you of a common Disease*, (for I suppose that those who were smitten with the *Plague or Pestilence*, or such Dangerous and Infectious Diseases, were no more visited in those days with this publick Attendance, then they are now,) *go and pray for him* and with him; and use *the properest means* which you amongst you do remember or can think of for his Help, and heartily beseech God to prosper you in it; this seems, I say, the most obvious sense to me.

It is in vain to dream that any *Infalible Cure* was here intended, for certainly at this Visiting and Praying for the Sick, they used the *Lord's Prayer*, *thy Will be done*, and so left the Event wholly to God's Disposal; they allowed time for the Sick Man's recovery; But *Miracles were done in an Instant*; And can we Imagine that none of the, ἀδυνάτους, *Infirm*, in those days thus Visited, *Died*, did all of them then, *Infalibly Recover*?

Is any amongst you Sick? The case was not then *with them* who were already profess and confirm'd *Christians*, as it was with the Disciples in their first converting of *Unbelievers*; *Miraculous Cures* and *Mighty Works* were then absolutely necessary to give attestation to the Disciples Mission, and admittance to their Doctrine; but now there was not this *daily and hourly need of Miracles* to those who were already Converted; and therefore surely it cannot here be intended, that every one that then fell Sick should thus *Infalibly escape*. Thus we find that St. Paul pray'd and laid his Hands upon *Publius his Father*, and *Miraculously Cured* him and some others who were Aet. 28. 8. 9. *Diseased* in Malta; this was *in order to their Conversion*; But he left Trophimus Sick at Miletum; and Epaphroditus had lain Sick some time even 2 Tim. 4. 20. *nigh unto Death*; no Man can question but that he was pray'd for, and Phil. 2. 26, 27. that all *bodily Care* was taken for him, as we may judge by St. Paul T. p. 333. and the Brethren's concern for him at Rome, from whence this Epistle was

was wrote; But I do not find any where that his Recovery was counted *T. p. 333.*
Miraculous.

These Promises which follow, and the like, were made and fulfilled to the Apostles and Disciples at their *first Preaching* every where and for their bringing of the People to the Belief and Embracing of their Gospel. *Miracles* proved their Authority, confirmed their Doctrine, and filled all Nations with such *Demonstrations of their Spirit and Power* as none could resist them. *1 Cor. 2. 4.*
All things whatsoever you shall ask in Prayer, believing, ye shall Receive; ye shall not only do this which is done to the Fig-tree, but also if ye shall say unto this Mountain, be thou removed and be thou cast into the Sea, it shall be done. All the Works that I do, he that believeth shall do also; and greater Works then these shall he do. Go into all the World and Preach the Gospel, Heal the Sick, Cleanse the Lepers, and raise the Dead, cast out Devils; speak with Tongues, &c. *Mat. 21. 21. 22. Joh. 14. 12, 13. Mark. 15. 15. Mat. 10. 7, 8.*

These were the *Miracles* promised to the first Preachers and Propagators of the Gospel; but to those who were come into the Church, and were once professed Christians, God's promises of hearing their Prayers and granting their requests run in another strain; *Ask and it shall be given you, Seek and you shall find;* that is, *the means* (saith the Learned Paraphrast,) *of obtaining,* *is applying of our selves to God in Prayer;* and the thing which we are there Commanded to pray for and seek; St. Luke plainly tells us, is *God's holy Spirit* and its divine Assistance. And St. John shews plainly that every one of these Promises of God to hear us, under the Gospel, are not Absolute, but limited and purely Conditional; *This is, αγνοία, the Confidence,* or freedom of access, *that we have towards God, that if we ask any thing according to his Will, he heareth us.* If our Petitions are agreeable to his Holy revealed Will, submitted to his Wisdom, (for he knows what is best for us,) and rely or depend wholly upon his Sufficiency and most Gracious Disposal, he will hear us; and therefore he told us before, *that whatsoever we ask we receive of him, because we keep his Commandments, and do those things that are pleasing in his sight.* For otherwise, *we ask and receive not, because we ask amiss.* *Mat. 7. 7. Hammond in locum. c. 11. 9, 13. Joh. c. 3. 14. c. 3. 21. Jam. 4. 3.*

To Anoint a Sick Man now, and Pray over him that in an Instant we might work a Miracle, (as if we Pray'd to remove a Mountain,) would be as great a Presumption and Profanation, as the Exorcisms of the Sons of Sceva were. Some indeed in the very beginning of the Gospel, might Prophecy, or Preach, and cast out Devils, and do wonderfull Works in the name of Jesus. God might Suffer it then for the springing Honour and early Glory of that name; But because they had no warrant for it, nor did do it to the real End and true Intent of the Gospel, but either out of Pride, or a vain desire of Applause and popular Glory, or some other private design, Christ in that day will say, *that he never knew them,* and will bid them depart as Workers of Iniquity. I should think that this alone should terrify the Latins from attempting this their pretended Sacrament only upon their own Authority, and for Suspicious and, at best, unwarrantable Ends. *Act. 19. 13. Mat. 7. 22.*

Anoint them with Oyl. It seems then that they were Anointed in those days; but can I be perswaded that the Bishop or Presbyter, or whoever it was that did it, only dipt the tip of his Thumb in a drop or two of Oyl, and made a little Cross upon the Sick man's Eyes, Nostrils, Lips, &c. mumbling over some certain words in an unknown Tongue, and then immediately wiped it off again with a little pellet of Cotton? Bellarmine blames the Valentinian Hereticks for using in their Unction, unheard of, and horrible Hebrew words; as Conjurers to amuse the People; and yet, for ought he knows, it might have been this very Latin Form in Hebrew or Chalde. Doth he not by parity of Reason in this Point as much condemn the Latins? Nor one in a thousand of the poor Sick Papists, who are Anointed, understand or so much as hear, their Latin Form, which yet must in those very Latin words be used to every one; *l. c. 6. A. T. p. 334. c. 7. G.*

T. P. 334. How many of the standers by understand, *Istam sanctam Unctionem & Pijssimam misericordiam, the Latin Phrase*, when this Unction is made, in Germany, England, Holland, nay in Italy it self? We know how their words, *hoc est Corpus*, mumbled at the Eucharist, have been understood, by the Juggler's cant, *Hocus Pocus*, which is made from it.

Mark. 6. 13. Their Anointing is such a Mystical piece of Surgery; such a Charming application of Medicine, as I should think some *Thessalian* Matron invented and prescribed it rather than an Apostle. Did the Disciples only dab or spot the Sick, (whom they cured,) here and there with a little drop of Oyl, or did they smear them with a quantity of it, and then carefully rub them and gently chase it in? Did they always only touch six or seven particular parts, and those alwayes the same, or did they Anoint the parts which were most Affected? These were the most proper places for the application of the Oyl; which places being mollified and subtilized by it would ease or cure the Distemper; Arcudius out of *Math. Galenus* tells us, that of old, not only the Organs of Sense, but the whole Body was Anointed all over, more especially those parts where the grief lay; and this was sometimes repeated for seven whole days together. Christ applied Spittle to the Tongue of him who had an Impediment in his Speech; Clay and Spittle to the Eyes of the Blind; he puts his Fingers into the Ears of the Deaf; his applications were made to the parts affected. It was not because he could not have cured them with one word, *Ephatha, be opened*, (as he raised *Lazarus* with those words only, *Lazarus come forth*;) but because he would let the People know that those outward and natural means have at all times their effects from God alone, and to shew that Nature it self was then at his command, he looked up to Heaven and wrought the Effect in an Instant which made it a Miracle. Surely the Patient can best tell where his Pain and Distemper lies, and so can intimate or varify the proper part to which Application is to be made; As the Temples for pain in the Head; The Belly for the Colick; The Toe for the Gout; The limb or part Bruised, &c. But the Latin Priest Anoints none, he only touches seven parts; most of which, if not all, are sound and well. Anointing with Oyl was certainly intended only in order to the Cure of the Body; and so St. Ambrose his Ritual, (as shall appear by and by,) most plainly used it. But the present Church of Rome hath quite Transubstantiated it into a Spiritual Nature, it is made an Anointment for the Soul, to Cure, Reliquias peccatorum, all its Dregs and Relicks of Sin. But will the Lord be pleased with ten Thousand such Rivers of Oyl?

Mich. 6. 6.

Anointing with Oyl in the name of the Lord, I hardly believe that only such Oyl as was Blessed, or Consecrated, by a Bishop, was then in use, or to be had upon every occasion for the Sick; whereas common Oyl was every where to be found. Since only Oyl in general is here mention'd, any other Oyl may be meant as well as such pretended Sanctified Oyl, and why may not a Priest Consecrate it, as well as a Bishop, when we bless the Table, it is Sanctified by Prayer. Every good Matron of a Family might have plain Oyl, or Factitious and Artificial Oyls of her own making, as is abovesaid; and as I have known several Greeks who have carefully preserved the wast Oyl that dropt from the Nose or Spout of the Lamps (which are continually burning before the Pictures of the Virgin Mary and other Saints in their Churches, and Monasteries, or in their own Houses) as a most Precious Ointment for all Infirmities, especially Feavers; Though I find the effect of this Oyl from the Sacred Lamps sometimes counted Miraculous, because the use of it did work a Cure *μαγαχῆμα*, immediately. And without doubt of old, before Physitians, and Apothecaries, and Surgeons were three distinct Trades, (when a Man who professed and understood them all was rarely to be met withall,) old Mens and old Womens Remedies were most in Fashion; and therefore such Visitors as these would be most usefull to the Sick Person, both for his Soul and Body, and so most properly to be called to his help. He was to be Anointed in the name

Ex Sancto Sophronio. Labb. conc. T. 7. p. 252. B.

of

of the Lord, that is, with earnest Prayer to God for his Recovery; craving and relying upon his help; calling upon him in the day of Trouble; by Prayer and Supplication making their requests known unto God; trusting in his Power, and in his Promise that they should be heard; owning thereby him to be the giver of all good things. Therefore it is commanded here that Christians should not think that any outward and natural means were alone sufficient to recover those that were Sick; as in themselves they are altogether insufficient to preserve the whole; Man shall not live by Bread alone, but by God's, Fiat, Almighty Word. Therefore we crave a Blessing upon our Meat; all God's Creatures are good in their first Being; but all our Food is more peculiarly Sanctified to us by the word of God and Prayer. And this was not only St. Paul's Practice, but it is his Command in general, whatsoever you do in Word or Deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus; and he gives you this reason for it, for we give thanks to God and the Father by him; thereby we give to God the Power and Glory. By this Practice we seem to say with David, not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give Glory for thy Mercy and for thy Truths sake. Therefore to do any thing in the name of God, is thereby, to own his Providence over us and to depend upon it. Nothing is more Familiar, nor yet more solemn, then that Phrase amongst good Men, in the name of God do this, or that; that is, God speed you in your purpose; I recommend you to God in your Affairs. I remember when I first began to learn my A. B. C. I was taught to say, In the name of God; God be my speed, in Virtue and Goodness to proceed. Wills and Testaments usually begin, in the name of God, Amen; The Testator thereby owning God to have been his Creator, his Preserver, and the giver of all good Things which he hath enjoin'd. And either from the Jews or Christians or from both, hath Mahomet or Haly made the very first words of the Alcoran Bismilláhe, in the name of God, Mercifull and Gracious; and I have eaten many times at Turks houses, and the Master of the Family, lifting up his Eyes and both his Palms to Heaven, hath blest the Table with that first word only, Bismilláhe, in the name of God. They use it upon every serious Enterprize, and I have many times observed them, that though they have killed a Hare with a Dog or Gun or otherwise, or any Bird or Fowl, they will yet cut the throat of it and nip out some blood, crying, Alláh, God; and I have seen several Circumcisions amongst them, where just at their cutting of the Foreskin they say only the same single word, Alláh, God; by which they own God as Lord and Governor of all. And they rightly Judge, that he who useth any of God's Creatures in Meat or Drink or Medicine, and do not thus own him as the Author and Giver of them all, is not only an ungodly and most unthankfull wretch, but is absolutely unworthy of the least of them; Above all Creatures they abominate a Swine, and I remember when Mr. Dudley North once told Caramahmet, that our Divines compar'd such a vile ingratefull Man to a Swine that grows fat with Acorns, and wallows in them, never minding or looking up to the Tree from whence they fell; the Turk fell into a great Rapture in their Praise and Commendation.

They themselves mistrust the Miracle or Infallibility of extream Unction for either Body or a Soul by their deprecatory Form; Indulgent tibi Deus, may God Pardon thee. Here they are more Modest then when they pretend a judicial Authority, as in their Sacrament of Penance. They do not say, ego tibi Indulgeo, I Pardon thee, but Pray, or Wish, may God do it. Therefore they leave it plainly to God's Will and Disposal; so the event, both to Body and Soul, is to themselves uncertain, and is not as they pretend Infallible. As to the Body it is most Evident, that very very few recover after extream Unction; and as to the Soul it seems to me a very bold Presumption to say or think that all escape; It is an Extravagant conceit to imagine that the Anointing hath more Virtue and Influence upon the Soul then it hath upon the Body. Bellarmine saith that extream Unction, est complementum Poenitentiae,

T. p. 335.
 Ps. 124. 8.
 Ps. 50. 15.
 Phil. 4. 6.
 Act. 4. 7. 10.
 Joh. 14. & c.
 16.
 Jac. 1. 17.
 Mat. 4. 4.
 Gen. 1. 31.
 1 Tim. 4. 5.
 Act. 37. 35.
 1 Cor. 14. 16;
 17.
 Col. 3. 17.
 Eph. 5. 20.
 Mat. 6. 13.
 1 Cor. 10. 31;
 Ps. 115. 1.

T. p. 336.

T. p. 336. *tia*, is but a compleating, or finishing stroke, of the Sacrament of Penance; and he tells us *how Penance may be*, and oftentimes is *Imperfect*; so that both this, and that, are but half Sacraments at best, and in themselves often imperfectly performed, by his own Confession.

For if the Confession and Absolution (or their Sacrament of Penance,) be good and perfect, (and they plainly are uncertain whether it is so or no,) then Extream Unction is absurd and to no purpose, it being apply'd by them only to take away, Reliquias peccatorum, what Relicks of Sin are left in the Penitent; but there remain none now in this case, Absolution, (if good,) hath taken all away already; and Extream Unction is useless. If Extream Unction is needfull, in majorem Cautelam, for more Security, it also at best is an uncertain thing and wants the Firmness of a Sacrament. A notorious Sinner is not to receive the Extream Unction before he be Confest and Absolved; supposing then that he receives it immediately after his Absolution, you have the right state of the Case which I here put before you. And you will find the very same in the Rubrick, post peccatorum suorum Confessionem & postquam Viaticum sumpserit, inungatur; After his Confession of his Sins and his Reception of the Eucharist, let him be immediatly Anointed.

I find that the Latins formerly had another Form in St. Ambrose's Ritual, Ungo te olio Sanctificato in nomine Patris & Filii & Spiritus Sancti, I anoint thee with Sanctified Oyl, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. How comes the Form (which is the most Essential part of this Sacrament) to be so perfectly changed? That relates only to the Cure of the Sick Man's Body, the present Form only to his Soul, to the Forgiveness of his Sins. If that Form made this a Sacrament then, their present Form must either plainly make another now, or none at all. Bellarmine saith positively, that only a deprecatory Form is Essential, then in St. Ambrose's Church there was not this Sacrament, for only that other Form was used there. Nay, he saith that though every single word in this latter Form, is not Essential, yet they cannot be omitted without Sin. This utterly Condemns the Greeks, who never used either this, or any such like Form, as will appear by and by, though he pretends that they were United to the Latins at the Council of Florence, as Dosithheus saith they were in this Point at his Synod in Jerusalem.

The Prayer of Faith shall save the Sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; so though the outward means are well and rightly applied, yet the Effect is to be ascribed to God alone, who is always moved by the Prayers which came from the Devout, Believing, Penitent, true Christian Hearts, both of the Visitors and of the Patient; and according to his good Pleasure, (to which all was submitted, for thy will be done, as is said, was always part of their Prayer,) he will answer their requests as he shall think most expedient and fitting for them, both here and hereafter; as his Promise of restoring Houses, and Lands, and Relations or Kindred, and the like, which were lost or left for his names sake, is meant not always in specie, in kind, but in an Equivalent or in what is better. God shall raise him up, this is plainly meant of his Body, and not referr'd to any particular state of the Soul; he is not here supposed to have fallen into any Mortal Sin since his Conversion; and therefore as to his Spiritual Concern, he is only pray'd for in general as to that, as all other good Christians are; he is taken here for an innocent Profelitte brought to his Bed by Sicknes; and therefore, ἐγείναι αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος, the Lord shall raise him up, can signify no more then that he will raise him from his Bed; and restore him to his Health.

And here I cannot but consider a little, why in their Rubrick Children before their use of Reason are excepted from receiving their Extream Unction; whereas the precept is general; is any amongst you Sick, Old or Young; I should think that little Children, nay, very Babes, if they are once Baptized, when they fall Sick are as proper Objects of this Unction as any; Anointing them

them with Oyl having been, as is abovesaid, commonly used by the Jews to strengthen them; and surely they are as capable of the Prayers of the Congregation for their recovery; and therefore we pray for them that are Sick to this very day all over the Reformed World. But the Mystery of this is very plain, they would *destroy the nature of things*, and changing the natural Sense, as is said, would restrain *this Anointing* to only a *Spiritual end*, not for the *Cure of the Body*, but for the *Purifying of the Soul, the Forgiveness of dying Sinners*; and because Children before the use of Reason are not supposed guilty of actual Sin, they are not to be *Anointed* at all; for *Anointing* being only to *take away Sin*, it would be absurd and vain to apply it to them. Besides if the *Anointing* be only as a Sacramental Pledge for the *Forgiveness of Sin*, I wonder why they except all *dying Criminals, as well the Sick as the Sound*; some are very Penitent, and give manifest Signs of their *Faith, Contrition and hearty Repentance*. I saw one suffer at Rome, who was so Weak and Wasted as he could not rise up or stand in the Cart alone; two Friars, who went in the Cart with him holding the Virgin Maries Picture all the way before his Eyes, were forced to lift him and hold him up till the Rope was fixed; now St. James his order being Universal, *If any be Sick*, surely a Sick Penitent Criminal for the *Forgiveness of his Sin*, and all Innocent Christian Babes and Children, for their Recovery are included in it. And the same reason will hold against their excepting *Warriors, and Seamen and Travellers from this Sacrament before they undertake their several enterprizes*; for if their *Anointing* relates only, or chiefly, to the *Cure of the Soul to fit Men for Death*, and relates to the Body only by accident, I wonder why these Men are excepted, who are in danger every moment and want more than any, this *Viaticum*, this *Salvo condotto*, this Pass-port into the other World. *Arcudius* hath given us a Form or two which with a little alteration would fit all these conditions very well. And they may as well alter the Forms, as the *Anointing* in the Plague. T. p. 337.

Bellarmino urgeth very much God's Promise, *he shall raise him up*. This is, saith he, an absolute Promise; and cannot be chiefly refer'd to the Body, for it is plain that all the Sick in the Apostles time were not raised up; therefore the Promise was not made good to them, but belongs chiefly and absolutely to the Soul, where it never fails. Might not this Argument be retorted? Were all the Sick Christian Sinners in the Apostles time saved? Did none Perish? How this was, then, neither he nor any Man can say; but I am afraid that all who receive *Extream Unction*, now, are not forgiven. God's Promise both in relation to the Body and to the Soul is true and Faithfull; being only Conditional, as is abovesaid, and the Effect is reserved wholly to his Wise and Mercifull disposal. 1. 1. c. 3. p. 485. A.

And thus far they are directed in their Care for the Sick Man's Recovery; this being put as the general or common Case amongst them; in the beginning of their Christianity they were sincere and strict Livers, and not one notorious Offender accompanied with them. Yet though these Jewish Converts, to whom this instruction here was particularly directed, (for they only are noted, by any amongst you that are Christians) were by their Profession now, new Creatures, and did most of them abstain from all sort or appearance of Evil; and though almost all that fell Sick, were indeed Pure and Innocent Christians, yet some one of them, by the deceitfulness of Sin, might have had his failing and have fallen into a Sin, which might become Notorious either by the Observation of others, or by his own Confession and Acknowledgment; this is made here a particular Case quite different from the Former. If any one of you, perfectly good Christians (as all at their first Conversion are supposed to be) fall Sick, let the Antientest and chiefest of the Neighbours meet and help him with usual Medicines and Bodily Remedies, and with their earnest Prayers for his Recovery, *καὶ ἀμαρτίας ἢ πεπονητός*. But if it so comes to pass that he hath fallen into some Sin, as well as Sickness, you must more particularly pray Thef. 5. 12. T. p. 338.

T. p. 338. *pray for the Forgiveness of that, and for the Recovery of his Soul as well as of his Body. Thus Forgiveness is by no means to be attributed to the Anointing (which is prescribed only in the first Case in order to the Cure of his Body) but to the particular Supplications and Prayers of the good People then present, join'd with the hearty Sorrow and Repentance of the believing Patient himself.*

This in the Infancy and primitive Purity of the Church cannot be supposed to have been the Case of every one of these Jewish Christians. There were without doubt amongst that whole dispersed Nation, all sorts of notorious Sinners, as is specified in all the foregoing part of this Epistle. Men full of *all Filthiness and superfluity of Naughtiness. Full of the old Pharisaical Pride, respecting the Rich, despising and oppressing the Poor, Blaspheming the name of God, unmercifull. Bitterly Envyng, Fighting and Killing one another. Given up to their Lusts and Uncleaness; Adulterers and Adulteresses,* (for now Adultery being no longer punished with Death, as it was before whilst Moses his Law was in force, they might much more easily fall into that foul Sin.) There were also *Covetous wretches amongst them heaping up Treasure by Fraud, and wronging the Labourer of his hire; others who lived in Wantonness and Pleasure.*

Now such as these, who were not *Converted*, but remain'd *dead in Trespasses and Sins*, and under *positive Infidelity and hardness of Heart* are not those who are here to be thus *Visited, Anointed and Pray'd for.* For I cannot think that Bishops, or Presbyters or other true Believers would count themselves obliged thus to *Visit* those whom they knew to be such, *lest* (as Christ fore-warned them) *casting their Pearls before Swine, they should turn again and rent them;* neither can I believe that every Sick Infidel Jew would thus call for them. Therefore St. James here Preaching against all such miscreant wretches, cautions the believing Jews, *his Brethren*, all along against these evil ways and practices.

Therefore I am not apt to believe that any of the *Sick Christian Brethren* here mention'd, were after their Conversion such as liv'd in any of these Enormous Sins. It is highly probable that the Sins which the new Convert Jews might be most subject to, were quite of a different nature. It is plain from the Author to the Hebrews, that *the Revolt* of them was most to be feared; and therefore we find them there often caution'd and fore-armed *against backsliding. Take heed Brethren lest there be in any of you an Evil Heart of unbelief in departing from the living God. We are made partakers of Christ, if we hold the beginning of our Confidence stedfast unto the end.* He shews how hard, nay, he saith it is almost impossible for those, convert Hebrews, who were once enlightened and have tasted of the Heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the Power of the World to come, if they shall fall away, and renounce their Christianity, to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they Crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh and put him to an open shame. And to strengthen their Faith and to keep them from drawing back, he sets before them the glorious Examples of their Fore-fathers from the righteous Abel even to that time; that by such a cloud of Witnesses he might establish them in their Faith, and that they might run with Patience the race that was set before them. He hints at the Temptations which they might often have to Apostatize, as in that admonition, *be not carried away with divers strange Doctrines.* Without doubt the unbelieving Jews were continually Cavilling and Disputing against Christianity, and reproaching the new Profelites; perhaps pretending what a Shame it would be for them to depart from Moses his Law, which they knew was given by God himself, and under which both they and their Fathers had lived all along. It certainly would be a very hard task, for one that had been a strict observer of the Law, to part with the whole Ceremonial part of it at once; some time would be required fully

to perswade him of *the Christian Liberty*; there must needs have been many doubts arising in his Mind, before he could be thoroughly enlighten'd, so that his *Luke-warmness*, or his *Wavering* in his Profession would be most to be feared; or he might be ready to blend and mix Judaism and Christianity together; for that I take to be the meaning of that saying, *we have an Altar whereof they have no right to eat which serve the Tabernacle*; new Jewish Profelites who still hanker after *the Ritual observances of the Tabernacle*; that is, of Moses his Law; who are still perhaps for eating *the Paschal Lamb*, which was only *the Shadow* of the Christian Passover, are not *meet Communicants or partakers of Christ's Table*. And even from hence alone might some be *Weak and Sickly amongst them*; as it is expressly said of those who *there do Eat and Drink unworthily*. *Sickness and Distempers*, as at first in Adam, are usually the just Consequences of Sin. They were in the beginning of Christianity the common Companions of *Church Censures*, and that in *Mercy*, to reclaim them; this was the Case of the Incestuous Corinthian, *he was delivered up unto Satan for the destruction of the Flesh*; that some Sickness or Diseases might fall upon him and mortify him.

It is likely enough that many amongst these dispersed Jews might fall into, *τὴν πᾶσιν ἐπιθυμίαν*, *the foul Lusts of Concupiscence*, even as the Gentiles (amongst whom they lived) *who knew not God*. But the Sins of the Converted here pointed at, I rather think were those dregs of Judaism on which that Nation, before Christ's Sermon on the Mount, were settled by the corrupt Glosses of their Doctors, and by the common Practices of the People. They thought *Anger, Revenge, Malice, and Hatred*, were venial and very pardonable (as they were very common) Practices amongst them; but Christ told them that even *the least of these without a Cause*, was as much in danger of the Judgment, as *Murder it self*. If they abstain'd from the very beastly Act of Adultery, they thought all was well, but he told them that even *impure and Lustfull Thoughts* made them *as guilty in their Hearts* before God, as if they had committed the Deed. Instead of those barbarous and hardhearted Maxims as those, *an Eye for an Eye and a Tooth for a Tooth; Thou shalt love thy Neighbour* and hate thine Enemy, He bid them cheerfully to bear the greatest injury, and to *Love, Bless, and Pray for their Enemies*, and to do good to those that hate them. To be hearty, pure, and sincere in their *Alms, Prayers and Fasting*; that their *Righteousness* should exceed the hypocritical Righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees.

Now as amongst the first followers of Christ, they were not all Nathaniels, *Israelites indeed in whom there was no guile*; so amongst these Jewish Converts, who had lived and been bred up amongst the hypocritical Scribes and Pharisees, and had again and again heard their Doctrines and seen their Practices, which now amongst those who would appear *Pure and Sanctified* were become *the only Fashions*; I say amongst these first Converts all were not Christians indeed; in whom there was not left the least Tincture of the old Leaven of the Pharisees, of their inward corrupt Notions, and of their outward Formalities; and God might in Mercy, according to his good Pleasure, visit all those *Sins in the Faithfull Jews* by Sickness and bodily Infirmities, to Purify them and make them perfect in Christ Jesus. For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth. We have a fair example of this given us by David; *Woe be to me because of their Transgressions and Iniquities are afflicted* (not only with Losses and Crosses but with Diseases,) *their Soul abhorreth all manner of Meat; and they draw near unto the gates of Death*; this corrects them and makes them look up; then they cry unto the Lord, by Prayer, and he saveth them out of their Distress. Thus Sickness and Infirmities may be also inflicted only as *trials of Faith and Patience*, to prove good Men, as it was in Job; and this is the common Case here supposed of the upright Convert Jews; but they are *Admonitions and Corrections* to those that fall, and that is the second particular Case here mention'd, which might happen to some of them;

T. p. 340. them; as it was threatened in their old Law, as a Curse and Punishment, to
Deut. 28. 22. those that will not hearken.

Now if any of these Profelites had been before their Conversion subject to Anger and Ill-nature, or to Lasciviousness and carnal Thoughts, or to Cruelty and Revenge, or to the outward shew of Piety, and the like, all which before Christ's coming were grown to be in a manner the common Fashion of that Nation, as appears by his Sermon; or if they could not now entirely conquer and quite shake off these evil Affections, or could not attain to such a perfect and steadfast Faith, in all the Articles of the Christian belief, but that sometimes they doubted and might be wavering in their Profession; or if they might not rightly understand, or worthily come to, the Lord's Supper; or if they could not intirely cast off their former Mosaical observances; these I take to be most properly, those who here are supposed sometimes to have committed Sin after their Conversion, and these, if they fell Sick would freely confess their Failings, and desire the prayers and Directions of their Bretheren then present.

St. James all along in this Epistle prepares them to this Duty of Confessing their Faults one to another. In many things, saith he, we offend all; therefore why should any be uneasy, or afraid to confess his Failings. Wise Christians bridle their Tongues, and out of a good Conversation shew their Deeds, with meekness of Wisdom; they are Peaceable, Gentle, full of Mercy, and make the best use of the Patient's Confession for his good. Speak not Evil one of another, he that speaketh Evil of his Brother and judgeth his Brother, Usurps and arrogates to himself the Attribute of God, who is the only Judge of all the World, being alone able to save and to destroy. Who therefore art thou that judgeth another.

The Primitive Christians were of this Temper, and did safely and freely confess, and mutually confess their Scruples, their Doubts, their Failings and Faults to one another, without Reviling or Reproach; and did Pity, and advise and help one another in their spiritual Infirmities, as well as in those of the Body. St. Paul speaking of those that were weak in the Faith, saith, we that are strong, the oldest and best grounded Christians, ought to bear the Infirmities of the weak; every one ought to please his Neighbour for his good to Edification; receive ye one another as Christ received us. Comfort your selves together, and Edify one another. Exhort one another daily.

What mutual Edification or Exhortation could their be without confessing and acquainting one another with their spiritual Conditions and Wants? Christ took notice of that old Fault amongst the Jews, their Censoriousness and Hypocrisy; their marking every Mote in their Brother's Eye, their spying out and Carping at every little Fault in their Neighbour. But this uncharitableness was not to be suffer'd amongst professed Christians. St. Paul incomparably tells us our mutual Duty in this Point. Let us not be desirous of Vain-glory, provoking one another, envying one another, (saying or thinking that we are better or holier then others,) but Brethren, if a Man, a Christian, be overtaken in a Fault, (as who sometimes or other is not,) ye which are Spiritual, who have the Fruits of the Spirit, before mention'd, in you, as Love, Long suffering, Gentleness, Meekness,) restore such a one in the Spirit of Meekness. Considering thy self, lest thou also be tempted, and fall; bear ye one another's Burdens, (sympathize with the Penitent Sinner, be Weak with them that are Weak,) and so fulfill the Law of Christ; for if a Man think himself to be something (that is, not a Sinner,) when he is nothing (when every Man is one) he deceiveth himself; the Truth is not in him.

This was the true State of Primitive Christians; if any amongst them fell Sick, who either were observed by others, to have been overtaken in any of the aforesaid Faults, or who freely Confessed what he found in himself amiss; (as who would not be ready in such Society to Confess his Weakness and Failings?) The more to move Pity in his spiritual Brethren then about him; and to enflame their Devotion in Praying for him; the Antientest, more experienced Spiritual Brethren

Brethren (Priests or common People) which were in the Neighbourhood were called, who presently join'd in Prayer *for his Forgiveness and Recovery*; for these two were then inseparable parts of their Petitions, as Christ himself had made *them all one* in many of his mighty Deeds of Mercy; it was the same with him to say, *thy Sins be forgiven thee*, as to say, *take up thy Bed and walk; go and Sin no more.* T. p. 342.
Mar. 9. 2, 5.
Joh. 8. 11.

Publick Confession of Sins was common amongst the first *Jewish Profelites*. *John Baptist* Preached *Repentance*, and all the Multitudes that went out to him, *publickly Confessed their Sins*. And those who were Converted by *St. Paul* at *Ephesus*, came and *publickly Confessed and shewed*, or declared, *their Deeds*; particularly the Professors of, *ἑρμηνεία γράμματα*, *Curious Arts* and Learned in *Magical Books*. Plain hearted Men in those days told all that they remembered of what they had done amiss. *St. John's* words seem to me most properly to be interpreted of this kind of publick Confession; *If we Confess our Sins*, that is, *if we publickly own to all the World of Christians, that we are and have been Sinners*. I am sure it is *St. Paul's* Practice again and again in all his Epistles; he Confesseth that he hath been a *Persecutor of the Church* and that he was therefore *the least of all the Apostles*; that he had been a *Blaspkemer* and *Injurious*, that he was the chief of Sinners. Thus we read of *publick and mutual Confession*, but not one word of a *Whispering Popish Confession to only a Priest* is there, in *That* the Scripture is totally silent. Mat. 3. 6.
Act. 19. 18.
1 Joh. 1. 9.
1 Cor. 15. 9.
1 Tim. 1. 13. 15.

They were to pray over the Sick for the recovery of his Health; and if the Sick had committed a Fault, they were alternately to pray for one another as it might be one another's Case; and every Sick Man who had committed a Sin that was not known to others, was to Confess it to them; as every one of them were obliged to do the same when it was their Case; so that this *Publick Confession* and Prayer was to be mutual, as it happen'd to be alternately every one's Case. *St. John* tells us that *there is a Sin unto Death*, and he doth not say that he that seeth it in another shall pray for it. As if a Brother should quite Apostatize and Renounce his Christianity; or should fall into some publick or notorious Sin, and should become a very great Scandal to the Congregation, and for it should be Censur'd by them; if such a one be so harden'd in his Sin as to laugh and scoff at it, being perfectly Dead to all *Admonition and Reproof*; such as *these* cut themselves off from all such Administration as is here appointed to be made to the Faithfull. Such Men perhaps would confess their Sins, but it would be to *Glory in them*. The good Christians are no more obliged to visit such a one, then they are to visit a meer Infidel. And therefore I am the more confirm'd in my Opinion, that the Sins here noted by *St. James* to be pray'd for, were those most especially, which I have above mention'd as the remainders of Judaism; *Scruples*, *Doubts*, *Double-mindedness*, *Wavering*, *Lukewarmness*, and the like, and not those gross and shamefull Works of the Flesh, *Adultery*, *Fornication*, *Uncleanness*, *Drunkenness*, and the like. I can hardly believe that any of those Jewish Profelites who were pricked in their Hearts and converted by *St. Peter's* Doctrine, saying what shall we do, could now be such Enemies of God whom they so solemnly professed, as willfully to commit, much less to live in, any of those deliberate Sins. It is true indeed that the best of Christians is still a Man; and the same *St. John* saith truly that he is a Sinner. And therefore it might very well have been the Case of some of these Sick Profelites to have fallen into some of those Failings first above named; but the same Apostle tells us, that whosoever is born of God doth not commit deliberate Sin; for his Seed, the Principle of divine Life, remaineth in him; and he cannot, willfully, and deliberately Sin. By Sins therefore here, are meant Sins of *Infirmities*, *Surprises*, *Imperfections*, *Indiscretions*, and Failings of the Weak Christians; which if they humbly Confess and with Sorrow publickly acknowledge to their Brethren, God is so Faithfull and Just as to forgive T. p. 342.
Gal. 5. 19.
Act. 2. 27.
Jam. 4. 4.
1 Joh. 1. 8, 9.
10.
c. 3. 9.

T. p. 342. *forgive them*; and the Brethren are bound to ask it of God for them, and to Pray for their Forgiveness and *their life Eternal*; which is St. John's Doctrine also, and the very same with St. James his here, *mutual Confession and mutual Prayer*.

The Prayer of Faith shall save the Sick. It is amazing to see how Bel-larmine trifles in expounding of this (of which more presently) to Magnify the Anointing, as being, with him, as much or more Efficacious then the Prayers for the Patients Forgiveness and spiritual Cure. Whereas it is most evident that Anointing is here prescribed as a means to be used in the first Case only, in order to the Bodily Cure. If it had been thus worded, *Is any Sick, Pray over him; but if the Sick Man hath Sinned, Anoint him with Oyl in the name of the Lord, and he shall be Forgiven*, there had been some Colour for making the outward Anointing with Oyl, a Pledge of the inward Anointing of the Spirit; but it is quite otherwise; *Pray over the Sick Anointing him, but if it happens that he is a Sinner, the Prayer of Faith alone*, (not the Anointing) shall save him; and he shall be Forgiven. Prayer takes in both Cases, for I cannot see how we can pray for the Sick Man's recovery, without Praying for the Pardon of his Sins. Prayers in the first Case are for Forgiveness of Sins in General; but in the second Case they are particularly applied to those special Sins, of which the poor Patient Confesseth himself to be Guilty. Indeed the Popish Anointing may signify something as much towards his Forgiveness, as that dull faint Form, (or rather Charm) *Indulgeat tibi Deus, may God Pardon you*, mumbled or whispered in Latin by a single Priest into the Ears of a senseless Creature. But the Prayers of Faith here meant, are the Active, Fervent, inwardly affecting Prayers of the whole Faithfull Company then present, *ἐνεγέρμενοι, Enlivened and Spirited*, or raised, by the Passionate confession of the Sorrowfull Penitent; every one being inwardly Touched, and making his Case their own; 2 Cor. 11. 29. *with the Weak, becoming Weak*, pitying them and sympathizing with them. These Prayers will indeed avail much with God; but the Anointing as to the Mat. 23. 25. Cure of his Soul, signified no more then the Pharisees washing of the outsides of their Cups, did to the cleansing of them from their Extortion πύμψ. Mark. 7. 3. and Excess; or the Turks Abdest, (which they learned from them) their Washing before they Pray, doth to the Purifying of their Hearts and Consciences.

T. p. 343. I have thus far Examined the present Practice of the Latins, and compared it with the Prescription of St. James; which, I must still say, seems to me, every way more fully and plainly to agree with the Constitution of our Church, then with theirs; that is without any Mystical or Superstitious Formalities, it directs only a plain and charitable Visitation of the Sick, to Help and Comfort them, as I have said, both as to their Body and their Soul. Is any Sick, Jam. 2. 5, 6. Old or Young, High or Low, Poor or Rich, Brother or Sister, destitute of daily Food, or wanting Medicine or Relief Bodily or Spiritual, let the good Neighbours, (especially the Priest and Ministers, if they may be had, or other Grave, Serious, and Pious Christians, be call'd to their Help. And I am the more confirmed in this my Opinion, because I find it the common Practice of all the present Jews where ever I came, to this very day. When any one is Sick, their Friends and Relations and good Neighbours Visit them; and if it is in Cities or great Places where they have a Synagogue, and there are any learned Rabbi's or Chacams, Wise-men amongst them, some of these are called, or go unto them of their own accords. There they use Prayers for God's Mercy to all their Brethren, (who are in Want, or Trouble, and Distress, or Sick, &c.) in general; and then particularly for the Case of the present Patient before them. They have set Forms of Confession for the Sick Person to make; as I have them all in their Rituals which I have gotten at Constantinople and elsewhere; you may see a Confession, in their Order, (as they call it) lately Printed at Amsterdam by David Tartas. This Practice might be first

taken

taken up amongst them from some places in the Law which prescribe *Confession of secret Trespasses and Sins*. This old laudable Custom being brought down to, and Practised in, St. James his days, he might rightly *Christianize* it, and prescribe it in a Perfecter way, and make it thus more suitable to the Primitive Constitution of his Profelites. Many usages which were any ways *Spiritual and good* amongst the Jews, were profitably new Modell'd and retain'd by the Apostle, and improved to the Promoting of the ends of the Gospel. I must be more Positive in this my Assertion; this Custom of *Visiting the Sick* amongst the Antient Jews, being clearly set down by the Learned Lightfoot. *They came and Anointed them and Pray'd over them*; but at last they had corrupted the first good and pious Practice, and turn'd it into a kind of *Magical Charm*. *They Anointed the Sick Man's Head, and only Mutter'd over him some odd Form of Words*. He instances in some of them. Now St. James corrects this abuse; *he retains and prescribes the charitable Visitation*; allowing *Anointing* and the use of ordinary Medicines and outward means; but instead of their wicked or superstitious *Muttering* or *Whispering over them*, he appoints *the Prayers of Faithfull Christians* to be added to their other Applications for their Cure. The present Jews have left off this Corruption, of *muttering over the Sick*; and the Latins have taken it up.

The Sick therefore amongst them were thus to be *Visited and Anointed*, (after their old Custom) in order to their *Recovery* and not in order to their *Dying*. Bellarmine as he will not allow this Text to be meant of a natural or common Cure only thus *Sanctified by the Prayer of Faith*; so he strenuously denies any such *Miraculous Cure* to be here intended as was done by the Apostles, who had the *Gift of Healing*; and therefore he interprets this place only of a *Sacramental Cure*. *Unctio sanat Animum & aliquando Corpus virtute Sacramentali, the Anointing*, saith he, *heals the Soul and sometimes the Body by its Sacramental virtue*; *Anointing* then, according to him, is designed only as a *Sacrament to the Soul*, but the Body may also sometimes by chance be a little benefited by it.

But first the Cardinal seems here not very Consistent with himself; he argued before that *no Miracle is meant here* or to be expected; yet afterwards he gives this reason for *Anointing*, *semimortuos, Men half Dead, quærenda sunt remedia Supernaturalia quando nulla spes amplius est in Naturalibus; Supernatural remedies must be sought for, when there is no hopes at all left in those that are Natural*. If the Remedies and Cure be *Supernatural* at any time, I should think it is a *Miracle*, call it *Sacramental* or what you please; as if *Anointing* presently recovers a *Man half Dead*, quite senseless, and as it were at the last Gasp; or if he that *Anoints him*, looks for such a Cure; surely he expects a *Miracle*, and I must think and call it so, if it comes to pass.

But since after all this, the Latins will have *Extream Unction* to be a Sacrament. Let us now Examine their Practice by St. James his words, and see if they can make it out so to be. I suppose none can be so void of Sense as to say that it is a Sacrament to the *Visitors* or *Standers by*, and I believe it will appear to be as little, or rather less such to the Sick Person himself, being in such a Condition as the Latins suppose him. It is the common Opinion of the Cardinal and his Brethren, *that Faith is necessarily required in every one of Ripper years, or of Age of Discretion, not as an efficient Cause of a Sacrament, but as a right Disposition in him that receives it; for the want of that alone hinders any Sacrament from taking its Effect, and so it proves to the Receiver absolutely Fruitless*. St. James calls it, *the Prayer of Faith, because it requires Faith in the Receiver, and without Faith it is invalid, and of no Effect*. Now they Administer this pretended Sacrament only, *Semimortuis, to Men half Dead, in extremis, at the very point of Death, animæque ipsâ, when the Soul it self* (they are Goar's own words) *is interdict-*

T. p. 343.
Lev. 6. 2.
3. 4. Eccl. Num.
5. 6. 7. Jol.
7. 19.

Hor. Heb. in
Mat. 6. 17.
p. 162. v. 2.
Harm. Anno
63. Christi.
Nepo. 9. p.
333. v. 1.

l. i. c. 3. p.
484. F. G.
485. B.

p. 485. F.

T. p. 344.

De Sacram. l.
2. c. 1. p. 54.
B. C. D.

A Lapide in lo-
cum. p. 171.

p. 433. b.

ed

T. p. 344. *ed and deprived of all its Acts or Faculties.* But what Faith can they imagine in one that is without any perception and perfectly Senseless? Who can neither feel the Priest's thumb dabbing him with Oyl, nor hear him *mutter his Charm* over him, nor can mind or see either the Cross or the Priest that offers it to him to kiss? but lies immoveable like a meer Block or a Stone?

§. *Infirmities.*

But their Rubrick seems cunningly to anticipate and cautiously answers this Objection. *This Sacrament may be given to those, who when they had a sound Mind, and their perfect Senses, have desired it, or very likely would have given signs of Contrition, although afterwards they should have lost their Speech, or be light Headed, or Rave, or are Senseless.* So then their former Faith will serve, though now in the present Administration of the Sacrament,

§. *si vero.*

they have Actually nothing of it, being past all Sense and understanding. But if only such *previous Faith* will do, I see no reason but it may be as effectual if they were *Anointed* and received this Sacrament when they were quite Dead. And there will be no need of that Rubrick, *that the Priest, if the Man dies under the operation, should leave off*; for he might as safely and Effectually go on, (nay, *perform it all* from the very beginning) to a really Dead Man, as to one who to all Sense and Knowledge is as utterly Dead already.

A Lapid. in locum. p. 172. A.

I have heard of some Sick Man amongst them, who being asked if he would receive *the Extreame Unction*, cryed out, *why, I hope in God it is not come to that yet, is it?* I find this *their common delay and thus putting it off* complain'd of by a great Man; I cannot tell what *Faith* such a one might then have, but when his Senses and all Perception had left him, I believe but little then did actually remain in him. Without doubt the Reward of a Christian's steady *Faith* follows him into the other World, but I cannot conceive that it Acts at all in him, in Extremis, or, *Semimortuo*, *when he is Senseless and past Thinking or Feeling*; he is thus Dead perhaps some hours, before he is, as we say, *stark Dead*. I remember the Famous *Borri*, when I Visited him in *the Castle of St. Angelo* at Rome, told me that the French Embassador had lain so, many many hours, (without any Sense, without any perceptible Pulse, Chap-fallen, and with open Mouth,) before he received *the Priest's Unction* or *Borri's drops* by which he was recovered. I therefore cannot but stand amazed, when I read, *that all the other Sacraments confer Grace, per Accidens, by Accident or Chance; but this doth it, per se, by it self; or by its own Essential Power.* Alas! What Grace can it confer to a *senseless Carcase*, which at that time knows nothing of the matter. All their other Sacraments are very sorry ones, if this, as they make it, be the chief.

T. p. 345.

.. i. c. 9. p. 489. C.

Bellarmino condemns the *Valentinians* for *Anointing the Dead*; I would gladly know the difference between them and the *Latins*, between *Anointing a dead Man*, and *Anointing a Man just dying*. As to the effect upon the Body there may be some very very little difference, because we say, *as long as there is Life there is Hope*. But a Man just dead is as capable of *this pretended Sacrament* to all intents and purposes of his Soul as he was before, when once he was past all Perception. But he saith, *the Valentinians Anointed with Oyl and Water mixt*; first then surely it was a custom to use Oyl at least either alone or mixt; and so the *Latins* themselves oft make a mixture, *when the Consecrated Oyl grows scarce, they mix Unconsecrated Oyl with it*. Then lastly the *Latins* use not *Vulgar words*, but such as to most are unintelligible, as I have noted before; so that in the whole as to the substantial part of the Practice I think the *Valentinians* and the *Latins* do exactly agree.

l. i. c. 6. p. 488. A.

Rubr. §. *beat.*

Tertullian tells us that one *Proculus* a Christian cured the Emperor *Severus* with Oyl; but first that cannot be counted a *Sacrament* because it was done to a Heathen; next it is not recorded by him as a *Miracle*, but, *inter beneficia Christianorum*, only as an Instance of the universal *Charity and good Deeds of Christians* towards all Men; he *Anointed* the Emperor (as was customary,) but

Ad Scapulum.

but without doubt he Pray'd to his own true God for his blessing upon it; this was the common Visitation of Christians one to another, yet *Proculus* might Charitably use the common outward means, (which he knew were proper,) to a Heathen; nay, and might justly and Dutifully pray for the Emperor's recovery too, who we find was very kind to him.

The Prayer of Faith shall save the Sick. It is then plainly Prayer not Anointing, that save the Sick, be it in his Body or in his Soul or both. But if this Prayer and Unction be a Sacrament, it must be so to the Faithfull Visitors, who in the Administration can pray with Faith and Understanding; but it cannot be so to the Sick Person, who is then perfectly Senseless and can then neither Pray, nor Believe, nor think any thing; as *Goar* himself in another place plainly Confesseth, of him that, in extremis laborat, lies at the point of Death. But here we meet with a nice point of Jesuitism indeed; It is here called the Prayer of Faith, non quæ requirat necessario fidem Ministri, sed quia est oratio dictata a Fide, & solâ Fide intelligitur; not that which necessarily requires the Faith of the Minister, but because it is a Prayer dictated by Faith, and is by only Faith understood. So then the Priest need not, (and be sure the poor senseless Creature, cannot,) believe, when the Prayer is said; this makes their Sacrament a perfect Charm indeed. The Priest mutters certain Words which he thinks may perhaps do some good, as a common Conjuror may think that the hanging *Abracadabra* about a Man's neck will cure him of an Ague; but the Priest may no more believe in Christ, then the Conjuror believes in Apollo. A Christian may have made their Form, and so it was at first, dictata a Fide, dictated by Faith, or first taught by some Believer, as *Abracadabra* was first made by some Worshipper of Apollo; and this is enough, according to these Men, to make it a Prayer of Faith. Though the Priest be a Beast, or in this Point a meer Infidel, opus operatum, the bare Deed being done compleats their Sacrament; which is directly against St. James his Doctrine, the fervent Prayer of a Righteous Man availeth much; there must then be, Fides orantis, Faith in him that Prayeth and Holiness too, he must be a Righteous Man, otherwise his Prayer will not avail much. The Cardinal quotes a Passage out of St. Augustin to establish this wild notion, which to me perfectly makes against it. Speaking of Baptism, he saith, accedit verbum ad Elementum & fit Sacramentum; Non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur; nam & in ipso verbo aliud est sonus transiens, aliud virtus manens; The Word is added to the Element and the Sacrament is made; not because the Word is spoken but because it is believed; for in the very Word the transient sound is one thing, the Virtue which remains (and is exerted by Faith) is another. He applies all this to Prayer quite a contrary way; the Prayer avails, quia dicitur, because it is spoken, (mumbled over by the Priest) not, quia creditur, because it is believed, either by him or the Sick Man either, for their Faith is not required or concern'd in the business. Whereas St. Augustine lays all the stress upon Faith alone, and explains himself by that of St. Paul. The word of Faith which we Preach, (that is, the Faith of the Gospel) is not what is spoken or confest by the Mouth alone, but what is believed in the Heart; for with the Heart Man believeth unto Righteousness, and by that of St. Peter, Purifying the Heart by Faith, not by Words only; and again, Baptism save us, not by putting away the flesh of the Flesh, but by a good Conscience; so no more can Anointing the Body and Prayer signify any thing without Faith and Holiness; by the word of Faith then nothing else is meant but true belief of the Gospel; and in this manner St. Augustin goes on saying, that the Church, Credentem, Offerentem, Benedicentem, Tingentem, Believing (this word of Faith) and (upon its Authority) Offering, Blessing and Baptizing an Infant, can cleanse him although as yet he hath in himself no Faith. But when he comes to years of Discretion, without Faith and Righteousness, his Baptism will condemn him rather then do him any Good. If the Cardinal aim'd at any thing to his purpose by

T. P. 347.

p. 742. §. 1.

l. 1. c. 3. p.

486. A. A. La-

pide in locum.

p. 173. 1.

T. P. 346.

Tract (in Joh.
cap. 14.) Rom.

Rom. 10. 8.

Aa. 15. 9.

T. p. 346. by this quotation it must be this, *that as the Church and her Ministers, by Faith in the Gospel, Receiving, Blessing and in Baptism dedicating an Innocent Babe to Christ, may save himself* (if he then dies) *without his own particular Faith; so a Latin Priest mumbling over a Prayer, or rather a Form of certain Words over a Guilty Sinner, (who knows nothing of it) at the minute of his Death, may save him without either the Sinners actual Faith or his own.* It is own'd plainly that the Priest in the Action *needs not any,* and it is as plain that the senseless Sinner then *cannot have any.* These cases thus fairly put, are vastly distant from one another; Baptism is a most manifest Institution of Christ himself, and was ever from the very beginning of the Gospel own'd and practis'd all over the universal Church *as such,* which the Latins can never prove of this *their Sacrament;* much less as it is now prescribed by them.

Our Visitation of the Sick is (according to Catholick usage) perform'd whilst they have their Senses and Understanding; and *we exhort them* and farther treat them *as such.* We pray to God to *give them sure Confidence in him, and to strengthen their Faith,* which (as the ground of all) they profess and we hope is then in them; *we pray for God's Mercy to them, and for their Pardon and Forgiveness;* and in order to that *we pray for their Repentance and stedfast Faith;* and at the point of their departure, *we faithfully commend their Souls into the Hands of God;* and all this is done without any new Stipulation or Federal contract with God, which only makes a *Sacrament truly so called,* and it must be confirmed by his own plain appointment in the Gospel.

When the Latins were disposed to make a *Sacrament* for the Sick, I wonder they did not rather pitch upon that other Rite, in Visitatione Infirmorum, in their Office of Visiting the Sick or Infirm. After the Penitential Psalms (or some of them) and several Suffrages and Prayers and four Gospels are read, follows this Rubrick, "Let the Priest lay his right Hand upon the Head of the Sick and say, *they shall lay Hands on the Sick and they shall recover; Jesus, the Son of Mary, the safety of the World, and Lord, by the Merits and Intercessions of his holy Apostles Peter and Paul and all the Saints, be Mercifull and Favourable unto thee.* First there is Christ's command for this, and also St. Paul's example. Next for the Form (as they call it) of this *Sacrament* they had the Words of Christ, to which is attacked a Prayer to Jesus; which (as it is very likely) was at first sincere without the addition of that opprobrious Patch, *by the Merits and Intercession of the Saints.* As for the Matter they could as easily have found it out for this *Sacrament* as they have done it for some of their other; or the bare Imposition of the Hand (being the outward Sign) might have pass'd here for the Matter, as well as (with many of them) it hath done in Ordination. But then, this *Sacrament,* would have had *this grand Preeminence* above their *Extream Unction;* whereas that is administred to *senseless Creatures,* this is to Men in their perfect Senses; who are capable of *Consolation, Exhortation, and Advice* (about settling their affairs both Temporal and Eternal,) and are able to attend to the *Psalms and Prayers* and other parts of the Office; Goar thought it great Pity that the Church of the Greeks should be deprived of one of their *Sacraments,* but if the Latins are so fond of *Extream Unction,* as not to part with it; *this* might very well supply its place, or with a little pains, might, by the prime Wits amongst their Modern Schoolmen, be very plausibly made an eighth *Sacrament* amongst them. Nay, I will venture to say, *that the Holy Kiss,* (which I have mention'd above) amongst the Greeks, (especially at Easter with those words *Χριστός ἀνέστη, Christ is risen,*) is in all respects a more substantial *Sacrament,* then the Latins *Extream Unction.* They are both alike in being neither of them plainly Instituted by Christ himself; yet the Kiss hath these manifest advantages; no doubt but it was confirm'd by Christ's own Example, it being the ordinary Symbol or mark of mutual Kindness when they met, or entered into one another's

another's House. Next the *Unction* is recommended but by one *Apostle*, only St. *James*; but the *Kiss* is solemnly enjoined by two, by St. *Paul* again and again, and by St. *Peter*, who rightly calls it a *Kiss of Charity* or Christian love; and by *Tertullian*, *communicatio Pacis*, the communication of Peace, and what *Bellarmino* saith for the Authority of St. *James*, is much more prevalent for St. *Paul* and St. *Peter*, as much as two witnesses are more credible than one. St. *James*, saith he, would never so constantly and absolutely have promised help to the Sick thus Anointed, unless the Lord had Instituted and Commanded it. So I may more safely say, both these Apostles, would not have so plainly and so often appointed the Sacrament of the Holy Kiss, unless Christ had Instituted and Commanded it to them and to all the rest. Then for the other *Scholastick Ingredients* or Terms of a Sacrament, we have them all here precisely; the outward Sign or Matter, the mutual Kiss; the inward Grace, or thing signified, mutual Charity; the Form, Christ is Risen, or the Lord is Risen indeed.

I will now pass on to the Greeks and see whether they have this *Mystery* or Sacrament of *Extream Unction* amongst them; and I shall examine their Practice by St. *James* his Prescription and compare it with the Latins, and then I shall humbly offer to the Reader my thoughts concerning the whole matter. The Greeks have several Offices and Prayers, and with some of them they use Anointing with Oyl for several Distempers, and Infirmities and other occasions as by and by will appear; it is wonderfull to see how *Bellarmino* and all the late Reconcilers of the two Churches, *Allatius*, *Goar*, *Arcudius*, and others, labour and stretch their Wits to make them fully agree in this Point. Both the Latins and *Dositheus* his Synod, as all other Latinized Greeks, have jointly pitched upon one peculiar Office which they think will come nearest to accommodate this Matter; I shall therefore first give a short account of it. The Greeks call it ἅγιον ἔλαιον, Holy Oyl, and ἑυχέλαιον, which (though our English Tongue is not so capable of Compounding words as the Greek is) I shall call, word for word, Prayer-Oyl, that is, Oyl Sanctified by Prayer.

The Title is, the Office of the Holy Oyl to be Sung by seven Priests gathered together in a Church or in a House, and it is plain that it was commonly (as it is now) performed in the Evening, or beginning of the Night. I must first take notice of what *Goar* saith of it; That amongst many Manuscript Copies which he procured of it, he could scarce find one that was any thing entire; I must say the same, and of those which I have compared not any two of them agreed, but had sometimes most strange defects and varieties; which seems to me as if there was not one settled Office for them, but every one used some of the chief parts of it, leaving out, or adding as they thought good. I have some by me; one, I think, is as fair as any I ever saw; It is written about *Leo* the Philosopher's time, if not before, as may be plainly made out by *Goar*; a remarkable Passage, which was made about that time, being in his Copy, but not in mine; and the hand speaks it to be about the ninth Age.

After several common Preliminary Suffrages, follows a kind of an Address chiefly to the Virgin Mary, and Christ, which they call a Canon, consisting of short supplications, chiefly for him that procures the Office to be performed; but often also for all those that shall then be partakers. This Canon is not old; at the highest that *Goar* out of *Baronius* can stretch it, it was made in the ninth Century; and it is manifestly there interpolated and patcht, as I have already hinted; and it is otherwise plain from the Various Readings in the several Copies which I have compared with *Goar*. About the end of the ninth Century this Canon was not performed or sung in a House, but ἐν τῷ ναῷ, in a Church, as appears evidently by one little Suffrage there.

After this Canon is over, the common, συναπτή, collection of Suffrages (which is used every day in their Liturgies) follow. Then Oyl and Wine are put into a large Capacious Lamp (which where it is to be had, commonly hangs before

T. p. 348.
c. σπη. 27.

p. 428.

before our Saviour's Picture) or into some other *Holy Vessel*, as it was in *Simeon Thessalonicensis* his time; and seven Lamps, or seven several Wicks were Lighted, representing the seven Priests and the Gifts of the Holy Ghost; and so it is described in *Goar's* second Copy.

Μολυβίδι, seu Μολυβίδιον Græcorum
seu *Ellychnium*.

Goar Euch. 428
833. 848. 8.

A. A piece of Cork through which is a Nofel put for the Wick to come thorough out of the Oyl; and because it might be first made of Lead, is called *μολυβίδι*, from *μόλις* & *δ*, *Lead*.

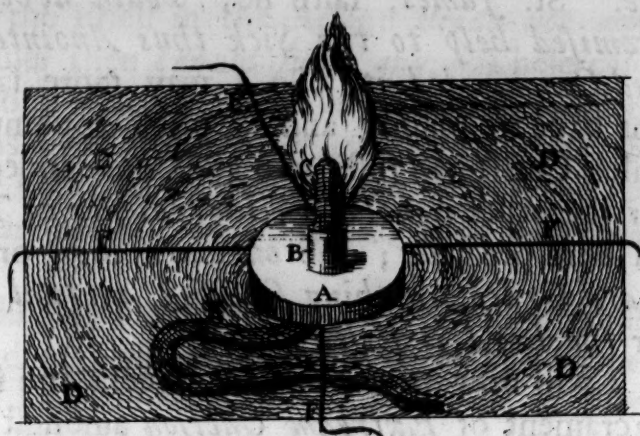
B. Is the Nofel; which is sometimes of Tin, or Latin.

C. Is the Wick Lighted.

DDDD. Is the Oyl in which it Floats in the Bason or Dish.

E. Is the lower part of the Wick which lies under the Oyl.

F. Are four Things or Wires by which you may place and fasten it, or set it with others, in a row or otherwise as you please. But the Oyl being always in great quantity, it is put into some large open Bason or *Holy Vessel*, and every Priest hath his Wick lighted and floating in it; which is made after this manner, where every Priest is said to have Lighted his Wick, whilst he said (in his turn,) the Prayer of Consecration following. And the Turks have the same contrivance in making and fixing of their Lamps upon their Moschs and elsewhere at their great Festivals, and every private Greek, who hath a Lamp burning in their House before the Virgin Mary's Picture, contrive the Wick of it thus in a little flat glass of Oyl.



T. p. 349.

p. 413.

c. σπη. 35.

Then the first Priest consecrates the Oyl, saying, *κύριε ὁ ἐν τῷ ἐλέει*, O Lord who in thy Mercy — do thou O Lord sanctify this Oyl, that it may be to those who are Anointed with it, or out of it, for the healing and driving away of every Distemper, of every Defilement of Flesh and Spirit, and of all Evil; and that, in this, thy All-holy name may be Glorified. *Simeon* hath the same. This Prayer all the seven Priests say in their turns; and afterwards each of them adds another, which *Simeon* there calls, *πλεσιπλῆ*, *Initiatory*, or *Consummatory*.

Δ. 201. b.

Jac. 5. 10.

Luk. 10. 25.

Then follow some Supplications to Christ; to St. *James*; and to some other peculiar Greek Saints (mention'd together in a prayer afterwards) for all those there present, and some particularly for him who procured the Office. Nothing of any of these are in my Copy; which makes me suspect that they have been inserted afterwards. Then is read the first Epistle, and the Gospel. Here I cannot omit this short Note; the first Epistle here read is taken out of *James* 5. 10. which Epistle might even in his time, as it was made, so it might also have been published by him and well known; but for the rest of the Epistles and Gospels here following, there may be made some doubt whether they were then so publicly known. For the whole Canon of Scripture was not so compleat and generally received so soon; which to me seems plainly to prove, that this whole Office of the *Prayer-Oyl* cannot be so *Primitive* or so *early in use*, as the Greeks have made it. Then follows this Prayer, (being the first Priest's second) *Ἀναρχε, ἀδιάδοχε, ἅγιε ἅγιον*, O thou who art without Beginning and without Succession, O Holy of Holy's — send down thy Holy Spirit and Sanctify this Oyl, and make it to this thy Servant, (who is to be Anointed,) for his perfect deliverance from his Sins, and for his Inheriting of the Kingdom of Heaven. In *Simeon's* times, as the first Priest said the other Prayer, and this Prayer he Crossed the Oyl, and all

all the other Priest's did so likewise. And the Oyl (which one would think was sufficiently Consecrated before, by the first Prayer above, O Lord who in thy Mercy, &c. is Consecrated here again by a second, or double Prayer, which he there says was most proper to do it; *ὁ ἅγιος ἰδὼν ἡγιασμένον*, and thus the Oyl, saith he, is Sanctified; both these Prayers are therefore called, *πλεοναὶ*, Initiatory or Consummatory.

Then in Goar follows a long Prayer, which some, he saith, join on to this last as one, continuing it to the end. It is a farther Consecrating of the Oyl; *Σὺ γὰρ εἰ ὁ Θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ θαύματος*, for thou art a great and wonderfull God.—Let this Oyl, O Lord, be made, an Oyl of Gladness, an Oyl of Sanctification—that they who are Anointed in it, or with it, may by the Oyl of Regeneration be made Terrible to their Adversaries and Shine, &c. And hence this Oyl, thus Blessed, is thought by them effectual to all that are Anointed, with it, as well as to him who is at the expence to procure it. This additional part of the foregoing Prayer is neither mentioned by Simeon, nor is in any of my Copies, though he mentions some other Prayer as following there, which was called, *ἐυχὴ δέουσις, ὡς ἀφίσις*, a Prayer of Supplication for Forgiveness. The Epistle and Gospel in him follows the Prayer, in Goar they go before it. The Gospel is laid and read upon the Head of him who procures the Office.

Then the first Priest anoints, the Procurer, saying, *πάτερ ἅγιε, ἰατρὲ τῶν ψυχῶν*, O holy Father, thou Physitian of Souls and Bodies—Heal also thy Servant, N.N. from the Infirmary of Body and Soul which now afflicts him, and Quicken him by the Grace of thy Christ; And mentioning the Intercessions of the Virgin Mary and several of their peculiar Saints, he concludes, for thou O Christ, our God, art the Fountain of all Cures. Simeon saith, he laid his Hand upon the Head *μετανοῶντος*, of the Penitent, (for so he calls him, justly, as I shall say by and by) whilst he said this Prayer; and at the end of it, he Anointed his Forehead, and Face, and Hands cross wise; and the present Greeks Anoint no more parts now. I have seen it publicly performed twice; but never saw the Breast or Feet Anointed, as Arcudius say they are; neither can I conceive how this can conveniently be done in a Church to a Man standing with his Cloaths and his Shakeshares and Shoes on; I will not say but that this may have been done to one Sick in his naked Bed, for he proves that of old the Sick were Anointed all over, which exactly agrees with my Conjectures abovesaid. Every one of the Priests, when he hath said his Gospel and his proper Prayer, saith this Prayer, O Holy Father, and then Anoints the Penitent. One thing is remarkable; Simeon saith that, every Priest as he Anointed Cross-wise every one of these parts above named, said upon every one of them *ἡ βοήθεια ἡμῶν ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου*, our help is in the name of the Lord; testifying, saith he, thereby that our Help is from no other, then from the only Mercifull God alone; why should this be the Form of this pretended Sacrament, rather than a whole Prayer or two as Goar makes them; I am sure it is more conformable to St. James's prescription, and contains his very words, who bad his Converted Jews to Anoint with Oyl in the name of the Lord; this gives some Authority to the Greek Form, our help is in the name of the Lord; whereas the Latins Form is purely human Invention.

Then follows the second Epistle and Gospel and the first Prayer of the second Priest, *ὁ Θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ ὑψίστος*, O great and most high God; but another Prayer and not that is in my Copy; then comes the third Epistle and Gospel. Then the third Priest's first Prayer, *Δέσποτα παντοκράτορ, ἅγιε βασιλεῦ*, O Lord Almighty, O holy King; neither is this Prayer in my Copy but another. Then comes the fourth Epistle and Gospel and the first Prayer of the fourth Priest, *Ἀγαθὲ καὶ φιλόσθενι, ἐνοπλάγγει καὶ πολυέλει κύριε*, O Good and O thou Lover of Men, O Compassionate and all Mercifull Lord. This Prayer is in my Copy. Next comes the fifth Epistle and Gospel and the fifth Priest's first Prayer, *κύριε*

T. p. 350. ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ παιδίζων καὶ πάλιν ἰάμενος, O Lord our God who chastiseth and then
 A. p. 209. b. again healeth. This is also in my Copy. Then you have the sixth Epistle and
 Gal. 5. 22. Gospel, and the sixth Priest's first Prayer, Εὐχαριστῶ σοι κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, we
 ad. c. 6. 2. thank thee O Lord our God. This I also have. At last comes the seventh E-
 Mat. 15. 21. 28. pistle and Gospel, and the seventh Priest's first Prayer, Δόξα σοι κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν
 Δ. 212. ιατρὲ ψυχῶν, O Lord, O Lord our God thou Physician of Souls. Every Priest
 1 Thes. 5. 14. said their first Consummatory Prayer aloud; but their second, πάντες ἅγιε, O
 ad 23. Mat. 9. 9. 13. Holy Father, for the Anointing, softly to himself; till he come to those words
 Sym. Ithess. c. 37. for thou O Christ our God art the Fountain of all Cures, and those he pro-
 sv. p. 203. 38. nounces aloud.

After all the seven Priests have thus severally said their respective Prayers and
 Gen. 427, 428. at the last Prayer Anointed the Penitent, "He comes into the middle of them,
 "and the first Priest lays the Gospel upon his Head, and all of them lay their
 "Hands upon him; then the Priest with a loud Voice pronounces, τὴν ἐν χεῖρ
 "συγχωρήσω, the Prayer of Forgiveness; Βασιλεῦ ἅγιε, ὑποπλάγχει, O holy
 King, O Mercifull Lord Jesus Christ, — do thou by thy accustomed Love to
 Mankind receive this thy Servant, who Repents him of his Sins, passing
 by all his Offences; for thou art our God who hast commanded that Sinners
 who have fallen severely seven times should be Forgiven; for as is thy Great-
 ness, so is thy Mercy. Then the Penitent "Kisses the Gospel, and at last
 "bowing himself, saith thrice, O Holy Fathers Bless and Pardon me a Sin-
 "ner, and receiving their Blessing and Pardon he departs and gives thanks to
 "God. Simeon saith that the Penitent likewise Kist the right Hand of every
 Priest that Anointed him. And it is also now the Custom of every one that
 receives Ἀντίδογον, Andithero, the vicarious Eucharistical Bread, to Kiss the
 right Hand of him who delivers it to him; and I have many a time seen an In-
 firm Man come to a Priest in the Church, who lays the Gospel upon his Head
 and reads some peculiar, περιχοπιῶ, Portion of it, and says a Prayer at the
 T. p. 351. same time over him, and Crosses him (as you shall see more of it presently) the
 Infirmit Man, when all is done, bows to him and Kissing the Book and his right
 104. 34. Hand, departs. Simeon saith also that the Penitent in his time, fell down be-
 fore all the Priests thrice, and begg'd their Pardon, which he received from
 all of them, καὶ πεπληροφορημένῳ ἔστιν, and was most fully assured that he had
 received Forgiveness.

All the seven Priests in his time did severally exactly perform every
 33. particular Rite; a Deacon read the Epistle; (whether they used seven se-
 veral ones or no, I cannot say, nor indeed remember how it was;) the Priest
 read the Gospel.

My Copy hath the last Prayer of Forgiveness but with some variation, and im-
 mediately after it follows this Admonition, (which I suppose was given to the
 Penitent by the first Priest,) βλέπε, Ἀδελφε, τὸ ὑπολοιπὸν τῆς ζωῆς σου μηκέτι,
 προσχεύεις τῷ Θεῷ, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆ νῦν, see Brother, that for the remaining part
 of your Life you may never more offend God; but from this moment strive
 to keep his Commandments; for thy former Sins are Forgiven by the Prayers
 of us his unprofitable Servants, ἐν χεῖρῳ, in, or through, Christ Jesus our
 Lord; now and for ever and to Ages of Ages, Amen.

I have thus far set down the Practice of the Greeks; first they are positively
 p. 199. 37. for a Plurality of Priests. Symeon saith, It is only a Custom, but ἀρχαῖον, a
 c. 677. very antient one, that there should be seven Priests; and saith that it did
 arise from that mystical Number, which hath been observed in working many
 wonderful Effects recorded in Scripture. Yet by reason sometimes of a scar-
 Jos. 6. 4. city of Priests, only Three (yet still a Plurality) are allow'd in Honour and
 1 Reg. 4. 35. Confession of the Holy Trinity. But he saith, That one Priest is expressly
 1 Reg. 18. 43. against St. James, let him call for, πρεσβυτέρους, the Elders; in the Plural, not
 8c. τὸ πρεσβυτέρω, two Elders, in the Dual Number, as Arcadius explains him;
 444. a. therefore Three is the least Number according to St. James; yet the more they
 are, the more honourable is the Action. He falls smartly upon the Latins, for using
 this

this Ceremony *only to dying Persons*. This Performance, saith he, is not design'd by them according to St. James, ἀρρώστοις, to Men as being Sick, but ἀποθνήσκουσιν, as being dying Men; not, τοῖς ἐγυγομένοις, to Men who are capable of being raised up, but to Men dying; not, εἰς τὸ ἰεγαλεῖσθαι, to Men in order to their Cure, but to Men who are Incurable and must then die. And he honestly confesses, οὗτος ὁ σκότος, This is the very end of the Prayer-Oil being given to living Men, that they may yet live and remain purged, or cleansed; not to living Men just going to die, and not expecting to be raised up, or cured. For it is more especially giving for this one thing, that the Lord may raise up those that have been Anointed, and that their Sins might be forgiven them; and this, πάντοτε, always, not only once; for it follows, Confess your Sins to one another, that is, αἰ, always, not once; and pray for one another, that you may be healed, not once, but, διηνεκῶς, continually, because even always we offend.

And this still confirms me in my Opinion, That the primitive Visitation was plain and sincere, conversing one with another, when Sick; and confessing and considering one anothers Condition, and praying for one another whilst they were capable of mutual Help and Assistance. But both Greeks and Latins have chang'd it, and turn'd it to other Purposes, as shall be more clearly shewn by and by. Thus just a little before he gives us the very present Practice of the Greeks; ἕτεροι τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀνδρῶν, some of the more pious Men (Laymen) whilst they are yet living, make the Mystery of the Prayer Oil for the Propitiation, or Reconciling, of themselves, and for the last Remission of their Sins; and if they are at the point of Death, some of it is kept, and their Relations anoint them when they are dead for a most sacred Seal, or Mark, and Honour, and Hallowing of the Holy Reliques of the Deceased. This is done in Honour of the Body only, and in no Respect to the future State of the Soul. Thus they pour the Oil of their burning Lamps upon the Corps of their dead Monks, and the Ashes of the Coals on which their Incense hath been burnt, upon Laymen, (both this Oil and Ashes having been sanctified by having been used before the Lord, only in Honour of them as dying in the Lord; as they light Candles and burn Incense at their Sepulchres.

There are amongst the Greeks, besides the Prayer Oil, several Unctions and Prayers for Infirm People, or for such as are any ways Indisposed. There is a peculiar Prayer to be used, εἰς πᾶσαν ἀρρώστιαν, for any Infirmary or Distemper, Δέσποτα παντοκράτορ, Almighty Lord——In thy Mercy look upon our Brother, N. N. who is now Infirm; stretch out thine Arm full of Medicine and Remedy; and raising him from his Bed and his Distemper, cure him; Rebuke the Spirit of Infirmary,——And if there be in him any Offence or Iniquity, ἀφες, ἀφες, release, remit, pardon it for thy Love to Mankind; Yea, O Lord, save thy Creature. They look upon Diseases and Infirmities as wrought by Evil Spirits; and this Prayer is after St. James his Prescription, καὶ ἁμαρτίας, if he hath committed Sin, saith he, so here, If there be in him any Offence. Goar adds two more Prayers, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ πᾶν χρόνον, O Lord our God, who only by thy word hast cured long and grievous Diseases——Cure this thy Servant from the Scourge which doth afflict him——Raise him from the Bed of Grievs, and the Couch of Evils. The next is to be said by the Patient himself, Δέσποτα, Κύριε σαβαὶθ, O Lord, Lord of Sabaoth,——Receive me approaching to thy Goodness, and abhor me not as being a Sinner. Nay, that Prayer above, πάτερ ἅγιε, O Holy Father, Physician of Souls, which the Latins would make the Greeks Form of the Sacrament, is order'd in Bessarion's Eucholog as a Prayer for common use; as is also that other above for Consecrating the Oil in the Prayer Oil, Κύριε ὁ ἐν τῷ ἑλεῖ, O Lord, who in thy Mercy; and also a third which is only to be found there. Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ δυνατὸς καὶ ἐλεήμων, O God, powerful and merciful——Look upon thy Servant, N. N. calling upon the Name of thy Christ, and heal all

T. p. 354
C. p. 28.

201. 28.

30.

31.

22.

T. p. 352.

202. 10.

Ven. 295.
Goar. 690.

690. 691.

p. 249.

Goar. 863.

p. 249.

bis

- T. p. 352. his Infirmities both of Body and Soul; Release him from his Sins, and from all his Afflictions occasion'd by them; Deliver thy Servant from every Temptation, and from every Assault of the Enemy; and raise him from the Bed of Sickness, and restore him to thy Holy Church sound, both in Soul and Body, and improving in good Words and Works, &c. And if the Priest will Anoint him as being in Bed, or otherwise; There are two Prayers there to consecrate the Oil, one of which you have had above; the latter is in my Copy but with some Variation; it is thus in Goar, 'Ο πολὺς ἐν ἐλέει καὶ πλούσιος ἐν ἀγαθότητι, O much in Mercy, and rich in Goodness, Father of Compassions, and God of all Consolation — Who hast taught us by the Holy Apostles, that the Elders of the Church by Oil with Prayer should cure Infirmities, Thou O Lord even sanctify this Oil, that it may be to all who shall be Anointed with it, to the cure of every Distemper and bodily Disease, and filthiness both of Flesh and Spirit; that even now Thy most holy Name may be glorified; for to Thee, O our God, it belongs to have Mercy and to Save. Why should not this devout Prayer as fully consecrate the Oil, as that other above.
249.
A. 217.
863.
- 249.
- Ven. 302.
G. 703.
- There is a very special Prayer for the Sick and Restless, which they stile ἐπιθεῖν παιδων, of the seven holy Children, or Sleepers at Ephesus. It hath in it the Names of at least thirty Saints, some of them very obscure ones; I never could learn that it is often used now, though the Story of the seven Sleepers is told as a very current Truth amongst them; especially at Ephesus, where I saw the Cave in which they say they slept; and they are commemorated every year Aug. 4. in their Menology.
- Ven. 313.
Goar. 724.
- T. p. 353.
- Goar. p. 417.
- But there is a very solemn Office for the Consolation of Infirm People troubled with or by impure and mischievous Spirits. There is, after some of the usual Præfatory Versicles and some certain Psalms, a Supplicatory Canon to Christ, the Virgin Mary, the Angels, and all the Saints, which being ended, The Priest taking a Lamp (with the lighted Wick in it) Anoints the infirm Person with the Oil, and says the very same Prayer over him, which the Seven Priests say when they Anoint their Penitent in the Prayer-Oil foregoing. Πάτερ ἅγιε, O Holy Father, Physician of Souls. There is this Variation in it (I think for the better) after those words, From the Infirmity of Body and Soul which now afflict him, follows, By the Grace of thy Christ, and quicken him, then is added, According to thy good Pleasure, that he may fully perform the Thankfulness and Adoration which is due to Thee, by his good Deeds; through the Intercessions of the Allover blessed Virgin, and all thy Saints; (without naming one of them particularly) For Thou art the Fountain, &c.
- p. 728.
§. 5. b.
c. στ.
- p. 201. 17.
Goar. p. 750.
753. §. 14.
- p. 249.
Goar. 413.
863.
436. 22. b.
437. 39. b.
- l. 5. c. 5.
p. 455. b.
- This seems to me (to all the Intents and Purposes of the Latins) a far more suitable Sacrament for them, than the Prayer-Oil foregoing. For here all along, one single Priest doth All, as the Latins would have it; but there Seven, or at least Three are required to do it. Next it is not common Oil (as Goar calls it,) for it is at least the Oil of the Lamp, burning before the Lord; which Symeon Thess. tells us (as here a little before) is thereby, ἁγιασμένον, sanctified; And the People to this day, so count the Water wherein the mock Disciples Feet have been washt, μέγα ἁγιασμόν, a mighty Sanctification. But it cannot, I think, be doubted, but that the Priest here, when he puts Oil into his Lamp and lighted his Wick, did also say that very Prayer of Consecration above named, Κύριε ὁ ἐν τῷ ἐλέει, O Lord, who in thy Mercy; or the latter of these two in Goar mention'd just now. For why may not any one Priest in the Greek Church consecrate the Oil by any of these Prayers or Forms? Goar allows it, and saith, since their Prelate connives at it, all is well; nay, the very Pope it seems permits this. Then after this comes this Prayer, πάτερ ἅγιε, O Holy Father, which Goar and the rest of the Latins make the very Form of the Sacrament. And Arcudius much commends this short Form as being forsooth most Essential; and withal it is more plain, and perhaps much

much more Antient, without the Addition of the Baptist, and the other Apocryphal Saints with which it is stuff. Here then is a *single Priest*, here is the *Matter and the Form* according to the *Latins*: But this is apply'd by the *Greeks to Men in their perfect Senses*, and for the most part *bodily Sound*; but by the *Latins to meer senseless Carcases*; and all *Goar's* shuffling cannot make the *Greeks Prayer-Oyl* better, or so well, agree with the *Latins extreme Uction*, as this Office would, which he rejects, as *not Sacramental*, but indeed I shall, by and by, shew the Error and Abuse of both Churches herein.

There is a common general Office of Supplication and Vigils for every sad publick Calamity which may befall them, as War, Plague, or Epidemical Diseases, Famine, Earthquakes, and the like; and there are little Forms of Prayer for every one of these in Particular; which are, as any publick Occasion requires, to be inserted in this General Office: But any particular Priest when he is called upon, may in private, use any of these Prayers as occasion is given, and as the Person desires according to his present Condition.

The *Greeks* for Sick and Infirm Men have many other *Religious* (shall I say, or *Superstitious*) *Observances*, which they count as beneficial to them as the, ἁγία ἑλαιον, *Holy Oyl* it self, and *Goar* owns that they therefore call them so by that very Name, as being (as it were) *vicarious Anointings*. Thus *Flowers* or *Branches* stuck about their sacred Pictures (or any thing hang'd up to their Honour, (either by them, or before them) as *Lamps*, and especially the *Oyl* in them, apply'd to any infirm Person, or to any afflicted Part, are thought in a manner *miraculous Helps*; for many of these Pictures are peculiarly *Blest*, or Consecrated by the Prelate to every devout Votaries divine Assistance who shall pray before it. So for one who hath newly received the *Eucharist* to breath upon a Wound, or lame Part, is esteemed a *sovereign Remedy*. To drink *Common Water* out of the *Holy Chalice*, is accounted as much as being *anointed with Mūgov, the Chrism*, or *Holy Ointment* it self. So crossing any part of the Body, that is in Pain, with the *Holy Lance*, and saying those certain Words prescribed in their *Eucholog*, is thought a present Relief. Thus to partake of the five Loaves offer'd at the Vespers, in a particular Rubrick at the end of the Office, it is said to be a *Remedy in divers Evils*; and in *Goar's* Various Lections we are told, *That it ceases Fevers, and mixt with Water and drank it drives away the cold Fit*; Nay, it is said, *To chase away all Insects from Sprouts, or Buds, or Blossoms*. I suppose it is not by being drank, but by being strew'd upon them.

I shall add one Office more, It is a general or common Supplication for all that are *Infirm in Body and Mind*; it is performed by one *single Priest* for one, or more *Infirm Persons with Prayers and Uction*. After some short *Præfatory Collects* follows a Canon (as they call it) to the *Virgin Mary*; which is fervent enough, and had it been made to God himself, it had been a very excellent Piece of Devotion. There is a Gospel order'd in the common Form, and there is another different one in *Goar's* second Copy annext. Then follows in the second Copy a very devout Prayer for the Forgiveness of the *Infirm Person's Sins*, being made but for one ὑπὲρ τοῦ δούλου σου τῆδε, *For this thy Servant*; It begins, Δέσποτα κυεῖν ἰησοῦ χριστέ, *O Lord, Lord Jesus Christ*; which you shall have by and by at length. After this Prayer, The Priest *anoints him* (or them) saying, πάτερ ἅγιε, *O holy Father*, which is exactly (almost word for word) the very same with that before mentioned in the *Supplication for Comforting Persons bewitched, or troubled by impure Spirits*.

Here *Goar* seems much more Perplext then before. He is (as I took notice above) very loath to rob the *Greeks* of a *Sacrament*, and yet this Office and the *Prayer-Oyl* being so very different, he doth not know which to chuse, or whether indeed either of them may be own'd as a *Sacrament*. Deficit enim

T. p. 354. enim Ecclesiæ Græcæ, it is not, saith he, the use or Intention of the Greek Church, that by this kind of *Unction* even with Prayer adjoin'd, the Sacrament should be conferr'd, by reason that other Circumstances are wanting. He there tells us what these Deficiencies are, it is not done according to the Rite and Mind of the Latin Church; and therefore the Greeks Practice is only, a simple and Ceremonial *Unction* of the Sick, but not a Sacrament. And thus after the Prayer-Oyl and the *Unctions* in these two general Supplications, notwithstanding his Pity or Complement to the Greeks, he hath fairly left them without this. He saith that *Leo Allatius* denied the Greeks to have *Extream Unction*, and he tells us that he himself was once inclinable to the same Opinion; And truly after all his shuffling and turning matters to and fro (now quarrelling with *Arcudius* and Excusing the Greeks; now softning Matters and pleading for them,) you will find him plainly in the same Judgment at last, or so absolutely confounded, as to leave the Greeks Practice in a quite different Nature and design from that of the Latins. Those have seven Priests, or at least three; these admit but of one. There seven Priests Consecrate the Oyl, here only one, and he a Bishop; there seven Anoint the Patient in three places, here only one dabs him in six or seven; there seven Pray the same Prayers, one after another, and use the same Matter and Form (as they call it,) that is, make seven Sacraments of one; here one Priest doth all. And *Goar's* notion of the seven agreeing and Confederating in the Action, every one Intentionally performing but a seventh part of it, is a meer piece of Sophistry; their Sacrament must lie depending from the first Priest's beginning till the last Priest hath finished his *Unction*. Again, there are seven Epistles and seven Gospels read, here none at all. And (what many of the Latins themselves condemn in both Practices, and what I think is difference enough,) there it is done to Men in their perfect Senses, here to Men three quarters dead. *Goar* and *Arcudius* allow of neither Practice in their full extent, but both vehemently declaim against them in several particulars; Let neither Greek nor Latin then quote St. *James* his Text to Authorize their Practice, for it is directly against them both. As to the first, is any *Infirm or Sick*, saith the Apostle, let him call for the Elders of the Church; certainly these words cannot be Intended for Men so strong and in such health as to be able to come to Church, and to lie there sometimes for several days and nights continually; or to stay there during a whole service of several hours, containing above twenty fides of their Prayer Book in quarto; and hearing seven Epistles and as many Gospels read upon their Head, and to attend all the other tedious Ceremonies, Is this St. *James* his *Infirm Man* who must call for help from the Presbyters or Elders who are to go to him? As for the Latins I think I have shewn above that St. *James* his words will as little justify what they do.

Still I am more confirm'd in my Opinion that St. *James* meant only a plain Visitation; and hence comes so many various Prayers, and such fancifull Practices for the Cure of the Sick and Infirm. Some Prayers are very Devout, and I am perswaded are very Antient, as I will shew presently. Some of their old Wives Customs above mention'd might be taken up in the dark times of Superstition, and being never reprehended nor reformed, are still Practised by the Ignorant Votaries; and at last as the Latins minced and curtail'd the primitive Visitation into an unintelligible Sacrament; so the Greeks framed several mysterious *Unctions* and Offices. And I see no reason but that all these Offices, especially these three, the Prayer-Oyl, that against impure Spirits, and the general Consolation; as they are distinct Offices, so they may as well by them be called distinct Mysteries; and every one of them may be better maintain'd to be a Sacrament, then the Latins *Extream Unction*; and *Goar* hath unawares own'd my conceit as an absolute Truth; when I read, saith he, several Prayers used with *Unctions* for the Sick in their Rituals, I without farther doubt concluded, that, since neither Christ nor St. *James* have left us any

any special Determinations, about these things; The Church, pro jure suo, T. p. 355. by her Right might in latter Times fit them up for this Sacrament. Nay, rather they fitted them up for several Purposes or Ends, as they now stand, and are used amongst them. For I cannot believe that these three Offices last mention'd were made together, but that they were contrived and patcht up as the several Occasions were offered. And every Grand Leading Minister or Prelate within his own Bounds or Government altered them, and added to them as they thought expedient; and hence comes that strange Variety in their several Copies. For it is plain Demonstration, that they had no settled, standing, uniform Method amongst them; which, as I must say, plainly shews either the Carelessness, or the Confusion that hath in These, as well as in most other of their Practices, been ever amongst them.

As to the Prayer-Oyl give me leave here very freely, but withall submission to the Judgements of my Readers, to tell you my Opinion of it. Publick Penitentiaries were forbid by Nectarius and his Successor J. Chrysostom; and Publick Penance was never enjoyn'd after those Days, or any exposed to publick Shame but for Publick or Notorius Offences. For as to those who came voluntarily in private to some holy Man to Confess and tell their Condition; they were not put to open Penance, but were directed to some other ways and means of Repentance (as I have proved above,) and for their amendement of Life. Now after Publick Penance for private Sins was not used or was lay'd aside, a way was wisely thought of to obtain from God the Effect of it, yet concealing the Shame of the Penitent from Man. Thus this Office was first contrived to be solemnly used (as it is now) upon Holy Thursday, rather as a publick Humiliation then any thing else; at which the Bishop himself, or the Priest presiding in that Church where it was celebrated, was Anointed first, and after him every one present strove to be Anointed too; counting themselves thereby sanctified in Order to the Communion at Easter following. For they thought then, and they do so now, that the Oyl thus publickly consecrated, and the devout Prayers made with it, were of an admirable Virtue for the Cure of both the Bodies and the Souls of all that did partake of it. Afterwards it was procured oftentimes at the Charge of devout Penitents, as it is also to this Day: and it was and now is lookt upon by the People, only as a voluntarily Act of Publick Generosity, Charity, and Devotion; and not at all as any enjoyn'd Penance or Punishment for Sin. Yet when Confessors directed their Penitents, how to steer their future Lives, under the Head of Alms (which I have reckon'd up as one sort of their Penances now in use,) it is commonly enjoyn'd as one to those who are rich and able to pay for it. But none of the People know it, or ever take it or speak of it as being any otherwise then a Publick Charity. And Goar, as well as my Canonaria, owns this very thing, that it is often prescribed as a Penance to those who are Rich. And as I have told you before, there are many wealthy Persons amongst them, who, either out of real Devotion, as a true Fruit of their Repentance, or else out of vain Glory, or a Desire of Purchasing a great Vogue and Reputation amongst the People, (for the antient Pride still domineers there too much, notwithstanding their Slavery,) will procure this Prayer-Oyl to be performed at their own Expence, for no publick Act could oblige the poor vulgar Sinners more then this; for it is amazing to see how every one will strive to partake of it. But he that procures it may himself in any wise count it as some shew at least, if not as a real Fruit, of his Repentance. And therefore, as I have said above, He is called by Sym. Thessal. ὁ μετανοῶν, the Penitent. p. 204. f. And thus in order to work a true Repentance in him, and in all the rest of the then present Partakers, they have fitted up the several Prayers, which favour of the true antient Spirit of Greek Devotion; and I therefore believe might at first have been made to be used at what I call St. James his Visitation; but now they are changed covertly, to this way of a voluntary Publick Penance for the Procurer, and of a kind of Expiation to all the rest that partake of it. We are

T. p. 356.
C. 77a. 1.
P. 205. 1.

told by *Sym. Thessal.* what effect the Greeks expect from *this Prayer-Oyl*, and from thence what esteem they have of it. *It behoves* saith he, *every Christian* (not onely the *really Sick and infirm in Body*, much less those onely who are at the Point of Death) *to perform this, and to call together the Priests of God, and to desire them to Pray over him and Anoint him; for, know ye, it procures all these great divine Gifts; The Driving away of Diseases; The Remission of Sins; it produces Sanctification and divine Strength, and at last the Kingdom of Heaven. And let not any Railer say, It is Oyl, and what Power, or Virtue, can that have which comes from the Olive? It is Oyl indeed, saith he, but it is, *ἁγίασμα*, highly Graced or favoured, by the Name of God, used or call'd, upon it; for where God is called upon, all things are Divine and have the Power of God in them.* When you read this (which is their very Opinion now) you need not wonder at the *Penitent*, who procures it, nor at the others who strive to communicate with him.

Goar. 737.
Ven. 325.

The Greeks have a peculiar Office, to be said by a single Priest, *ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος*, for a Man just expiring, a Man would think that if they knew or own'd any thing of the Latins *Extreme-Uction*, we should meet with it or find it here. But it is an Address chiefly to the *V. Mary*, and it contains nothing but a perfect Description of a Soul going to Judgement, Trembling, Despairing, and expecting nothing but to be plunged into the bottomless Pit. This I think is as far from the Latins Sacrament as Hell is from Heaven. Yet this may be of older Date then ordinary, and might be (as it seems designed) to the living Visitors of great use, to admonish them and make them Fear; as our Office at the Grave is only designed for that purpose; for as to the dying Man, Goar (as I have above observed) confesseth that *it signifies nothing at all, he being absolutely deprived of all Sense and Perception.* There are two Prayers there immediately following, The first for a Soul going to be Judged, The second for a Soul just departing, which are indeed *ἐνεργῆς*, very Pathetical or Fervent; Intreating God to give their Souls eternal Rest, and to pardon all their Sins; all which is very Proper, as our Prayer for a sick Person at the Point of Departure. Now had there been *Uction* here prescribed, it had fitted the Latins purpose better then any of the Rest. These Prayers and those in the Office of the Prayer-Oyl, all agree with St. James's *δέσμις ἐνεργῆς*, The Fervent inspired Prayer. And this will most fully appear to any one who shall consult them. Goar himself owns the Prayer of the fifth Priest (at the Prayer-Oyl) to have been made by St. Chrysostom; and the next of the sixth Priest to be wrote by St. Basil; but I can never believe that that Office, especially as it now stands, was made in those Days. Arcudius also confesseth that all these Prayers and others, most egregiously express in them the Substance of their Sacrament, (that is, the inward Devotion and Petition for Health of Body and Pardon of Sin) as well as that, *Πάτερ ἄγιε, O Holy Father*, which the Latins make the only Form of it.

p. 742. b.
T. p. 357.

422;
440. 39.
424.
440. 40.

The Prayer-Oyl amongst the Greeks must not now be performed by less then three Priests as my Nomocanon expressly determine; for if one alone or two dares to do it they are certainly deposed; and Arcudius hath own'd the same thing; and yet I must say with him, *that I cannot see how well it could ever be done by seven in a private House or a country Village.* He must be a rich Man, or of some Authority, that could procure seven, or indeed three, in a village where there is but one Parish Priest; I must profess that I never knew or heard that it was performed in private all the time I lived amongst them. Neither can I apprehend, (notwithstanding all that Goar suggests to the contrary,) how one Priest could sustain all the Parts of that Office, and say all the Prayers, and do the various Ceremonies, which are there allotted to seven distinct Persons to do severally; I am sure I find no Rubrick or Direction for any such Practice; and besides a Man that had health enough to appear abroad, he is to come, or is brought, to the Church to receive it. If a Man is,

p. 117.
461. b.

p. 436.
22. b.

in Extremis, dying at home, no Priest or Priests dare administer the Prayer-Oyl to him; it is expressly forbidden by my Canonarion to be given *eis tous* *ἀποθανόντας* to any dying Persons whatsoever. This farther shews that the Greeks lookt upon him who received it, as, *μετανοών*, a Penitent, and as one capable of yet bearing at least some meet fruit of his Repentance, which a dying Man is utterly incapable of.

There were of old seven Priests employ'd by the Latins themselves in their Extreme Unction, as A Lapide, Menardus, and others, nay, even Goar himself, acknowledge; and yet Sym. Thessal. is severely taxed by him, because, faith he, impiè asseverat, he impiously asserts that one Priest without the help and assistance of others cannot confer this Sacrament; But if there were originally in both Churches seven employ'd, the Greeks Practice is then most Catholick; and how can the Latins answer their dropping of six, and reducing all to one? and if there were seven of old in both Churches, this must not only justify the present Greeks, but make my Conjecture yet more likely. The Sick were visited by all about them; the more Priests amongst them, so much the better. They all Pray'd, faith Arcudius, ut facilius impetrarent veniam, that they might more easily obtain Health and Pardon for the sick Person; that is, that their Prayers, according to St. James, might much more avail; every Priest might have his own Prayers, and his own Lessons; For want of Priests, other good People said the Prayers and read such proper Portions of Scripture, Epistles or Gospels, as in several places had been pickt out as suitable Lessons; without doubt great variety of good Forms of Prayer were composed and distributed up and down and communicated mutually amongst them. I am beholden to Arcudius, who out of Matheus Galenus fully justifies my Conjecture about the Primitive Visitation. Somethings, faith he, must be repeated from Antiquity, which as it was nearer to Apostolical Tradition, so it did apply and perform all things more Religiously. And at first it called together many Presbyters; but if they are not to be had, then those of the Inferior Orders of the Clergy were lookt for, quorum si non fuisset Copia, vocabantur utriusque sexus Religiosissimi quique & omnium erat Idem labor extorquere Effectum Sacramenti; of whom if there were not Store, or some, all the most Religious Persons of both sexes were called, and it was one and the same Labour, or Task, of them All to extort, or as it were Force out by Prayer, the Effect of the Sacrament. Here I think it most plain that, as I have said, Priests or the Clergy were chiefly to be called, but for want of them, (as in the beginning of Christianity they were few enough) all good People were to Visit the Sick without them; and, even when with them, they were obliged joyntly to put up their Prayers with them for the Infirm. This was *δύσκολη ἐκπύρεσις*, A fervent, zealous Supplication indeed, which certainly no Man of sense, can allow to that pityfull jejune Form (or rather faint wish) of the Latins may the Lord by this Anoynting Pardon Thee.

After Chrysostom's time the Prayer-Oyl and other Offices were contrived and taken up, as I have said, upon several Occasions and to several ends. The Gospels and Lessons in the Prayer-Oyl, I have noted as I went along, and shall here add several others which are now daily used when Sick and Indisposed People come to the Priest in the Church, for a Gospel to be read and a Prayer to be said over them. I have their Gospels now in use printed at Venice; there these appointed to be read upon the Head of every one that comes for Help, For Men, Luc. 9. 1. to the end of vers. 6. Matt. 10. 1, (2, 3, 4, omitted) to the end of vers. 8. For Women, Marc. 5. 24. to vers. 34. I have a very fair and very large MS. Gospel, which (as I can prove) was of publick use, it was wrote in very large Letters, Anno Christi, 995. Indict. 8, Here for Men. Marc. 11, 22. 26. Mat. 9, 36. to the end of c. 10. 1. There is none particularly for Women, so these I suppose were used for both. I have another, which I guess by the Hand was wrote, Sec. 12^o. There for Men. Joh. 4. 46. 53. Marc. 6. 7. 13. For Women Mat. 8. 14. 15. Marc. 5. 24. 34. I have

T. p. 357.

Can
ἐξῆδ', p. 8.

in locum
P. 170.
P. 431. a.

p. 461. a.

p. 443. b.
T. p. 358.

Anno 1671.
P. 577.

Manuli MS.
P. 745.

MS. E. p. 265.
b.

T. p. 358. another from *Prusa*; I guess by the Character that it was wrote Sec. II. it is very large. There is written ἀνάγνωμα εἰς ἀδελφότητας ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν a Lesson for the Infirm, both Men and Women. Mat. 8. 14. 17. Luc. 7. 1. 10. Luc. 8. 41. 56. John 4. 46. 54. Then follows this, *A Gospel for the Infirm to be read at the Liturgy of the seven Presbyters*, that is in the Prayer-Oyl; (but it is not there now, which shews still greater Variation, and that that Office hath been altered) it is, Marc. 6. 7. 13. In the *Common Supplication* is Luc. 1. 39. 56. In another Copy of it, Luc. 10. 38. to the end. This strange Variety of Prayers and Lessons, still makes me believe that they were used at first as good Priests in several Places had composed them and chose these for their Sick; And the good People, in their absence at the Visitation, might (where they had more Prayers and Gospels then one) use them all or which they pleased. And the same Liberty was left to the Priest in reading the Gospels over the Infirm Man's Head, if there were plurality; for in their printed Gospel it is plainly left to the choice of the Priest, λέγε ὅσον βούλει, *Read which you will*. This is a farther Demonstration that at first none of these Lessons and Prayers were fixt or prescribed in any uniform Way, but every Priest used what he had gotten by him. The Prayers as I have noted, are most of them devout and passionate, and might be of very antient use before they were stufft with the Trumpery of following Ages.

Goar 858.
p. 861.

p. 861.

T. p. 359

in locum
p. 173. 3.

Ibid. a. D.

The saying of these pious Prayers, and the reading of these Lessons to sick Men, exactly sets out the *Primitive Visitation* which I contend for; and it is evident that they were designed for such Persons as had so much Strength and Sense left them as to be able to be attentive to them. I have the more industriously set these Lessons all down, that our English Ministers, or the sick Mens Friends or Neighbours, in their Visitations might chuse out some of them, and read them or discourse out of them to them. And one thing more I must remark, That all these Gospels relate purely to the Recovery of Bodily Health and to the Strengthening of the Infirm Man's Faith; There is little or nothing of Absolution or Remission of Sins to a dying Man; which shews most plainly that those Antient Greeks who first chose these Gospels, made the sick Man's Recovery the principal End and Design of St. James his Prescription, whereas the Cardinal makes that a meer Accidental thing; And so all the Epistles tend to move Mutual Help, mutual Comfort, Meekness, the supporting of one another, Charity, Repentance, and future Holyness of Life; all which are proper Doctrines and Directions to Men only whilst they are in this Life, and in such a State of Strength and understanding as they may be able to receive them and practise them, All which to one, in Extremis, just a dying, would be like a Tale to a deaf Man, or a Lecture to a Man fast a sleep; This to me most evidently shews that the primitive Greeks had quite another Notion of St. James his Direction, then what the Latins now have; but all this suits most exactly and clearly with the Visitation which I have described. Corn. a Lapide thus expounds it, Confession of Sins is to be made not only to Priests, but to lay Brethren, either for the sake of mutual Reconciliation or from the study of Humility, or to ask Advice and Help, or for a greater Bond of Charity, especially when their Dissolution and Death are approaching, Thus far is Right. But he hath cunningly prefixt this pure Jesuitical Distinction, This is only St. James his Counsel, not his Command; For my part I take St. James his Text to be all of a piece; if all be but meer Counsel, how come the Latins to pretend to make a true Sacrament out of it? if only Part of it is Counsel, and Part of it Command, I must confess that I am not so quicksighted as to distinguish one Part from the other. A little before he saith thus; We commonly say, Teach one another, Cure one another, Support one another, Sacrifice for one another, to wit, let the Learned teach the unlearned, let Physicians cure the Sick; let the Rich support the Poor, let the Priests Sacrifice for the Laity, This also in a plain and honest Sense, is right enough, and signify no more but this; That every one should assist the

the Sick Man according as he is able, by instructing him; by giving him such *Receipts and Medicines* as he knew of; by giving him (if Poor) what Alms he can spare; by offering fervent Prayers for him, which every one is bound to do as well as the Priest: But the *Jesuit* by using the word *Sacrifice* would hook in *his Sacrifice of the Mass*; Thus to that objection which he there mentions, *St. James saith, Confess to one another, why did he not say expressly Confess to Priests?* He saith, it is purely to save us from Shame, we must not Confess, saith he, to Angels, but to Men, (then to hook in Auricular Confession he foists in) puta Sacerdotibus, suppose to Priests. Again upon that, *Confess to one another*, at first he owns it to be meant in General, *That is, Man to Man, Like to Like, Brother to Brother*, (then he drops in a *Scrap of the same Leaven*) puta Sacerdoti, suppose to a Priest.

I shall not here trouble my self, or the Reader, with any more of the School-Men's Jargon about the *Matter and Form* of this pretended Sacrament. *Oyl* is used (as I have shewn) and *Wine mixt with it* in several of the Offices and Customs above mention'd. The modern Reconcilers are at a great Loss, and quarrel with one another about what Prayer (and whether one or more) they shall assert to be the *Form* of it. These Terms and the like Scholastic stuff, with which the *Latins* have confounded all their seven Sacraments, are absolutely unknown (as they are unintelligible) to All, not only *Idiot Greeks*, but to those *Papasses*, Priests themselves, who have not been either train'd up and tutor'd in *Italy* themselves, or have not been amused and taught like Parrots by some Latinized Brethren, or by Emissaries from *Rome*, and these last are met with every where. I do positively say it, that not one ordinary Priest of a hundred, (I may double the Number) with whom I have conversed, knows any thing of these Matters; but will be struck Dumb if you ask them, What is, *ὑλη*, (which they pronounce *ele*) the *Matter*, or *εἶδος* (which to them is *edos* or *ethos*) the *Form* of this, or of any other of their Sacraments. That judicious Author, *Morinus*, most justly taxeth both the Ignorance and Boldness of the School-Men, who were the first Inventors and Patrons of these Philosophical and Intricate Terms; and truly what he saith of them, about their Ordinations, may very truly be said of all the rest of their Sacraments. That all the antient Fathers, both Greek and Latin, have nothing in them concerning those Substantials, as they call them, wherein they place these Matters and Forms. So that School Divinity to him looks more like a Trick to embroil and confound rather than clear up the plain Truth. *Religio sit, God forbid*, saith he, that we should ever depend upon their Decrees or Conclusions. And what another of their learned Authors truly and ingenuously confesses concerning the Eucharist, is to the full as applicable to all the Rest; That the subtilty of the Schools and their logical Intrigues have done far more Michief then ever they did Good. Indeed it is very Amazing, and really Ridiculous enough to see how the late Reconcilers, and other busy Latin Authors, bite and correct one another about these Matters; every one being wonderfully conceited of his own way, as *Allatius*, *Arcudius*, *Goar*, and others; and those great Oriental Masters, *Gabriel Sionita* and *Abraham Euchellensis*, both meer Parasites of *Rome*, are snarling at one another like two Dogs for a Bone; yet always fawning on their new Latin Masters; to whom I will add, *Vanslebius*, whom I knew very thoroughly at *Constantinople* of whom more elsewhere. What trust can we put in the Accounts, which such Mercenary Slaves give us of the Opinions and Practices of the East; or how can we depend upon the Narrations of the Roman Emissaries, especially the *Jesuits*, whose real and only business it is every where to Corrupt or Misrepresent those plain Ignorant People, and their Religious Offices wherever they pass.

Why should we be startled at the *Greeks* word, *μυστήριον*, or *Mystery*; There is not a Rite or Ceremony amongst them, but a *Mystery* or mystical Meaning is attackt to it, as you may sufficiently see in their Celebration of the *Synaxis*

T. p. 359.

Pref. in Comment. **.

T. p. 360.

ut supr. *. 4.
R. Simon. in
Gabr. Philad.
p. 180, 181.R. Simon.
ibid. p. 198. a.

T. p. 360.
Morin. Com-
ment. par. 2.
p. 118.

de Offic.
Missæ. c. 1.

T. p. 361.

p. 2. p. 406.

Chronic. Ecc.
Græc. p. 485.

Synaxis or *Eucharist* alone, which I have given you in the beginning of this Treatise; Their very bowing hath this hidden Secret in it, saith Simeon Theff. *Bending downwards*, signifies *Christ's Descent*; *standing up again*, represents *his Resurrection and Ascension*. And truly the *Latins* are every jot as *Sacramental*, as the *Greeks* are *Mysterious*; Take this one Instance for all in *Amalarius*, what wonderful Mysteries are there placed in only Tolling the Bell to Prayers; *The Bell it self, the Clapper, the very Rope*, especially *its going up and down*, have every one of them a very deep or mysterious Meaning in them; but whether one Greek of a hundred thousand when he bows, or one Latin Clerk or Sexton, when he tolls the Saints Bell, have either Simeon or Amalarius their sublime Thoughts or Reflections upon it, I leave to the Conjecture of the Honest Reader. If any one hath Patience to peruse all the Greek Authors, who have ventured to expound the various Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church, but from *Damascen* to this time; or only *Germanus*, *Cabasilas*, *Sim. Theff.* and *Goar* himself; he will find *μυστήρια*, *Mysteries*, as they call them, enough; and the *Latins* may call them, by the old word, *Sacraments* too if they please. But when we require *Christ's own plain Institution of them, and a mutual Covenant in them betwixt God and Man*, (which only makes a true Sacrament) they may sweat and stretch their Wits all they can, and summon all their (*Posse*) Troops of airy trifling School-Men, but they can never make out one more, *then Baptism and the Lord's Supper*. And these, both *Greeks* and *Latins*, have so mangled, and stuffed, and perverted with extravagant Notions, and new Subtilties and Tricks of Human Invention, as they have utterly forsaken, *Morem Majorum, the plain Primitive way of the first Apostolical and Catholick Fathers*, and made *Christ's divine Institutions* a perfect Farce and a piece of meer Pageantry. We own those Pious Rites and useful Antient Prescriptions of the Catholick Church as well as they, yet declare them only as such, and own all their Authority only from thence; *Confirmation, Ordination, Matrimony, Confession or Consulting some discreet learned Minister for the quieting of Conscience, visiting of the Sick: Also Catechising of Children, and of those of riper Years before their Baptism; solemn Burial of the Dead*; and we have publick Constitutions of our own Church, and we have particular Offices appointed by it, for the *Consecration of Churches, the Coronation of our Kings*, and the like; and we own that every particular National Church may do the like. But the whole Catholick Church, either in a Council or otherwise, *unless Christ himself hath plainly Ordain'd both the visible Sign, and the spiritual Grace given and signified by it, cannot by its own Authority institute a true Sacrament or fæderal Rite betwixt God and Man*. Without this, the Church (as the *Latins* call themselves) may multiply their Sacraments not only to seven, but to seventy times seven, or as far as they please.

Morinus out of *Vitriacus* tells us, That the *Surians* (Christians that live in the Holy-Land) are really of the Greek Church; but, *Latinorum prælati*, yet they outwardly pretend, (only with their Mouth and superficially, not from their Heart,) to obey the Latin Bishops in whose Dioceses they live, timore scilicet secularium Dominorum, only out of meer Fear of the secular Powers, whom the *Latins* have made their Patrons; and as I have already noted, I will, with *H. Hilarius*, to my own knowledge most confidently say, that it is the very same Case now with the *Greeks* at *Constantinople* and elsewhere, where I have been in the Grand Signor's Dominions; He is so far Head of the Greek Church, as by Money given to Him or his Ministers, all things are now transacted by them who give most. What then shall we think of a Parcel of mercenary or intimidated Ignorant Bishops, and Patriarchs, and their Church Officers and Dependants, bought or affrighted, or any other ways drawn in by a Designing and Incroaching Conclave and wavering truckling Patriarchs? Be it a *Nectarius* or a *Dositheus*, be it a *Cyril of Berrhaa* or a *Cyril Lucar*? (for

(for as to this kind of private Caballing, All are alike to me) shall a few busy, daring and contriving Men, whose Characters, and Designs, and Methods are sufficiently known to be Ill; under a Government where *Louis d'ores* and *Roman Pistols* are so Omnipotent; and Thousands of fearful or cautious Prelats shall stand (or rather sit) looking on, ready to let any Doctrines, or Perswasions, or Impositions quietly pass, rather then to come into any Trouble, or Hazard of loosing their Preferments; I say, shall a small number of such Men, under such Circumstances gull us with modern Forgeries under the Name of the *Orthodox Religion* of the Great Eastern Church, be it under the Name of *Confessions* or the more specious Title of *Synods*? They who in these distant Countries know nothing or very little of this Affair, may perhaps easily swallow all this, and wiping their Mouths cry *all is well*; But I must beg Pardon of all the World, if I, who have lived eight Years amongst them, and have well known and conversed with most of them, do solemnly profess my Self to be of a quite other Opinion, as I have at large declared in the foregoing Treatise. Alas! The *Greeks* are daily Harassed and sorely Prest between the Upper and the Nether Millstone, and now growing weary of supplanting and turning out one Another, they have already made a sad Beginning, and will yet daily farther submit to any thing for Quietness sake. It is an unexpressible Grief to me, and I pity them withall my Soul; *The Turk hath rob'd them of their Empire*, and, I fear, *The Pope will soon strip them of their Faith*.

I have often been amazed and wondred how such gross Errors and absurd Perswasions first rose and grew up in the Church; but I am well satisfied with what I find in the Judicious *Morinus*. First I find by my own Observation, par. 2. p. 23, that most of the fond Opinions and superstitious Practices which have prevailed in the Great Churches, were for the most part first Sown and sprang up in times of Ignorance; when Men were lazy and blind Devotion had quite shut out Reason and all serious Endeavor and Searching after Truth. Now saith *Morinus*, if any religious Opinion or Legend (started perhaps by some doting Monk, or some other Man, for his Prayers and Fasting, or otherwise of reputed Holiness) once hath seized upon the Minds of the *Vulgar*, there never were wanting Men, especially some Pretenders to Learning, who T. P. 361, would not endeavor to defend it; either to gain the Reputation of Holiness, or the Favour and Applause of the People; and they would strain their Wits to the utmost to reconcile it with all Antiquity and primitive Truth; but if when all is done, they cannot make it out, or at most not put it beyond a bare Possibility, they bring in *Θεὸς ἀπὸ μυχῶν*, God's Omnipotency to support their Fictions. This, to name no more, is the very Case of *Transubstantiation*. But of that and the other four Supernumerary Sacraments of the *Latins*, which *Dositheus* in his pretended Synod hath grafted upon the *Greek Church*; I have here plainly and honestly given you my own private Thoughts; not desiring Superciliously to dictate any thing, or Imperiously or Craftily to impose upon any one; but only to declare my own Opinion; which if it may any ways benefit the Reader, I shall be glad; but if he likes it not, let him freely follow his own, as, at present, I must do mine.

CHAP. II.

Concerning Images and the Worship of Saints.

THE Synod at last amongst other Things comes to the use of Images, and though they have taken in a great many of the *Latins* Scholastical Distinctions and Evasions, yet they came not up to the very height of the *Roman* Doctrine in this Point, nor have fully justified their present Practice, as I shall now endeavor to explain. But first, I think it requisite to premise a Notion or two, which I humbly conceive may appear pretty plain and obvious to every Reader.

Every Animal seem to have some inward Affections and Passions as well as we; as Anger, Fear, Love, Hatred, Joy or Complacency, Sorrow, Uneasiness, Pleasure, Disgust, and the like; and these inward Sentiments are commonly accompanied, or shew'd and discovered in us all, by some outward Signs and Tokens, or Actions peculiar and proper to them. Thus Dogs shew their Joy when they see or find their Master whom they had lost, and express their desire when they paw any one for a piece of Bread; and (with Permission of the severer Criticks) I must say that I am apt to fancy that *κυνεῖν*, which is rendred in general to worship, was derived, ἀπὸ τοῦ κυνός, from the Greek Name of a Dog, and signified originally, to fawn, and cringe or crouch like a Spaniel; There is a shrew'd hint of this in *Aristophanes*, where one Ironically Saluting, and seemingly Pitying another in Misery, is asked, τί με κυνεῖς; why do you give me such smooth Words; the word *κυνεῖς* is explain'd by σάλευς, why do you fawn on me like a Dog wagging his Tail. From thence I am apt to think, that it was afterwards used to express civil Saluting or Complementing one another amongst Men. From the Action of Dogs saluting another; for the Fathers in a whole Synod, tell us that *κυνεῖν ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ ἐλλαδικῇ ἀλέκτω*, in the old Greek Dialect signified no more then, τὸ ἀσπάζεσθαι ἢ τὸ φιλεῖν, to salute and to kiss; and *Habertus* seems to favour my Etymology, *προσκυνεῖν*, est instar canum, The Greek word to worship, is to court like Dogs, by crouching, and cringing on the Ground. He allows the Eastern Worship to be like the fawning of Dogs; but he seems to derive the word from *κύω*, to kiss, as Dogs kiss their Masters Hands and Feet. Hence the word *προσκυνεῖν* might very well in like manner at first be used for outward Civility, and the common Signs or Marks of Respect and Friendship, and due Behaviour betwixt Man and Man; which many times, notwithstanding, is but hypocritical and deceitful. Thus amongst all the outrageous Affronts and barbarous Treatments of the Innocent Jesus; it is said, that the insulting Jews, *τεθέντες τὰ γόνατα προσκύνουν αὐτόν*, bending their Knees did worship him; that is, made him a Mock King by shewing that outward Reverence to him, which is commonly used to such a Person. Thus many other words of a very low and mean Importance in their Original Signification, have been afterwards raised to a very high Degree. I will instance but in one Example; *λατρεία*, which at first signified any the meanest Servitude; was afterwards used for Religious Worship to God Himself; and is now put by the *Latins* for the highest Degree of it which can be given to him. But let the Criticks decide these Matters as they please, all that I shall note here is this. That Words and Actions which at first signified only civil Respect and various Affections of Men towards Men, were afterwards apply'd and used to express Religious Devotion and Worship towards God, as will farther appear in the following Discourse.

Some of these our outward Notices are, *ἐκ ἐφ' ἡμῶν*, not absolutely in our Power, for thus our very Countenance in despite of us will often declare the inward Thoughts and Affections of our Mind. Most of our outward Actions are indeed in our Power; many that are natural may be feign'd and counterfeit,

*Acham. 4.
1206.*

Nicen. 2d.

*T. 7. p. 581. c.
Archieratic.
p. 147.*

Mar. 15. 19.

feir, as Laughing, Crying, Sighing, Groaning, and such others of them. Now though Esteem, Honour, Reverence, Respect, Love, Obedience, Submission, asking Pardon, and such other Offices *from Man to Man*, are in their true and real Natures *purely Actions of the Mind*; yet they are all usually exprest by some outward Behavior or Ceremonies; whereof some are as it were dictated by Nature it self; (as *a loving Mother kissing her Child*, seems to me as natural *a sign of tender Regard*, as *an Ewe licking her Lamb*;) others have arose from various Occasions, and so at last grew into common Custom and Fashion. Thus *bowing Down, bending the Body, bowing the Knee*; so *pulling off the Hat with us Western People*; Bidding Good Morning, Good Day, Good Evening, *Taking by the Hand*, Saying, *your humble Servant*; so in Turkey and all over the East, *Clapping the right Hand on the left Breast*, and inclining the Head and saying, *Salomalekium, God's peace be to you*, (which I believe, as many other things, were taken from the Jews,) These, I say, and many such like Actions are Tokens of Friendship, Civil Respect, and Courtesy betwixt Man and Man; But then *Kissing the Hand, Kissing the Feet*, and (as in Turkey and elsewhere in the East,) *bowing and kissing the Hem of the Vest, or Garment*, (And I fancy our Fashion in the West of *kissing or offering to kiss our own Hand*, when we bow down to salute one another, is only an Imperfect Mimicking of that Eastern Custom) so *Laying hold on or Embracing the Knees and Feet*; *Kneeling and Prostration*, or casting ones self flat on the Ground; These and the like Performances to Kings, Princes, Potentates or Persons of Quality, are outward Testimonies of Respect, profound Reverence and Honour, and perfect Resignation of ones Self to the Will and Pleasure, or Disposal of the Person to whom they are made.

Now though the chief Thing, which God requires of us, is fully contain'd in that short but most remarkable Command, *My Son give me thy Heart*; yet in all our Addresses to Him we are naturally inclined, as well as by him Commanded, to exprest our inward Devotions towards him, by the outward Behaviour and various Gestures of our Bodies: All which we do, *after the Manner and Fashion of Men*. Hence *Bowing, Kneeling, Falling flat upon our Face*; *Lifting up our Hands and Eyes*; and the like, by which we used to shew our various Respect, Humility, Dependance, Submission, Acknowledgment of Favours, Confessing of Offences, and the rest of our outward Tokens, of our Affections towards one another as Men, are translated and apply'd to the Service of God. By these we acknowledge him to be *the only Potentate, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*. The only Giver of every good and every perfect Gift; The Lord, the Lord God merciful and gracious, who is long Suffering, but will by no means clear the Guilty; the dreadful Judge of Quick and Dead. Thus from that Compliment which I have mention'd of kissing our own Hand, instead of kissing the Hem of the Garment of a great Man whom we would Honour, hath that Idolatry of worshipping the Sun and Moon arose (to which Job alludes) by kissing the Hand.

But between our Respect and Observance towards Man, whom we have seen; and That towards God, whom we have not seen; There is this vast, weighty, and most considerable Difference. In our Behaviour towards Man, we have naturally in our Mind and Imagination a corporeal and sensible Idea or Representation of him, which goes inseparably along with it; but in that towards the Invisible God, our Idea or Thought of Him is, and ought to be, *purely Spiritual and Intellectual*; abstracted from all sensible Conceits whatsoever. You saw no similitude of Me, saith God; Therefore take good heed lest ye corrupt your selves, and make any likeness, (תמונה Temunah) For the Lord thy God is a consuming Fire, even a jealous God; To whom then will ye liken me? There have been Men who first rashly asserted, That some are so dull and stupid as they cannot conceive a God to be without a Body, and therefore, say they, some Image or Picture of him, for such as these,

T. p. 363. *is absolutely necessary.* But I must ask the Favourers of this Opinion, what they think of the Poor, Illiterate, Vulgar amongst the *Jews*, the *Turks*, and all the *Mahometans*. All these Believe and Worship the same true God, *the Father*, as well as we; and are so far from framing any bodily Conceit of Him, as they Abhor and Abominate both *Latins* and *Greeks* upon that very Score. Though no Man can frame an adequate Thought of God's Essence, or can find any Speech or Words which are able perfectly to express his Greatness; yet I dare say the meanest and most ignorant Protestant *who owns and worships Him*, will tell you, *That he is a Spirit*, and by his Actions he will shew that in his Mind *he fears a Being*, to which he Prays, and on whom he Relies, *without framing any bodily Shape or sensible Similitude* of Him there.

How this primitive and glorious Truth hath been obscured and abused, or perverted, will fully appear by and by. I shall now only note the most abominable Dissimulation and Hypocrisy, which I fear too too often is practised in this outward Respect both towards God and towards Men. As Men may salute each other with wonderful Ceremony and outward Expression of Love and Friendship, Loyalty and Obedience; when they wish one another, or their Superiors, Dead; according to the Psalmist, *Their Words may be smoother than Butter and softer than Oyl, when War and drawn Swords are in their Hearts*; so we know Men may, and without doubt often do, Bow, Kneel, turn up their Eyes, *disfigure their Faces and put on a sad Countenance*, nay, prostrate themselves and kiss the very Ground, *perhaps in Assemblies or in the Streets*, only to be seen and have Glory of Men; To have the Character of *Devotions* amongst the *Latins*, or *godly Men* amongst us; that is, *Men holier than their Neighbours*; And truly, I think it is as much *mocking of God* for careless Men to pull off their Hat coming into a Church; or, to hold it before their Face, (meerly as a common Custom and Fashion) without having the least Thought of God, or of his Service in their Hearts, or any inward Application to him at all. The *pure, spiritual, inward* Reflection, Meditation, Ejaculation, or Motion of the Heart, is only acceptable to God; and it is only That that recommends all outward Actions or Affections of the Body to Him, as purely Springing from it; and without it they all avail nothing at all; for *God is a Spirit, and must be worshipped in Spirit and in Truth*.

This Spiritual Worship of God is often exprest in Scripture by words, which indeed properly signify the outward Gestures of the Body, but they were not to be meer empty Signs, but the real and pure Effects of it, *to be bowed down*, *to bow himself or bend the Knee*; the LXX explain both these words by *προσκύβω*, to worship; *κύνω* to bow the Knee, *καύνω* to bend ones self, to prostrate; *πρηνεύω* to fall down flat on the Face; I say, that all these and other such outward Gestures were allow'd and acceptable to God, when they were made out of an Impulse of real Devotion (of Holy Fear, of Religious Sorrow, of Humble Submission, and the like Inward Motions of the Heart) to the invisible and inconceivable God alone, without the mixture of any bodily Shape, or of any created or sensible Similitude whatever in the Imagination; But whenever they were Religiously performed before any bodily Figure or Likeness, (although all was done in Honour of the true God Himself,) they were always counted and justly called *Abominations*.

This is very plain from the History of the Golden Calf; Aaron and all the People acknowledged the true God, but they are said to have corrupted themselves, and turn'd aside from the way of the Lord; because they had made a visible Figure to go before them; and the People said, *These be thy Gods, O Israel, which brought Thee up out of the Land of Egypt*; as if they had said, *Thy God is like this Calf*; for they knew that Image to be but a Creature, meer Gold, nothing but their Ear-Rings melted down and fashioned by Aaron into a Calf; and by offering Sacrifices and other Offerings

ings before it, they thought that they performed a *Feast unto the true God, Jehovah*, according to *Aaron's Proclamation*. It was this that caused God's wrath to wax hot against them, and he was ready to consume them, but he spared them, to vindicate his own Honour, from the Reproach of the Egyptians which otherwise, as *Moses* said, might arise. They had seen the Egyptians way of worshipping *Apis*, and therefore they were the more ready to admit of his *Figure* to represent their own God: This was their Fault then, and they fell into other such like Heathenish Practices during their stay in the Wilderness, but much more when they were settled in the *Land of Promise*. The Case was the very same with *Jeroboam* and all *Israel* under him; They all own'd and worshipped *Jehovah* the true God, but their doing of it before the *Golden Calves* in *Dan* and *Bethel*, This thing became their Sin. So *Jehu* shew his zeal for the Lord, *Jehovah*, in destroying *Baal* and all his Worshipers; and God approved of this Deed. But from the Sins of *Jeroboam* he departed not; he worshipped the invisible Lord, *Jehovah*, by bodily Figures and visible Representations, the *Golden Calves* in *Dan* and *Bethel*; and therefore he is said, not to have walked in the Law of the Lord with all his Heart, because he retain'd sensible Resemblances of him in his Worship. Thus all the *Samaritans*, both before and after their Captivity, had made to themselves, as I may so say, a mongrel Religion, They feared the true God, *Jehovah*, but that Fear was mixed and corrupted with bodily Representations of Him, after the manner of the Heathen.

Ezekiel sets forth all these several Conditions of the corrupted Jews at large; He emphatically calls all those pretended sensible Representations of God, *עֲוֹנוֹת בְּדִלּוּמָאָה וְכִסְפֵּי הָעֵינַיִם*, The Abominations of the Eyes; for the very seeing of any bodily Similitude, corrupts the pure Spiritual Meditation, or Thought of the Heart. Next, the word which we there render the Idols of Egypt, in Hebrew signifies, Filth, Excrements, Ordure; being spoken by way of the greatest Abhorring and Contempt of them; The LXX renders it all along that Chapter, *ἐπιτηδεύματα*, sometimes *εἰδωμήματα*, The Inventions or Contrivances; the Fancies or Conceits of Egypt; according to that of *Isaiah*, Their fear towards me, or with which they fear me, (that is, LXX, *εἰσβολαί*, their way of worshipping of me) is taught by the Precept of Men; by their *ἐπιτηδεύματα*, *εἰδωμήματα*, by their Institutions or Appointments; by their corrupt Imaginations and Doctrines. *Bellarmin* and the *Latins* would fain evade this pregnant Place of the Prophet, by saying that, The Traditions of *Moses* and the Prophets were not reprehended by *Christ* and the Apostles, but the Doctrines and Traditions of later Authors, (as of the Scribes and Pharisees,) whereof some were vain, some dangerous, some directly contrary to God's word. Then all such kind of Traditions or Doctrines, as are vain, dangerous, or contrary to Scripture, are plainly condemn'd, and exploded by their own Judgment; and if they would ingenuously stand to that, it would cut off all the Superstition and Traditional Trumpery controverted between us at one Stroke. As to this present point, I humbly ask them, whether then the Doctrine of worshipping of God, by any bodily Figure or Similitude was a Tradition of *Moses* and the Prophets, or whether it was not afterwards brought in by Men of corrupt Minds, This being so plainly against these express Words of *Moses*, Thou shalt not make to thyself any Likeness, to bow down to it, or serve it? Whether this Doctrine and Practice is not Dangerous? For thy God is a jealous God. Whether it is not Impious and Vain? Take heed to thyself, saith *Moses*, and keep thy Soul diligently, ye only heard a Voice from God in *Horeb*, but saw no Similitude. Therefore, My Soul, wait thou only upon God; For the Lord is nigh unto all them that call upon Him, to all that call upon Him in Truth; in Spirit and in Truth, said *Christ* himself in Opposition to the mixed Worship and corrupted Way of the *Samaritans*. Here is all bodily or sensible Similitude forbidden in the Worship of God; and since amongst the Prophets,

T. p. 366.
c. 40. 18.
c. 44. 9. &c.

Isaiah hath, so often, and so directly exploded it, and so artfully and so severely exposed the Madnes and Folly both of *the Image Maker* and of *the Image-Worshipper*; amongst all the other Enormities of the Jews taught and brought in by the Precept, and Doctrines of Men, surely this of worshipping God by a Figure must needs be one, if not the chief, meant by him in that place.

c. 29. 13.

Now the first thing that I shall here note is this; That as to this point the *Latins* sufficiently differ from the *Greeks*. Those make and worship Images and Pictures of God himself, and of the Trinity; but these allow of no such Thing. In all the places where I have been amongst the *Greeks* in the East, I never saw either in private Houses or in publick Places of Worship, any such Representations kept or used by any one of them. I confess, I have seen a Print or two of that Kind in the Hands of some who had been brought up in *Italy*, and had brought them from thence. And I saw some such Pictures in the Hands of a *Papas* in the Greek Church at *Venice*. But all the great Men in their Church in the East, even *Dositheus* himself, (with whom I have conversed) strictly maintain'd *Damascens* Notion in this Matter.

de fide l. 4.
c. 17. orat. 1.
de Imag. p.
703. 2. p. 730.
732. 3. p. 764.

Τοῦ ἀοράτου καὶ ἀσωμάτου καὶ ἀπεριγράπτου καὶ ἀσχηματίστου Θεοῦ, who can, saith he, make, μίμημα, a Pattern, or Representation, of God, who is Invisible, Incorporeal, who cannot be circumscribed, who hath no Figure. It is the highest Folly and Impiety to shape or figure Divinity; and the famous second Council of Nice, (which, as fiercely as He, did maintain the worship of Images and Pictures,) by no means allow'd of any visible Representation of God; using the very same Words and Reasons as *Damascen* doth. But the *Latins* not only allow of such visible Figurations of the invisible God, to be made, but with all the subtilty of Humane Wit, and the nice Distinctions of the Schools defend it. I shall here only take notice of what their Champion calls a general Solution of all Arguments which can be brought against it.

Labbe. T. 7.
p. 436. E.
464. E. 520. D.

Bel. T. 2. l. 1.
c. 8. p. 314.
C. D.

I. A thing may be painted, saith He, three ways, first to express the perfect likeness of the Form and Nature of the Thing it self, and this way only bodily Things are painted which have Lineaments, or Features, and Colours; He that attempts to paint God this way, would make a true Idol indeed. If he means by the Form, λόγος ὅτι τί ἐστιν, as *Aristotle* defines it, The inward Essence which makes a thing what it is, or what it was; and by the Nature, the inward Principle of all its Powers, Faculties, and Attributes; There is nothing in the World which can thus be Painted. For we know nothing of any Being, but only, τὰ φαινόμενα, the outward Effects and Adjuncts, that is, those Things which appear to our Senses to be in it, or to belong to it; But as to the inward Essence and Principle, or the Fountain from whence all these Appearances, Affections, or Modes, (call them what you please) do Spring, what it is that Support them all, we know nothing at all of That; It is wholly kept Secret to Him alone that created it. We know not the inward Essence of any part of the commonest Matter; as what makes Gold, Gold, or what essentially distinguishes it from Silver or Lead; And therefore in that Sense, the Nature and Forms of no Thing (whatever it is) can be Painted or Represented to the Eye, much less the Nature and Form of the great God Himself. But if he means by Form, the Figure and Shape, the Proportion of Parts, the Dress and Posture; and by Nature, the Colour, and those other patible Qualities (as they are called) which appear to the Eye, Thus any visible Body may be painted; but the eternal and invisible God, is infinitely above any sensible Conceit or Art of sinful Man.

T. p. 367.

2. Secondly, a Thing, saith He, may be painted to expose to the Eyes, some Histories; as if one would paint *Adam's Expulsion* out of *Paradise*; He ought to paint God in the Shape of a Man walking; And an Angel in the Form of a Man holding a Sword. He would not represent the Nature of God, or of an Angel; but only by the Picture offers to the Eyes, what one reading the Scriptures offers to the Ears. But the Scripture, in that Place, tells the

the Painter no such thing, as that God *had there in the Garden*, any Shape at all; *They heard a Voice* indeed, but (as it is said of the People in *Horeb*) *they saw no Similitude*. And the Hebrew word there, which we render, *walking*, doth not in the least favour *the Painting of Him as a Man*. For it there manifestly signifies only *his peculiar Presence*, as it doth in many other Places. They might as well paint him *as a great Man, walking among them, He being as their God, and They as his People*; or rather, *as a General, walking in their Camp, to deliver them, and to give up their Enemies before them*. He might also from *David*, as well draw the Heathen *Æolus* for the *Wind*, and adding *Wings* to him, *He ought to paint God* like an old Reverend Man *standing or going upon them*, for he is said to *walk there* also. I have said, *it is impossible to paint the inward Essence or Nature* of any Thing; But *Painting of the Taille, the Proportion, Shape, Size, Features, Figure, Colour and the like* of any visible Thing, may properly be called, *the Description of its outward Nature*; as we say a Child born *with two Heads, three Hands, one Eye in the Forehead, with a Beak, or the Snout of an Elephant* (and the like,) is an *unnatural Birth*, because it is not according to the *usual and natural Shape* of a Man, for that is part of his *Nature*. Now then He that shall dare to paint God in a *Humane Shape*, like an Old Man, sitting or standing in any Posture, *with Head, Eyes, Hands, and all other Members of a Man*; certainly in his Picture he makes an *outward Nature* of the invisible God, to be the very same *with the outward Nature of Man*; and by *Bellarmin's* consequence in his first Article, makes a true Idol.

But why, saith he, *pingere debet Deum in Forma Hominis*, ought the Artist to paint God in the Shape of a Man? The Figure of any other Creature would have been, *as really like Him as that of a Man*; And a Picture of *Apis*, or a Calf might represent him as well; and once *Aaron and all Israel* thought it did so. As for the beauty and comeliness of Man's Shape above that of other Creatures, I find it disputed in *Tully*; and one said, *That he dared not to say that he himself was more beautiful then that Bull was, which carried Europa on his Back*. De Nat. Deor.
l. 1. 105.

3. Thirdly, saith he, *a Thing may be painted not by way of History, but only to explain the Nature of a Thing by Analogy, or by Metaphorical and Mystical Significations*; as *Angels* are painted like little, beautiful, naked, winged Boys, &c. To signify their Grace and Virtues, their Swiftnes, &c. Thus they paint Virtues, and thus we paint God the Father, when we paint Him in *Humane Shape*, extra Historiam, not by way of History. How then do they paint Him? Simply, as He is a supreme Being? No; but by mean and familiar Objects, only to put us in Mind of some sublime Excellencies which are in Him to all Perfection. Thus they paint God as an Old Man, to represent his Reverence, Gravity, Wisdom, and Knowledge; for these Qualities are most remarkable in aged and experienced Men; so they give Him an Imperial Crown to shew that he is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, and so forth. But will not this justify many of the Heathen Idols, and the monstrous Indian Pagods? They had all a mysterious Meaning in them, which was well known to the first Authors, and to those who were Initiated or Admitted to their Secrets; but they were all kept hidden from the Vulgar and Profane, the more to amuse them; They who first contrived or invented these amazing Figures, without doubt had a Mystical or Metaphorical Intention to themselves in designing them. The Chinese Pussa in Kercher might be made with so many Arms and Hands on purpose, to set forth God's infinite Strength and Power, either in Saving and Delivering, or in Punishing and Destroying; as the Arm of God, the Hand of the Lord, often signifies in Scripture; see how he there explains their Representation of their Chief God, Fe. As much may be said for all the Hieroglyphicks of the Egyptians, and all those extravagant Figures in Cartari; which so much the more astonish us because T. p. 368.
Chin. illustr.
par. 3. c. 2.
p. 137.
ed. Pad. 1626.
Imag. delli Dei.
we

T. p. 368. we cannot conceive or guess at the meaning of them. Now as the vulgar Heathen of old were, and the common Indians now are, so sottish and bewicht as to take those Mystical representations of their Gods, *for the real Gods themselves*; so how will the Latins secure *their vulgar Votaries* from falling into the same gross Thoughts concerning *these Analogical, Mystical, Metaphorical Images*, or Pictures which are allow'd by the Cardinal? In short, all these Bodily or Visible Representations of God, (let him Gloss upon them, and interpret them as he pleases) do still plainly offer and expose *to the Eye and Imagination*, the Invisible God as a Body or meer Creature. What is this but *to become vain in their Imagination, and to change the glory of the Incorruptible God into an Image, or Picture, made like Corruptible Man?* Or, *in the likeness of an Image of corruptible Man*; (as St. Paul hath justly described the present Case;) the Schoolmen *professing themselves to be wise, became fools*. It is altogether as extravagant to urge those places in Scripture, (for Painting God either Historically or in any Sense) where his Appearance in a Dream or Vision is mention'd; as in Daniel, should any Painter whatever go to describe *the Antient of Days* according to that narration, he must necessarily add and mix variety of Fancies of his own, and make a meer Chimæra partly from the Prophet, but most from his own conceit. He must purely invent the Figure of the Head, Face, Beard, Hair and all the Members and their several Postures, the Fashion of the Garments, and the rest. The Colour of his Garment is said to have been *white as Snow, and the Hair of his Head like pure Wool*; but the manner of the Hair; and shadowing of the Colour must be wholly the Painter's fancy. *The Throne*, is said to be, *like the fiery Flame*, but the Fashion of it is not exprest; *the burning Wheels and the fiery Stream before him, and the thousands of thousands Ministering unto him*, as they would give great occasion to his Invention, so they would puzzle it to the utmost and at last fall infinitely short of expressing the Divine Glory; and it would at best be as patcht and confus'd a piece as Horace his *Mare-maid*. As much may be said of *the Son of Man which there came before him*. It is only said, *that he came with the Clouds of Heaven*, to paint any thing more then that, must be altogether *meer Man's device*. Now because God is said in wonderful *night Visions* to have convey'd to Daniel a Prophecy and some very Astonishing but very Imperfect account of his *Kingdom*, by putting these Thoughts into him *by a Dream, after the manner of Men*, shall any Man, *that is awake*, dare from hence to paint *the Invisible God, like an old Man*, with a withered Face and decayed Flesh like one of us? What is this, I say, but changing the Divine, שכינה, Shechinah, Presence of the most Glorious and Incomprehensible Being, into the gross Similitude of a vile Worm and meer Corruption. Daniel himself knew not the meaning of these grievous and troublesome Visions, till one that stood by interpreted all unto him; and he was as ignorant of the meaning of many others of his own Prophecies, they were sealed up even from himself; and therefore as I think, that our Modern Interpreters should be carefull how they attempt to break off the Seals, and pry into those hidden Secrets, so the Latins should forbear their bold and carnal conceits of God in this place, for the whole Vision was purely of a Spiritual Nature; the, (Shechinah,) Divine presence of God was manifested to him in a Dream, as much as he was capable of receiving it, but the import of it was far beyond his apprehensions. If because God is figuratively called *the Antient of Days*, the Latins may paint him as an old Man, they might more properly paint him, as Fire; for he is again and again call'd a consuming Fire; and he was in the Fire of Moses's Bush; and he went before the People by night in a Pillar of Fire; and if a Man will be so extravagantly fancifull, he may think and say, *that the perpetual Fire, which was kept always burning upon the Altars amongst the Persians*, was nothing but an Analogical Image of God, (representing his Eternity, Power, Purity, Glory and the like) and he may think and say as much of the

T. p. 368.

Rom. i. 21.

22, 23.

Arte Poet.

vers. 13.

vers. 7.

T. p. 369.

Job. 17. 14.

vers. 15. 18.

vers. 16.

c. 12. 4. 8, 9.

Deut. 4. 14.

c. 9. 3.

Exod. 3. 4.

Exod. 13. 21.

the Jews perpetual Fire, from whence the Persians borrow'd their Practice. T. p. 369.
 So even in this place of Daniel, *the fiery flaming Throne on which the An-* Lev. 6. 12, 13.
tient of Days sat; and the Wheels of burning Fire, and the fiery Stream
that came forth from before him, were all much more Analogical Represen-
tations of the true God, then the Figure of an old Man sitting upon them;
and they came infinitely nearer to expressing the true Shechinah, the Divine
Presence or Essence of God, (which then partly revealed it self to the Pro-
phet,) then the whitest Garments or Hair like the purest Wooll could do;
for he is covered with Light instead of a Garment; and the greatest and most Ps. 61. 104. 2.
 Skillfull Artist is not able to paint *the common Light* it self much less *the light*
in the Vision; but infinitely much less the Glory which it covered. Since then
 as it is most plain, that Images and Pictures cannot in the least express *the real*
Life and Soul or Mind of Man, or the inward Essence of any Creature, but
are only empty Shadows of the meer outside and shell of Beings, and do ex-
press even that, infinitely short of what it truly is; all Figures, Forms, Co-
lours, Postures and Visible Representations of God, (who is a Spirit) offer'd
to our Mortal Eyes, must be so Abominable, and unworthy any ways to ex-
press or raise in us any lively notion of him, as in the Imagination of every
beholder they must needs infinitely debase him, and thrust him down beneath
the meanest of his Creatures; there is something in a very Shadow which the
cunningest Artist can not exactly imitate; his Picture of it will be at best but
an imperfect shadow of a shade. What an abominable abuse and horrible af-
 front then must it be to the Infinite Majesty of the All-glorious and Incompre-
 hensible God, upon any Occasion or Account or Pretence whatsoever, to repre-
 sent him to our Eyes by *what is absolutely less then any Creature;* In this
 very obvious Sense we make him *an Idol* indeed, that is, *nothing in the*
World. T. p. 370.
 1 Cor. 8. 4.

Therefore notwithstanding all these pretended *Solutions of Bellarmine* Mo-
 ses's Knot still hold us fast, *thou shalt not make unto thee any likeness;* (of
 God or for a God,) *to use it Religiously.* Other Figures for Ornament were
 permitted, but *in Religious Worship, no likeness* whatever was to be suffered.
 For it would infallibly have begotten in the Jews *as gross Conceptions of the*
true God, as the Heathens had of their false ones. Cotta in Tully said truly, De Nat. Deor.
 Deos eâ facie novimus, *we know the Gods by that Face which the Painters* l. 1. 110.
and Artists have given them, and not only by the Face, but also by the
Dress, Age, and Garment; Jupiter had a Beard, Apollo had none. Is it
 not the same thing with the Latins to paint God the Father *with a Snow white*
Beard, the Son with a Forked one? I have (in the hands of my worthy
 Friend Mr. Ralph Lane) seen a *Turkish* Pedegree down from Adam to the last
 Grand Seigneur, Mahomet the fourth; where all the Persons of Renown, in the
 direct Line and in the Colateral ones, are Painted in Miniature. Christ's Face
 is very Serene and Sedate; his Head (as usually) is drawn *with lank Hair* Brown's vulg.
and a divided Beard; Mahomet's whole Body is setting, cloathed all in Green, Err. l. 5. c. 7.
 but with *his Face and Hand* quite covered. The design of the Painter (who
 was a Mussel-man) seems to me to be this; he left *Christ's Face* bare, after
 the common manner of the Christians, (thereby perhaps sily insinuating that
 it is thus Worshipt by them) but *he covered his own Prophet,* that none of
 his Followers should ever be abused or debauched, by any pretended likeness of his
 Countenance, and thereby tempted to Idolatry. That famous Inscription, on the
 Temple at Sais in Egypt; had the very same meaning; *ἐγώ εἰμι πᾶν τὸ γεγὼ-* Plut. de Isid. &
νός, καὶ ὄν, καὶ ἐσόμενος, I am all that has been, Is, and shall be, and my, Pep- Osir. p. 354. c.
lum, or Veil no Mortal hath ever yet uncovered. The great Eternal God,
 the thrice Holy Lord God Almighty, which Was, and Is, and is to come; Rev. 4. 8.
 who is All in All; and worketh All in All; is sufficiently understood by the
 things that are made; for the Heavens declare his Glory, and the Firma- C. 12. 6.
 ment sheweth his handy Work; But as to his Nature and Essence, they are, Rom. 1. 2.
 and were, and ever will be quite covered from Mortal Eye; and for ever hid- Pl. 19. 1.
 den

T. p. 370. *den from all human Imagination and Conceit; to whom then will ye liken him, saith the Prophet? See this Egyptian Inscription thus at large expounded by the learned Cudworth.*

Intell. Syst. l. 1. c. 4. p. 341. I find indeed two Images of *the one Invisible God* exprest in Scripture; one is *Man himself* in general, *made in his Image and after his likeness*; and 1 Cor. 11. 7. *for as much as he is the Image and Glory of God, I will Worship and Adore my God, by Loving and Reverencing my Brother.* If I love not this living Image which I daily see, how shall I pretend to Love or Worship my God whom I have not seen? The next is *Christ himself, who is the exprest Image of the Invisible God; I will Worship and Adore the everliving God* by living up, as well as I can, *to the light of his glorious Gospel.* John Damascen who was, εἰκονολάτρης, a great Patron of Image-Worship, owns Christ to have been *the first, Natural and, truest or, most like, Image of the Invisible God; in himself shewing the Father, for no Man, saith he, ever saw God himself; these two Images every good Christian may without all Controversy Adore and Worship in Spirit and in Truth.* As for a senseless Representation of him, *they that make them, or trust in them, are like unto them.*

Col. 1. 15. Heb. 1. 3. 2 Cor. 4. 4. De Imag. Orat. 3. p. 770. Joh. 4. 24.

2. The next thing that I shall here note as a grand Difference between the present Greeks and the Latins is this. The Latins make and allow of Statues and Pictures *to represent the Trinity*; they do it most commonly by *an old Man with a tripple Crown, for the Father*; holding a *Crucifix, or Christ upon the Cross, before him, for the Son*, and by a *Dove upon the upper End of the Cross, for the Holy Ghost.* Such representations as this of the Trinity, are very commonly to be met withall in Popish Countries; and they have been formerly in England; and they do yet remain in some of our publick Seals. I have seen some such Statues here and there yet left amongst old Rubbish and Ruins; I remember one was in *the Commandery at York in 1688.* But I never saw any such thing in all my Travels amongst the Greeks, either used or permitted by them. Neither did I ever see a *Material, Massive, Crucifix, or one in Picture, made or kept by any one of them*; except in a little Greek Church as we went to *Prusa in the Bay of Montania*, we once found a little short Wooden one standing there over the door going into *the Sacristia or Chancel*; (which place formerly in England was called *the Rood loft*) but *the Papas* there had been brought up at *Rome*, and brought this, and set it up here out of his own humor. I do solemnly protest that I never saw, during all my stay and Traveling up and down in *Turkey*, amongst the Greeks, any other Statue or Crucifix but this, neither did I ever meet with any other Religious *Bassi Rilievi*, Sculptures or Carved work in any of the Christian Churches or Oratories; though *Allatius* hath impudently said, *that nothing is more common amongst them.* It would almost seem Incredible, should I shew what a most furious Aversion the Turks have to all sorts of Images and Pictures, especially such as are counted Religious. The *Persians* allow of Painting, and I believe Mr. *Lane's* Pedigree was done by such a one; and I have some *Arab Medals* with the *Sultan's* Face upon them; but the *Turks* have only Letters upon their Coin; and there are only Writings (as Verses out of the *Alcoran* and the like,) upon the walls of their Moschs. I remember both the *Grand Seigneur* and the *Visier* lookt with seeming neglect and dislike upon our King's Picture, which was drawn (in the C,) in the first Letter of his Name, when his letter was laid open before them. But I shall mention no more here, then that common story which happen'd at the first taking of *Buda* by the *Turk*. There were it seems many fine antient Pictures there; which the Latin Fathers of those Churches valued extreamly. The *Turks* had seized on them all, amongst which were some of *God the Father*, some of *the Trinity*. The chief of the Fathers went to the *Basha* or Governor to beg that these might be spared and [return'd to them again. He ask'd them if they had any Painters now amongst them who had made any of these, or could make the like; They answer'd

T. p. 371. De consen. u. trinsq. Eccl. 1. 3. c. 15.

answer'd that they had then one there who made some of these. He desired by all means that he should be brought to him. One of the Pictures of God, or the Trinity, being brought he askt the Painter if he made it. He answer'd, Yes. Said the Governor I have a great desire to have my great Grand-father's and my Grand-father's Pictures drawn; can you do that for me. He answer'd, yes, if any of them were alive, or if he had already any Picture of them he could Copy it; but unless he saw them or their Picture or Likeness, he could not do it. Then the Governor in great Zeal and Wrath said to him, *thou most Impudent and Prophane Dog, if you cannot draw any of my Grand-fathers because you never saw them, will you pretend to draw the Eternal God, whom no mortal Eye ever yet saw?* So he had him laid down and soundly drub'd, and caused all those Idolatrous Pictures immediately to be burnt before him. Undoubtedly there were, amongst these, *Pictures of God and the Trinity*, some very extravagant, and perhaps very different from the common one above mention'd; for Bellarmine himself complains of *the intollerable Boldness of the Painters* in contriving strange Images of the Trinity; and particularly instances in those of Hungary, which he saith, *the Reformed Ministers there had exposed as Ridiculous and Abominable; calling them, Cerberos, Geryones, Janos trifrontes, three headed and three Bodied Monsters*, and the like; *by which Images*, saith the Cardinal, *our Painters certainly gave occasion of Blaspheming*; I suppose he would have us think, *it was to those Ministers*; and I must think that the poor Ignorant Latin Votaries took as certain an occasion, from them, of gross Idolatry. There was a common Sign of the Trinity in St. Pauls Church-yard, London, with one whole Face in the middle, and half another Face on each side of it; so contrived as the right Eye of the middle Face, might make the left Eye of the half Face which was on the right side of it; and the left Eye of the middle Face might make the right Eye of the half Face which was on the left side of it. This was perfectly a new kind of *Janus Trifrons*; you will see it in the Title page of *Johannes de Burgo* his *Pupilla Oculi*, Printed at Paris Anno 1510. and then sold in St. Paul's Church-yard London, at that Sign of the Trinity aforesaid. I could give some flagrant Examples of it, which I my self have observed, once in a Spanish Seaman, and others, whom I have seen *beating their Breasts and Prostrating themselves* before the common Image of the Trinity; as in *Magna Napoli* and elsewhere. We all believe that in God's good time there will be fulfilled, *the calling of the Gentiles*; and that *all the World shall become one Fold under one Shepherd*; but I hardly believe, that *that Fold* will ever be after the present Model of the Latin Church; the Turks, in particular, will never admit of *their Religious Images*, much less ever be brought to *Worship them*; the Latin Emissaries dare never in the least attempt to *Convert them*; No, their business in the East (as I have often noted) is a Design of quite another Nature.

After all Bellarmine himself is forced to declare, *non esse tam certum in Ecclesia, that it is not so certain in the Church, whether Images of God and the Trinity may be made* (according to the Latins) *as those of Christ and the Saints*; This latter is own'd by all Catholics, (even by the Greeks) and is matter of Faith; the other (of Pictures of God and the Trinity) est in Opinione, is only Opinion; and he cites several other Latins who are of the same mind. If then it is only matter of Opinion, and the danger of Idolatry from such Images is so very great; why do the Latins still allow of them and keep them in their publick Assemblies, giving thereby such shamefull scandal to the Greeks as well as to us? there is also this very remarkable passage in the Cardinal; *Idiotæ qui vident Picturas, Ideots who see these Pictures, and cannot read the Scriptures, may and ought to be Instructed by the Bishops and Preachers*; otherwise saith he, *I confess such kind of Pictures cannot be exposed, imperitis, to the Ignorant, or Unlearned, without great danger*. The Brazen Serpent though it was set up by God's own Command and Appointment,

T. p. 372. yet when it was *abused and Idolized*, it was destroyed; *They burnt Incense*
 Exod. 30. 37. *to it* which was only *Sacred to God himself*; and had the Cherubims been ex-
 posed to publick and common view, they might likewise by degrees have been
 as easily Worshipped. Was there not any care taken (do you think) to in-
 struct the Jews and tell them, *that the Serpent was no God*, but was only a
 2 Reg. 18. 4. *piece of Brass*, as it was called at last, *Nechushtan*; yet the People burnt
 Ut supra. p. *Incense* to it, and therefore it was destroy'd and broken to pieces. The Car-
 223. G. dinal owns that *many Heathens were so stupid that they verily believed*
 T. p. 373. *that the very Idols did live and had Sense and were Gods*; The Story
 of *Bel* alone sufficiently confirms that Truth; and I will positively affirm that
 there are many of the vulgar Papists as Sottishly stupid, and Credulous as any
 Heathen ever could be. Therefore, I must think, the *Iconoclasts* had very good
 T. 7. conc. p. Reason to say, ἡ χρῆσις τῶν τῶν, *we have no need of these Images*; and since
 484. c. they are so dangerous, what Madness and Prophaneity must it be to retain
 them? The Latins Critical distinction between an *Idol* and an *Image* will do
 them no good; for the Hebrew word *לִפְסֵל*, used in the second Commandment,
 makes them both one and the same thing, *thou shalt not make to thy self an*
Image or Idol; as is clearly proved by *Hottinger*.

Analest. dif. 5. The second Council of Nice was so far from allowing any Images or Pictures
 p. 208. of God, or of the Trinity, as the Picture of *Christ himself* was furiously op-
 posed by the *Iconoclasts*; the others, who were so Zealous for Images, pre-
 tended to Paint only *Christ's human Body*; for the Soul, said they, *it self is*
 T. conc. 7. p. *Invisible*; and therefore if it is impossible to Paint that, it is much more
 520. D. impossible to Paint, τὴν ἀκατάληπτον καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστον αὐτοῦ Θεότητα, *his Divini-*
 ty which is *Incomprehensible and Unsearchable*, or past finding out. This
 acknowledgement of the pretended Orthodox Council, justifies the Accusation
 p. 428. 436. of the *Iconoclasts*, who again and again had charged them with *dividing Christ's*
 440. 441. 520. *Divinity from his Manhood*; and thus we may truly say, *a Picture of Christ*
 521. *divides his very Humanity*; for it can at most represent only his *Body*; his
Soul is no more exprest by it then his *Divinity*; so that such a Picture must
 be very *Scandalously and Blasphemously called Christ*; for it is so far from re-
 presenting Christ, (whom they own'd to be, Θεάνθρωπος, both God and Man,)
 as it only shews the empty shadow of a meer Body, let the Artist design it
 either as *alive or dead*.

Next I do not remember that ever I saw the Picture of an Angel amongst the
 Greeks, either alone by it self or as a part of History; Historical Painting
 being likewise no where (as far as I know) found amongst them; but if
 any such Pictures be amongst them, I must think, that as much may be said
 against them, as against those of the Trinity. We read indeed that Angels
 have appear'd in the Form of Men; but who (of those that have seen them)
 was ever able so particularly to relate the Head, Face, Colour, Shape, Sta-
 ture, Habit, and the whole manner of the Apparition; as to direct any Paint-
 er or Carver in any tolerable manner to design them? For Example, can any
 one think that *Manoah* and his Wife were so curious as to take notice of every
 particular Limb and Circumstantial thing in the Angel which appear'd to them?
 We only read that his Countenance was like that of an Angel of God (who
 Jud. 13. 6. 16. knows what is that?) very terrible. That *Manoah* knew not that he was
 20. 21. an Angel till he Ascended in the Flame of the Altar. Both he and his Wife
 were so inquisitive and concern'd about the Child which was promised them,
 and were so overwhelmed with Fear and Amazement, as without doubt they
 made but very few remarks for a Painter to work by. So the narrative of
 T. p. 374 the Angel which appeared to *Joshua* is but very short; we are only told,
 that a Man (like a Captain, or a Prince) appear'd to him, with a Sword
 Jof. 5. 13. 14. drawn in his Hand; And only a Man, is said, to wrestle with *Jacob*; *Gi-*
 Gen. 32. 24. *deon* saw one with a Staff in his Hand; In the story of *Balaam*, one ap-
 Jud. 6. 21. pear'd with a Sword drawn in his Hand. *Daniel* saw the Man *Ga-*
 Numb. 6. 22, 23, 25, 27. briel, and was afraid and fell on his Face, therefore could not nicely ob-
 c. 9. 21. serve
 c. 8. 17.

serve much of him. Amongst those which appear'd after Christ's Resurrection, *one had his Countenance like Lightning and his Raiment was white as Snow.* Mat. 28. 3. *One was a young Man cloathed in a long white Garment; two only in shining Garments; and two only in white; and two Men stood in white Apparel.* Mark. 16. 5. Luk. 24. 4. Joh. 20. 12. Act. 1. 10. Now though a Painter can devise Garments very white and Shining; and an Arm and Hand with a drawn Sword, or a Staff; and can perhaps make a Face very Terrible; but can he express a Countenance like Lightning? Or imitate any thing else which he himself never saw? To speak the very Truth, in representing an Angel the whole work must be only and entirely the Painters meer Invention and Fancy; and therefore Dionysius calls them *ἱερεῖς ἀναπλάουσιν*, *sacred Fictions.* Therefore in *Worshiping of Angels by Pictures or Images*, when I think of the Latins Subterfuge, that the Reverence paid to the Picture or Image is carried on and ended in the Prototype. I must ask what is the Prototype Angel, and how comes this Fantome of Man's device to be its Type? I must certainly apply Christ's words (spoken to the Woman of Samaria) to the Votaries who fall down before them, *ye Worship ye know not what.* Joh. 4. 22. In the common Pictures of the Salutation of the Virgin Mary, every Painter will aim at something new; and will glory in something that may appear extraordinary of his own Contrivance; the Angel in one Picture shall be quite different from that in another; nay, if one Copies from another, his draught shall not exactly agree with the Original. Now when we read no more, but only, *that Gabriel was sent from God to the Virgin*, and not the least account is given, of his Figure, Posture, Garments, Face, or any Part or thing belonging to him, what a high piece of abominable Presumption and Prophaness must it be in any Painter to attempt to represent a Prince, (one of those Glorious Spirits, who stand in the Presence of God,) by wild conceits and extravagant Fictions of his own idle Brain? And it must needs be as Irreverent or Impious in the Governors of the Church to allow such bold Forgeries for Objects of Devotion in their Religious Assemblies. The Great Alexander forbad all other Persons (to represent him in any manner,) besides Polykletus in Carving, Apelles in Painting, and Pyrgoteles in Graving; that there might be no false Representations, and but only one uniform Resemblance, of him transmitted to Posterity. Must it not then be the greatest indignity and abuse cast upon an Angel, (much more upon the Eternal Invisible God,) to be exposed as made of meer frail Flesh and Blood, and deformed with Wings, or flatter'd with gorgeous Apparel after the manner of mortal Men; according to the fancifull Humor and Romantick Disposition of every vain (and for the most part vicious) Artist. Surely the common People must needs frame to themselves not only earthly Thoughts, but as various and as extravagant Ideas of Angels, nay, of God himself, as the Painters make them. T. p. 379.

The appearing of Angels is so fully attested in Scripture as no Man can deny it; but as to the manner of their appearing, the Opinions of Men are most strangely different to this very day. The vulgar think that they can, (as they call it) *take to themselves a real Body, when they please, and of what Form they will;* and by Consequence that they can change it as often as they think fitting. The Latins have that gross conceit of the Devil, as they Paint him in a thousand frightfull Shapes; but for the most part with a Cloven Foot; and understand that of St. Paul, *Satan transform himself into an Angel of Light,* 2 Cor. 11. 14. not in a spiritual or Figurative Sense, but Bodily and Literally; that he can put on the Body or Shape of a good Angel; and that he can visibly Personate, Act and Imitate any human Body old or young, Male or Female, as the Ingenious Angelinus Gazeus very wittily and merrily describes him out of the Life or Legend of St. Dunstan; nay, we are told in the Stories of Witches, that he can Bodily perform the very Act of Copulation with his Votaries of either Sex; yet we are assured by Christ himself that *a Spirit hath not Flesh and Bones as we have.* Luk. 24. 39. From this continual change of their Bodily appearance, there can never be made any certain uniform Picture of any single one of them,

T. p. 375. *either Good or Bad.* Did *Gabriel* appear exactly in the same manner to *Daniel*, as he did to the Blessed Virgin? Had *Michael* always the same Resemblance, when he contended with the Prince of Persia, and when he disputed with the Devil about the Body of Moses? How come we to have such great Varieties, and quite different Portraitsures of them in every place amongst the Latins? In that famous piece of *Guido Reni*, I dare boldly affirm that the Angel is not (in one the least ten thousandth point) so like the true *St. Michael*, as the Devil's Head was like to the traduced Cardinal or Pope; so that it will be as hard a matter in the Latin Votaries to assign the true Prototype of these various Pictures, as *Ovid* makes it to know the true *Proteus*.

But Men of nicer Speculation think, that thus to take a real Body upon them of *Flesh and Blood*, is too gross a Notion and unbecoming so sublime a Creature as an Angel, or Spirit; and therefore they rather entertain the conceit of the Platonists; that *Angels and Spirits* are, in their own Essence or Nature, *Invisible Powers or Beings*; but (according to the Poet) *ἕκαστος ἑαυτοῦ*, having every one his Vehicle, or (as I may so say) a Case, or rather Covering, of *Æther or pure Air*, they Condense it when they please into a visible Form and so appear; and by Modifying and Managing each particle of it, they can represent any Phenomenon, as *Lightning, Fire, Glory, Terror, Beauty, all Colours, Shapes, Garments* and the like, which we read of in their Apparitions; and they can again rarify or Dissolve the same into its former consistency, and so disappear. *St. Augustin* and several others of the Fathers were plainly of this Opinion; they thought the Angels were *λεπτοσώματοι*, thin subtle Bodies, as of Air or Fire; they called them sometimes *Incorporeal*, as being not made of the common mixture of the four Elements. Some expound *St. Paul's*, *σῶμα πνευματικόν*, *Spiritual Body*, in this Sense; and think that in the Resurrection we shall in this respect also be, *ὡς ἄγγελοι*, as the Angels of God in Heaven. If this be the nature of Angels, and they thus appear, it will be utterly impossible to represent them; what Picture can be devised or contrived to prick or streak out such a Mist or Cloud, (or one of *Nicolai's Glories*,) as might make any tolerable Type of them; and certainly the Votary, who Worships it, will by it have as Obscure and Confused an Idea of the Prototype.

The Sadduces conceit of Angels seems to have been something like to this; they did not think that Angels (which are said, or seemed, to have appear'd to the Patriarchs) were any real permanent Beings, but that God upon all occasions of Directing, Admonishing, Encouraging, and Comforting them, and the like, did exert his Power for that time, and Fashion'd and Modell'd Matter so as they both saw a Shape and heard a Voice to declare his Will; and then he recalled that Power and the Apparition ceased. According to this Opinion whatever Type may be devised to express the present Transaction, there is no Prototype remains to receive any future Adoration.

If I should venture to say any thing in such high Metaphysical Points, I should humbly offer this Conjecture which the very Scripture it self seems to suggest to my Thoughts. Angels are every where mention'd in Scripture as real and lasting Beings; *Ministring Spirits, excelling in Strength, encamping round about them that fear the Lord; an Angel went before his People to keep them in the way and bring them into the prepared place; and God had them beware of him and obey his Voice, and not provoke him; for he will not Pardon your Transgressions; for my Name is in him; he shall go before thee.* The Sadduces can never answer this place; God spake not this of his own self, but plainly of another Person, and of a permanent Being, and of one manifestly distinct from himself. Now as to the manner of the appearance of Angels, I humbly conceive that it might be done only by their moving the Imagination of Men awake, in the same manner as it is done by them in a Dream or Trance. These Angels, *גִּבּוֹרִים* mighty in Strength, (or Power, or Opera-

Operation,) being sent by God to deliver his Message to any People, have in themselves a Power to represent it in *Mens Imaginations*, as strongly and lively, as if they really *saw a Body and heard a Voice*. Thus the *Vision* which *Cornelius* saw, *φανερῶς*, manifestly at three of the Clock in the Afternoon, might by the Operation of one of these mighty Beings, be only wrought in his Imagination, as that of *Peter's* seeing in a Trance the Heaven opened and the Sheet descending. They were both Fasting, and so their Bodies being freed from the grosser Fumes of Fullness, were the more capable of this Angelick Impression. Thus *Peter* thought that his deliverance out of Prison had been only a *Vision*, (or Motion only in his Imagination,) and wist not that it was true which was done by the Angel, till he came to himself; and found that the same Mighty Power that had thus moved his Thoughts, had really also loosed his Chains from his Hands, and carried him unseen through the two Wards, and the Iron Gate had open'd of its own accord, and they had past through one Street; Thus far, his Mind had been so moved, and his Senses so bound, as he thought all had been but a meer Dream. Thus in the History of *Balaam*, the Ases three several times saw the Angel standing in the way, and his Sword drawn in his Hand; but *Balaam* all this while saw nothing; if there had been a real visible Body in the way, *Balaam* must naturally have seen it as well as the Ases. Wherefore as yet the Angel wrought only upon the Imagination of the Ases, and when *Balaam* smote him, by the same mighty Power he caused in *Balaam* a Perception of a Voice, and of the words there recorded as spoken by the Ases. At last the Eyes of *Balaam's* Mind were opened as well as his Ears; and the Angel represented himself to him also with his Sword drawn in his Hand, and framed in his Thoughts all the Discourse there following; and the Text at last seems plainly to make this Vision of *Balaam* but a waking Dream; he saw it (the LXX add *ἐν ὕπνῳ* in his Sleep) falling (we in English add into a Trance) having his Eyes open, in both the Hebrew and the Greek it is, his Eyes being uncovered or unvail'd. Those Hebrew Phrases, to open the Eyes, the Mouth, the Lips, the Ears of Men, are not taken literally, but signify to make them see or perceive, speak, hear. Adam and Eve's Eyes were open'd, they then knew or perceived that they were Naked. So to open the Eyes of the Blind, and the Ears of the Deaf, in the new Testament, signify to make them See, and Hear. But a little farther to Illustrate my Conjecture let us consider that wonderfull Passage in the History of *Elisha*. The Prophet saw the Host of God, the Angels, which were round about him; but his Man saw them not, and therefore was sore afraid of the numerous Army of the King of Syria. But at *Elisha's* Prayer God also open'd the Eyes of the young Man, and he saw also the mountain full of Horses and Chariots of Fire round about them. It comes to the same point, if you say these Horses and Chariots were really and bodily there, or not; for it would be one and the same Power in the Angel, to withhold or vail the young Man's Bodily Eyes from seeing them if they were there; and to raise a full and strong Idea of them in the Eyes of his Mind, if they were not really there; the same may be said of *Elisha's* misleading the Syrians, they knew nothing of it untill the Lord open'd their Eyes, and they saw that they were in the midst of Samaria. That is likewise very remarkable and to the same purpose in *Daniel*. He saw an Angel like a Man cloathed in linen, with his Loins girded with fine Gold, his Body like the Beril, his Face as the appearance of Lightning, his Eyes as Lamps of Fire, his Arms and Feet like Polished Brass. First I must most strangely wonder if any Artist dare be so presumptuous and bold, as to think from *Daniel's* words that it is possible by Colours to represent any thing of the Glory of this Apparition. Linen Cloaths girded with Gold, peradventure he might attempt, but what would he do for the Body like a Beril, the Face like Lightning, the Eyes as Lamps of Fire, the Arms and Feet like Polisht Brass. *Daniel* himself could not express it all in any words, much less could he have done

T. p. 376.

Aquin. 1. q. 5.

Aet. 10. 3.

verf. 10. 30.

T. p. 377.

Aet. 12. 7.

verf. 9.

verf. 11.

Num. 22. 23.

c. 24. 16.

Gen. 3. 7.

Isa. 42. 7.

Joh. 10. 21.

c. 9.

Mark. 7. 34.

2 Reg. 6. 16.

17.

verf. 19. 20.

T. p. 378.

c. 10. 5. 6.

T. p. 378. it with the *choicest Colours*, had he been himself a Painter as Skillfull as the
 vers. 7. renown'd *Apelles* Next *Daniel alone saw the Vision*, for the Men that
 were with him saw it not, but a great quaking fell upon them so that
 they fled to hide themselves. Their fear was wrought in them without see-
 ing any thing, by the same mighty Power by which the Vision was shewed
 to Daniel. Thus, according to this last Opinion, by the Operation of Angels,
 the Eyes of the Mind in Men may be holden, so as not to perceive; and they
 may be opened, so as to see what presently will vanish out of their sight;
 Luk. 24. 16, 31 as it happen'd, in the appearance of Christ himself, to the two Disciples go-
 ing to *Emmaus*; And seeing our Souls, by being Spirits, do so far partake
 of the nature of Angels, they can the more easily act upon our Minds, not
 only by Managing our Thoughts (good Angels to what is good, evil
 ones to what is Bad) but also by Forming and Ruling our Imaginations.

Therefore let the Learned explain the appearance of Angels by any of these
 ways, or otherwise as they please, it must be very Ridiculous, as well as Im-
 pious, to pretend that any painted Board or Cloath, or Print, can be a pro-
 per Type of these so Mighty and so Glorious Beings; for as to this Point of
 Representing them, even Guido's egregious Piece it self, is but filthy Daub-
 ing; and is as far from giving us any decent Idea or Imagination of St. Mi-
 chael's Excellencies, as the rude and homely signs of him are, that hang at e-
 very Ale-house door. But what will they do with the nine Orders in the Ce-
 lestial Hierarchy; which the Greeks mimick at their Eucharist, as is above no-
 ted? Will any Painter pretend to distinguish them with his Pencil according
 to their Degrees and Dignities? Thrones, and the many Eyed, and many Wing-
 ed Orders, named Cherubims and Seraphims, according to Dionysius, make
 up the first File or Ternary; ἐξουσίαι, Powers, κυριότητες, Dominions, δυνά-
 μεις, mighty Ones, make up the second File or Ternary; ἄρχοντες, Princi-
 pals, Archangels, Angels, make up the third File or Ternary; and the La-
 tins own as many Orders, though they differ in placing them. These Orders
 are counted far different from one another, in Place, Office, Power and Glo-
 ry; nay, they are made as very distinct and subordinate Species or Kinds of
 Beings, as the Vegetive, Sensitive, and rational Souls are thought to be by
 the Peripateticks. The nearer they are placed to the Divine Presence or
 Throne, the nearer and more like they are to the Divine Nature. Now
 surely there ought to be at least nine several distinct sorts or kinds of Pictures to
 represent these nine distinct Orders of them. The Pictures of the many Eyed
 and many Winged Cherubims, will not suit with any of the rest; and of all
 the Individual Thrones, and of the rest in every other Order, we cannot be-
 lieve that there is such an exact likeness, as that one Picture may serve for
 every one of them in particular, or only for all in general. What infinite
 variety must there be, if the Persians conceit be true; that every Month, nay,
 Day, nay, Hour, nay, every Thing, hath a particular Genius or Angel that
 governs it, and every Man hath two, a Good one, and a Bad one to watch him.
 What mad, Romantick stuff may we see in Mich. Angelo. Tintoretto, and our
 Fuller's piece of the Resurrection; these may truly be called wild, (but Inge-
 nious) Gays and Fancies; but with discreet and considering Men, they rather
 Ridicule and Quench, then Recommend and Kindle, any true Devotion; as
 Tully talks of Charon and Cerberus. Doth the common Picture of an Angel
 on every Sign-post, represent all these Orders, or only one single one of the lowest
 Order of all? What mean, confused, and most wretched an Idea or Conceit
 of these most eminent Beings, (whose Orders and Degrees both Latins and
 Greeks have devised and own'd,) must such vile Pictures as these create in the
 Minds of Men, when the very best pieces of their Art, as to this Point, are
 all but presumptuous Trifles, and profane Attempts. Be their Types (as
 they call them) what they please, it will be impossible for them to assign
 their Prototypes, as shall be more fully shewn by and by. After all the sub-
 tile Evasions of the Schoolmen, they can never defend their pretended Ho-
 nouring

nouring them in this manner, (much less *their Worshipping them*,) against St. Paul's charge; they say indeed that only *the superstitious Worshipping of Angels*, (used by the Heathen, and taught by the Philosophers in Vogue in those days,) was forbidden there; but the Reason there given, holds as good and as strong against our *Modern Worshippers*, who (as fondly and as rashly) *Intrude into those things which they have not seen, vainly puffed up in their fleshly Minds*; this is an *Indelible Character* of the Madness and Folly of the School-men in this Point, who talk *as positively and freely* of those *Invisible Potentates*, as if they were clothed with frail Flesh and Blood and daily dwelt amongst them. T. p. 379.
Col. 2. 18.
verf. 8.
Aquín. i. 50.
51. &c.

The Latins commonly urge *the Figures of the Cherubims* to justify their making Pictures or Images of Angels, but this will not do their business. For these were *sacred Hieroglyphicks* which God himself described and positively Order'd to be made. The People had seen many *Hieroglyphicks* and other Religious Figures amongst the *Agyptians*, and God appointed these in opposition to them; and only as *Ornaments of the Mercy Seat*. These *as well as the Tabernacle and all the Instruments thereof* were made exactly according to the *Pattern which God himself described*. Now (suppose they were *material Types of immaterial Beings*,) because God himself appointed these particular *Mystical Images* to be set up, *in private* (as I may say) *in the Holy of Holies*; shall any Christian dare to make, set up, Paint or Fashion one meerly out of his own Brain and Fancy; and calling it a *Cherubim* shall he expose it publicly? And this *not as an Ornament*, (as Carpenters and Joiners often make such kind of Devices to grace some parts of their building) *but to fall down and Worship it*? Besides, what Figures of a Cherubim are most warrantable by Scripture; that of *Moses*, or those of *Ezechiel*? The first commanded by God himself the other described by his infallible word. I must here borrow the words of *Damascen* though they are against himself; *ἐδὲν ἄμωρον ὁ παρὰ θεῶν γεγέννηται· μόνον δὲ ἄμωρον ὁ μὴ ἀπὸ αὐτῶν ἔχει ἐκ θεῶν*, nothing, saith he, is dishonourable or despicable, which is from God; that only is dishonourable and disgracefull, which hath not God for its Cause or Author, but is our own Invention, by the free Inclination and bending of our Will from that which is according to Nature, to that which is besides, or against it. In my Opinion nothing can be said more directly against pretending religiously to Paint, or sensibly to represent these invisible and imitable Natures; for all must be, *ἡμέτερον εὐγενεῖα*, meerly our own Invention. Exod. 25. 9.
18, 40.
T. p. 380.
Exod. 25.
10. 12. 21.
Orat. i. de
Imag. p. 707.
Basíl. 1575.

Let us now come to consider the Images and Pictures of the Saints; Images (as far as I remember,) I never observed in Publick amongst the Greeks, either Cast or Carved; In the little Crosses made at *Mount Athos* and elsewhere by the Monks, there is Carved *Christ Crucified*, and the *Virgin Mary* with him in her Arms, they who privately carry these as Memorials only of *Christ Crucified*, do not amiss, but if they wear them as *Amulets*, they plainly place, *Fiducia*, *Affiance* in them, which even *Bellarmino* himself condemns, as will be fully shewn hereafter. But Pictures we find publickly in both Churches both Greek and Latin. And truly we also freely admit of them according to those words of *Dositheus*, *εἰς καλλοπισμὸν*, for Ornament in our publick places of Worship; and also for short remarks of their History, that by calling to our minds the memory of their Virtues and Glorious Examples, we may be excited to Imitate them in their Holy Lives and Practices; as we have the Pictures of Time and Death to make us continually Meditate and think of our Earthly Pilgrimage and our latter end. But certainly *Dositheus* (as well as the Latins) is out in calling these Pictures of the Saints, *βιβλία τῶν ἀμαθῶν*, the Books of the Unlearned. They must be Men of some Reading and Knowledge who will pretend to Understand or Interpret all the Religious pieces at Hampton-Court, or in our Kings College Chappel, or in our Cathedrals and Churches. A Man will find it a harder matter to teach an Idiot the plain meaning of the Histories there set forth out of the old and new Testament, than it will be to teach him how to read and understand the Bible it self. Pictures may be, and

T. p. 380. and are usefull Memorials to those that have read and known *the Histories*
 Syn. Hier. q. *already*; but how can the Ignorant Men, (who were forbidden now by the
 1. p. 305. Greeks, as well as the Latins to read the Scriptures,) know any thing of the
 matter? They may stare at them as very fine Sights indeed, but be inwardly
 very little or nothing the better for them. I shall omit many lewd and vile
 Fancies in many places yet remaining in derision of Monkish tricks and Naugh-
 tiness; let the Battlements of the great Church of Utrecht, and several Paint-
 ings and Statues in some of our own Cathedrals suffice to shew, that some Pi-
 ctures may be and were, design'd as the Idiots Bibles indeed; that is, pure-
 ly to expose to them *the Vices and abominable Practices of those times*, of
 T. p. 381. which they were not wholly Ignorant; but how many sacred Histories are there
 Painted of which the Vulgar never so much as heard. I knew a learned Man of
 my intimate Acquaintance, who yet was not much more acquainted or versed in the
 Scripture, (especially the old Testament) than ordinary Men; he once hear-
 ing in discourse his Friend mention *Sampson's* slaying a thousand Men *with*
 Jud. 14. 15. *only the Jaw-bone of an Ass*, cryed out upon it, and exploded it as a meer
 Romance or Fiction; what then may an Idiot think if he saw this Pictur'd in
 a Church having never before heard that it was a *Scripture Truth*. To make
 use of these Historical Pictures as occasions of pious Reflections and serious
 Thoughts in Governing our Lives in the Practice of Holiness after the Examples
 of the Saints, must certainly be allow'd of by all good Christians; it being the
 very end and use of all sacred History; but Idiots are not capable of that; few
 of them being scarce any thing Edified by *the very lively Discourses of*
their Preachers; and therefore they must be much less Instructed by *these*
dumb shews and Representations. This application of them must require Men
 of some Parts and some considerable Knowledge of the Scripture-History; such
 Men may indeed be capable of making to themselves *αὐτοχρηδιάσματα*, *some*
sudden extempory Meditations from them, as our pious Bishop Hall did from
 almost every thing which he saw; but common illiterate Idiots, (Lord help
 them) what can we expect from them, who seldom have even *God himself*
 Pf. 20. 4. *in all or any of their Thoughts*. This Wisdom is too high for a Fool. A
 Prov. 24. 7. well taught Christian from the abovesaid Picture of *Sampson's Slaughter*, might
 with Comfort and Courage reflect upon *the wonderfull Power* which God can
 give a Man, *when the Spirit of the Lord comes mightily upon him*, (as the
 Scripture expresseth it,) but an Idiot will hardly learn such a Lesson from this
 his pretended *Painted Bible*.

We Honour all the Saints, and respect their meer Pictures; but it is only
 as they are Marks and Characters which remind us of them; *τύπος, σκία, σύμ-*
βολα, παραχαραγματα, as *Figures, Shadows, Notes, Schetches* or rude draughts
 Conc. Nic. 2. of them: as Pope Adrian himself once happen'd to call them; but both Greeks
 p. 121. c. and Latins *Worship and Adore them*. Now there is a vast difference between
 these two. We Honour the Saints by setting apart particular days to their Me-
 mories; we *thankfully recount* all their Glorious Actions, and *Reverently*
ever both think and speak of them; we extol their Faith, their Hope, their
 Charity, their Sufferings, their Patience, and all other eminent Christian Vir-
 tues that were in them; and devoutly pray God, *to grant us Grace so to follow*
 all the blessed Saints in all *Virtuous and Godly Living*, that we may come to
 those unspeakable Joys, which he hath prepared for them that unfeignedly love
 him, through Jesus Christ our Lord. We daily in our publick Prayers Bless
 and Praise his most holy Name for all his Saints and Servants departed out
 of this Life in his Faith and Fear; beseeching him to give us Grace to fol-
 low their good Examples, with us such Honour have all his Saints. But
 we cannot think it fitting to bow down to their Pictures, or warrantable to
 Worship them. If the Saints themselves were alive and present we could not
 Religiously do it, being expressly forbidden by the great St. Peter to do it to
 him; *for himself he was but a Man*. Such a Civil respect being a meer Cu-
 stom taken up by Men towards their Superiors, (as we were bowed down be-
 fore

fore the Grand *Seignor* at our Audience) is one thing and very allowable, (for *T. p. 382.*
we must render to all Men, τὰς ὀφειλάς, their dues, their civil Honour to Rom. 13. 7.
such Persons to whom it is due;) But such a Religious respect is quite a-
 nother thing. *Bellarmino* and all the Schoolmen make a great difference be-
 tween, τιμή, Honour or plain civil Respect paid here by us to one another,
 and, δουλία, the religious Service, or Reverence, paid to the Picture, or to
 the Saint which is supposed to be represented by it; which makes the thing
 yet more absurd. Shall I bow and pay that Reverence (or rather much more) to
 St. Peter now Dead, and far enough absent; or (what is worse) to his bare
 Picture or to his brazen Statue at Rome; which he would not suffer to
 be paid to his Person by Cornelius when he was alive and present? Shall
 I pretend to do such, δουλία, a higher piece of Religious Service to him now
 he is in the other World, who would not suffer it when he was here; and
 now know no more of it than a Dead Man or meer Dust and Ashes? It is
 amazing to see, (since they dare not be so impudently bold as to say, that
 St. Peter (or any other Saint) is Omnipresent) how they stretch their fruit-
 less Inventions, and multiply their airy Speculations to make it out, that St.
 Peter (and all the Saints) have constant Intelligence of what we poor Mor-
 tals (any where or at any time) say or do, not only within the Pale of the
 Roman Church, but in every quarter and corner of the whole World.

But bowing down to the Pictures of Saints is the least Objection which we
 make. Adoration is a far higher Point, by which I mean Praying to them;
 for from the plain Notation of that Word, I take Prayer or the Invocation of
 God, to be most singularly, and most properly meant by it; and this seems
 plainly, λατρεία, that Service or Worship which is peculiarly due only to the
 great Creator himself. I am sure that Prayer to God is my Duty, and I have
 his Infallible Word and most Faithfull Promise, that he will accept it; and
 that he can and will grant all my Petitions which he sees necessary and fitting
 for me. If I call upon him in the Day of Trouble, he will deliver me; *Ps. 50. 15.*
 He will answer me; for he is nigh unto all them that call upon him. If *Ps. 91. 15.*
 according to our Duty we make our Prayer unto God he will hear us. *Ps. 145. 18.*
 Whatsoever we shall ask the Father in Christ's name he will give it us; we *Job. 22. 27.*
 have both his Command and his Promise; ask and ye shall receive; and all *Joh. 16. 23. 24.*
 his Promises are yea and Amen. Next God is all-sufficient, there is nothing *2 Cor. 1. 20.*
 too hard for the Lord; and we are always in his sight, for whether shall we *Gen. 18. 14.*
 go from his Spirit, whether shall we flee from his Presence? And he can *Ps. 139. 7.*
 hear and know the innermost desires of our Souls; he, and he only, (*Μονός*- *1 Reg. 8. 39.*
πατήρ, LXX) knows the Hearts of the Children of Men; it is he that *Jer. 17. 10.*
 searcheth the Heart; thrice Happy is he whose Hopes is thus in the Lord *Ps. 146. 5.*
 his God. As for the Saints, alas, we cannot certainly determine any thing con-
 cerning the present State of the Dead; yet thus we read, they know not any *Ecc. 9. 5.*
 thing; Abraham is Ignorant of us; the Sons come to Honour and the Dead *Isa. 63. 16.*
 Father knoweth it not; they are brought low and he perceiveth it not.
 St. John was twice forbidden to Worship an Angel, then present before him; *Job. 14. 21.*
 It seems therefore very strange to me, that any Man should fall down and *Apoc. 19. 10.*
 Worship an Absent and dead Saint; much more that he should Worship a *c. 22. 9.*
 meer Form or Shadow, which is called his Image or Picture. The Angel
 not only corrected the Saints wrong Worship, but enjoined him the true one.
 See, said he, thou do it not, to me; Worship God; for I am but thy fellow
 Servant. *T. p. 383.*

Now let the Cardinal and his Myrmidons devise and make what guesses and
 conceits they can, to shew it probable or possible that Saints and Angels may
 have Power, Knowledge, Ubiquity or Omnipresence, to hear and grant our
 Petitions, at all times and in all places, by immediate Revelation (I sup-
 pose they mean from God, who must then first hear us himself) or by their
 Beatifick Visions (yet they are not, nor will be, untill the Day of Judgment
 in consummate Happiness, but till then will be only imperfectly Blessed;) or by

T. p. 383. *their Contemplation of God*, (which no Mortal can conceive, and must make them as well privy to, and knowing of, every thing else here below, as well as of our Prayers, (yet this Enthusiastical Notion is as positively asserted by them, as if they had been in that glorious State themselves,) or by what other fancifull Invention they please; I shall not now enter into those their Airy Speculations, but use the Cardinals own words against those his Partisans who say, *that Images are to be Worshipped with, λατρεία, the very same service that is due to the great God himself.* They, saith he, *that defend such Notions as these, are forced to use the most subtle Distinctions, and Sophistry, which they themselves scarcely understand, much less the unskillfull or unlearned, People.* However he plainly confesseth that in Scripture there is neither any Command nor Promise for any such Praying to Saints, neither is there any need of either of them; which he slightly passeth over without any appearance of the least solid proof; but if it be so that we have neither Command nor Promise, on what shall we ground our Faith; and without that, our Prayer is meer Presumption and Sin. And for his example in Job, (*go to my servant Job and offer up a burnt offering for your selves.* (this was not to be offered to Job; and I suppose he would not have it done to any Saint departed) and he shall Pray for you, for his Face, or Person, will I accept. It is so trifling and nothing to the purpose, as I am ashamed of it, for Job though a Saint was then alive.

I shall therefore now only humbly propose to every good Christian my own serious thoughts of this whole matter; I design them innocently for his good, and therefore beg his candid interpretation of them. Since the Great, Almighty, All wise, All present God himself hath Commanded me in all my wants and various Conditions to call upon himself, and by the Ravishing expressions of his Infinite Love hath Invited me, at all times and on all occasions, humbly but freely to pour out all the desires of my Soul to himself by Prayers and Supplications, I am sore afraid of affronting him if I should make my Addresses to any other Invisible thing; since the great Creator himself Invites me, nay, Commands me, to do it to him, I dare not do it to his Creature, be it either Saint or Angel. Therefore I shall with Faith and full Assurance in him, continually make all my Addresses and Applications to him alone; it is an act of my absolute Duty and Obedience, and therefore herein I cannot offend. This is allow'd and practised by all the World; by Jews, Turks, Heathens, as well as by all Christians, Greeks, Latins, Papists, Protestants; in this I am sure, I am safe. But to pray to absent Saints or Angels, (of whom I have very little knowledge) and to Worship them or their Images and Pictures, after all that the subtle high flown School-men can possibly devise or say, remains still at best but a disputable and very doubtful Point. All the better sort of Christians, and all Jews and Turks (whose conversion once, we desire and expect) utterly abhor it. About Worshipping and Praying to God himself, there neither is, nor ever was any Doubt or Controversy. Shall I then leave that sure and safe Practice, and venture upon one grounded only upon the sandy Foundations of some late Doctors wild Opinions, and those very various ones, and often quite contrary to one another? The very highth of all they can pretend to is only this, *we think this Worshipping of, and Praying to Saints and Angels, may be done;* but both they and we know that it may be let alone; and that this Worshipping and Adoring of God himself must and ought to be done.

The great Churches, Greek and Latin, in all their Discourses about this Point, now look upon Heaven as the Court of some haughty Tyrant, wherein Addresses must be made by some Favourite only, nay, by a Favourite's Favourite; to some prime Minister of State, and so by these Subordinate means at last to the stately Emperor himself; who, say they, may justly take it as the highest piece of Impudence and Arrogance, if a poor, mean, miserable Subject should directly approach him. But suppose the Emperor was a Mild and Compassionate Prince,

Prince, (like him in *Ælian* who so graciously accepted of a handfull of Water, T. p. 384. Hist. Var. l. 1. c. 32.) and that he had strictly Com-
manded all his Subjects to come freely to his very Person, and in his Presence, to acquaint him with all their Conditions and Desires; such a Prince might well be displeased at the Disobedience and Neglect of any of them who should seek to sollicite him by any other Mouth then their own; and might justly count it a slighting of his *Proclaimed Goodness*. There is something like this even in the *Turkish* Government; where any one may appeal to the *Grand Seigneur* himself, by *Fire upon his Head* (or otherwise disposed, as it was done in the famous Exploit of *Sr. Tho. Bendish*) or by *Prostrating himself before him*, as opportunity serves in his going abroad. If *Favors and Preferments* be bestowed by a Prince, proprio motu, from only his own inward Inclination and Affection, or if he doth Justice from his own Sense and Judgment, the *Glory of the Deed* is wholly his own; but if he is solicited and moved to either of them by others, the pressing Courtier hath the greatest share of it; and is lookt upon as the principal Benefactor; and thanks are thought most due to him as the chief Patron. *Plutarch*, and all the old Moralists and Heathen Poets, had thoughts of God quite different from our Modern *Saint-Worshippers*: his Infinite greatness did not exclude Addresses to him from the poorest Votaries; to think otherwise of God was counted worse then right down Atheism it self; but to say no more of them, take a (true Vates) Prophet's words to all that put their trust in him, thus saith the High and Lofty Is. 57. 13, 14. one that inhabiteth Eternity, whose name is Holy; I dwell in the high and holy Place; with him also that is of a Contrite and humble Spirit, to revive the Spirit of the Humble and to revive the Heart of the Contrite ones. Here is warrant enough for me to call upon him; shew me as much for any kind of such Prerogative, Power, Office or Assistance from the departed Saints and they shall partake of my Prayers to them. Who can be Higher or more Lofty then this Almighty King of Kings and Lord of Lords? yet though he inhabiteth Eternity, he condescendeth so far to the poorest Sinner, as to dwell with every contrite and humble Spirit. Power and Mercy belong unto God; Ps. 62. 11, 12. Is. 42. 8. How fearfull then ought I to be least I give his Glory to another? To his Creature? For God is a Jealous God. Exod. 20. 5.

Here I cannot omit a strange Passage in Patriarch Jeremiah; *Invocation*, saith he, properly, ἀκούζει, is applicable, or due, to God alone, and primarily and most peculiarly belongs to him. But that which is made to the Saints, is not properly such, but as we may say, by Accident, and, κατὰ χάριν, according to the favour (of God;) For neither Paul nor Peter hear those that call upon them; but the Favour, or Grace, which they have, according to our Lord's words; I will be with you to the end, He justly owns Math. 28. 20. that Prayers properly ought to be made to God alone; and saith plainly, that the Saints hear us not; but however to hook in Praying to them, this great Man had not yet Learn'd, or did not think of the nice Notions of the Schools; the Beatifick Visions, the Intuition or Contemplation of God; but useth what, I must say (with Reverence to so great a Prelate,) seems to me altogether as Insignificant a Solution; It is by that Favour promised by Christ to his Disciples before his Ascent. Lo, I am with you to the End of the World; It seems to me, I say, a very forced Interpretation of that Text and as ill apply'd; we have him explain himself more fully afterwards. Yet immediately after this he himself makes an Argument out of St. Paul for the Invocation of God alone. How shall we call upon him, in whom we have not believed; Paul, saith he, shews that we ought to call upon him alone in whom we have believed, θεὸν δηλονότι, namely God. Truly I must freely confess that as yet, I cannot so far (at most) believe in the Saints, as to leave my God and pray to them. Resp. 2. c. 9. p. 245. Rom. 10. 14.

We know that Paul and Peter were renowned Saints indeed, but I can neither say nor think the same of many hundreds of others whose names I

T. p. 385. find in both the Greeks and Latins Menologies and Calanders; and what must I determine of those Saints *Canonized* by one *Pope*, and, as I may say, *uncanonized* by another? And what from this must I Judge of a *Pope's Infallibility* in Canonizing any at all.

Let us now a little consider some of those Notions and Distinctions which these Worshippers of the Saints count the most plausible and satisfactory Solutions of all the Difficulties or Arguments brought against them. First we most frequently meet with that saying cited out of St. *Basil*, ἡ τῆς εἰκόνος μὴ ἐπὶ τὸ πρωτότυπον διαβαίνει, *the Honour paid to the Image, or Picture, pass on to the Prototype, or to him for whom it is made.* This taken in that Sense of Honour which I have explain'd above, and which we our selves do pay to the Pictures of the Saints in our Churches, must be allow'd to be right by all who love Decency and prudent Comeliness in the Church of God; but *Worshipping and Adoring of them* is, as I have noted, a quite different thing, as I humbly conceive will soon appear. First I must observe a Truth which I find in *Damasce*n himself, *an Image, or Picture, is a thing which expresseth a likeness to the Prototype, or Exemplar, yet still having some difference from it, & γὰρ κατὰ πάντα ἡ εἰκὼν ὁμοιωταὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον, for no Picture is like it in all things.* Now I hardly believe that there ever was made a Picture or Image of *Paul* or *Peter*, or the Primitive Saints whilst they were living; or if there was any such done, *Damasce*n will not allow that their Resemblances could be in all things like them. If there were any such made they must have perished, or in all likelihood have been lost long ago. If none but Copies can be supposed Traditionally, (as I may say) to remain, then when the very Originals differ from them, the Copies must daily differ much more. Was St. *Peter* drawn with his Keys and St. *Paul* with his Sword as they are now exposed? And are they the same in *Italy, France, Spain*, and every where else? It is manifest that they differ as much as the Figures and Statues of *Jupiter*, and *Vulcan*, and the rest of the Heathen Gods did which are mention'd by *Tully*. The like I will say of the Angels, and to name no more, of the *Virgin Mary* her self. Besides the Infinite varieties of her Pictures and Statues which are commonly seen every where amongst the Latins, how are those made for Her in *Muscovy*, and all over the whole Eastern Church, absolutely quite different not only from those but from one another. I cannot believe that the English Lady of *Walsingham*, was any more like to *Lipsius* his Lady of *Hall*, or the present Lady of *Loretto*, or, Μήτηρ Θεῶν, *the Mother of God* at *sancta Sophia* (in *Mosaick* works) then *Juno Saspita* was the same of old at *Argos* and *Rome*, or *Minerva* and *Venus* all the World over. What then shall we make in our Minds the true Prototypes or living Originals of these Figures, when we bow down and pray to them? It is impossible for us to have any other Ideas of them in our Imagination then just what the Figures give us. Let a Man often stedfastly look upon a Picture, and then shut his Eyes and try if the likeness of it, and it only, doth not stick there fast and immoveable. *Tully* knew this, for we read, nihil est difficilius, *nothing is more difficult then to abstract the Edge, or Sharpness, of his Mind from what his Eyes are accusom'd to.* I say the same of these Saints and Angels as he said there of their Gods, *we know them by what Face, Comeliness, Age, Cloathing, the Painters and, Fictores, Feigners, or Inventors, please to give them;* which are as various as the Pictures of old Time and Death with us. Hence it comes to pass, that their *Votaries* Dream of their Appearing to them exactly in the very Likeness, Shape and Dress, as their Pictures represent them. I could give many pregnant Instances of this Truth in several whom I have known and discoursed withall abroad; especially amongst the Monks at *Athos*; many, μεγαλόχρημοι, *Hermes* and other old *Asceticks* of the highest rank, Emaciated and full of nothing but wind instead of blood, have told me of frequent Visions which they have had of (their peculiar Patroness,) *the Blessed Virgin*; but she always appear'd to them like some of the Pictures of her which they had been most

most used to; especially of that celebrated one, *παναγίας ποταμήνης*, the Lady *at the Door* at Ibero Monastery; of whom I shall reserve a notable Story for another place. But I will not now farther trouble the Reader with the Appearance of Pictur'd Saints, though there is one in the second Council of Nice which as it may something illustrate this point, so it sufficiently shews the Confidence which Votaries put in the very Pictures themselves. "A General who
 " was a great *Devoto* to *Casmas* and *Damian* constantly carried a little Pi-
 " *cture* of them under his Arm-pit as an *Amulet*; his Wife being indisposed
 " he told her of many wonderfull Cures which they had done; and I suppose
 " had described their likenesses to her; however she pray'd to them, and the next
 " night in her sleep, she saw them, *ἐν ᾧ ὅματι ἐκτυπῶνται*, in the Form in
 " which they were Painted. I wonder whether the Form of that Picture was after the plain Greek work, or whether they appear'd like two Doctors of Physick, (as the Latins Paint them) each with a Sword in the right hand and an Urinal in the left.

I must then farther note, that since no Originals or true Pictures of the Apostles and Primitive Saints are to be found, all those that are now used for them are counterfeit and have been the pure Inventions of the Painters themselves; as the Learned and Judicious *Brown* hath at large discovered. I was intimately acquainted with one (who was my Country man and Neighbour, and well known to me from his Child hood) an Ingenious Painter at Rome; and from him and others (with whom I often conversed) I can safely affirm, that any new Picture of the Virgin Mary, is collected and made up from several of their Mistresses and Acquaintances. The figure of the whole Face from one, the Nose, Mouth, Eyes, and other (the most Beautifull and Serene parts relatively) from others; and in viewing several of them, I have heard some of them Glory or rather lewdly jest with one another, saying, Those are, N. N. her very Eyes; those P. P. her Mouth and Lips; the, *Schizzata*, first draught of that Face is R. R. so that her Picture at last is a Composition of many borrow'd Beauties which are most suitable to the Authors design; It is like *Appelles's Venus* which we are told was designed, composed, and finished from all the Beauties of Greece; and you may see a large and learned account of this Practice of the antient Heathen Statuaries and Painters out of *Max. Tyrius* and other Authors in a late piece of *Job. Nicolai*. I can say the same of *Mary Magdalen* and the *Mater Dolorosa*, taken and gathered from the Ruins of some good Faces put into or feigning a mournfull Look or Dress. The Apostles and most renowned Saints are gathered from such old Men as can heighten the fancy best, in representing a Grave and Reverend Person; as the several drawings of Christ in the Virgin's Arms are from lovely Boys, some of them (not unlikely) the Painters own. Whoever understands any thing of Painting must know that when the, *Abbozzatura*, out lines or principal ones, are laid down, the Picture is gradually finished by adding the various Beauties one by one which are thought most agreeable.

Now then since the Pictures of the antient Saints are purely Man's device; and the Idea of them only so fully possess the Imagination; he that bows down and prays to them, must then Worship and Adore the Pictures themselves, for the true Prototypes neither are nor can be there; and according to Tully, the Votaries must have in their Minds several distinct Images of the same Person, according to the several Pictures unto which they are Accustomed; as he there saith of *Orpheus*. Yet if you will believe *Aristotle*, there never was such a Man as *Orpheus* in the World; it is well if it may not be as truly said of some of their reputed Saints. If *Mich. Angelo* or any other mad Painter had gotten leave (as it is said it was once desired) to fix some Malefactor to a Cross, that from thence he might have Painted and expressed the Agonies and dismal Spectacle of our dying Lord; and if a Man should have Worshipped and Adored such a Crucifix; his Devotion would surely have terminated it self in the Idea of the Malefactor, and not in any of the true Cru-

T. p. 387.

T. 7. Lab. p. 557. A.

Vulg. Errors 1. 5. c. 7. &c.

Serm. 7. De Nimb. c. 6. p. 88.

De Nat. Deor. l. 1. 148, 149. T. p. 388.

T. p. 388. Crucified Jesus. I may justly say the same of *Sebastian's* Picture, if his Agonies were taken and exprest from a condemn'd Turk *Ganched*, or hanging or expiring upon large Tenter-hooks; or *Gazookt* or spitted alive upon a Stake. The same of St *Bartholomew* if drawn from a *Dane* or *Saxon* fled alive; and so of all the rest. I question not but that some of the lewd Painters (of which I told you above that *Bellarmino* himself complain'd,) have very often pleased themselves in seeing some of their own Wenches and Children *Worshipped and Adored* in the various Pictures and Images of the Blessed Virgin. O Intolerable Wickedness and Prophaness!

Yet the School-men have the boldness to offer at a *Salvo* even for all this; though they are wonderfully puzzled about it, and can by no means settle the Point. Some of the chief hold that *the Understanding and the Will* or Intention *do not go together in the Action of Worshipping the Images or Pictures*; I suppose they mean that *the Understanding may rest upon the Image, but the Will and Intention is directed wholly to the Exemplar*; which seems to me as vain and as Wicked a Fallacy, as if an Adulterer should say for his excuse, that when he abused his Neighbours Wife, he *in his Will and Intentionally* all the while Caressed his own Wife. In the Eucharist there seems the very same thing; the Latins plainly *see and tast* plain Bread and Wine, and *Adore them* being there present before them; and though *the Sight, Tast, Smell and all the sensations they have of them, remain immoveable in their Minds and Imaginations*, yet they pretend at the same time that they *intentionally Eat and Drink*, not Bread and Wine, *but the very Flesh and Blood* of Jesus Christ, and *Worship them as such*. *Theodorus* tells us that at Rome *they proposed St. Peter's Silver Keys, eis προσκυύησιν, to be Worshipped*; if it was so, I wonder what Exemplar they then have *Intentionally* in their Minds; for he saith there truly, *that Christ gave no sensible Keys, but, τὰς διὰ λόγου, only those Intellectual or Spiritual ones, the Power of Binding and Loosing*. It is a common saying at Rome, and 'tis by many believed, that the brazen Statue of St. *Peter*, there sitting in his Chair, was first only an old Statue of *Jupiter*, and that the Thunder-bolt which was in his right Hand was taken out, and St. *Peter's* Keys artificially put into its place. Great numbers daily *Worship it*; and with the Peoples Kissing, Touching, and Rubbing of it *with Hankerchiefs and Aprons*, and the like, to be carried to the Sick; it is very bright as high as they can reach; now by this Solution a Man may safely *Worship and Adore it* with his Body, but *Intentionally St. Peter himself*; nay, I have both heard and read it affirmed, that supposing it had been Originally a Statue of *Jupiter*, the *Pope* might lawfully Consecrate it, and appoint it to be *Worshipped for St. Peter himself*; and thus a Busto or *Body* of an old Statue (which I have seen) had a new Head and Feet put to it, and was *Canonized* (and made) a good St. *Agnes*. I wonder that the Famous *Pasquin* was not long ago Translated into some old great *Military Martyr*, rather than that such a piece of venerable Antiquity should pass only for an old *Soldier of the Great Alexander*.

De Imag. l. 2. But the Cardinal likes not any of the other Conceits, and therefore offers us
c. 24. p. 331. a very nice one of his own; which I must think leaves us more in the dark
E. F. G. H. and more doubtfull then we were before. He owns *that both the Under-*
Item. c. 21. *standing and Will* or Intention *are moved in the same manner both to the*
p. 329. E. F. *Picture or Image of Christ* (and it must be the same of a Saint) *and to the Exemplar*; and owns *the Worship and Adoration to be parted between them*; but he leaves the Votary to Judge which is to have the greatest part of it; *If Christ*, saith he, (or the Saint, say I,) *be the principal Object, then the Worship, fertur per se, is carried by it self, or directly, to Christ, (or to the Saint) and to the Picture, solum per accidens, only by accident; but if it be given to the Picture, as the Picture, or Image of Christ (or of the Saint) directly, so as Christ (or the Saint) in obliquo ponatur, & non in recto, comes in by the by (as we say) and yet directly then, fertur in imaginem*

maginem per se, it is carried by it self to the Picture or Image, & consequenter, and by consequence (or rather, in obliquo, by the by) to Christ (or to the Saint) and so is, longè inferior, much inferior (or less) then the other. Now I must say that I hardly can believe that even the Cardinal himself or any of the subtlest Schoolmen either had or ever could have this refin'd Distinction always ready in their Minds, (much less all those three laid down by him a little before) when they ordinarily bow'd down and Worshipp'd every Picture or Image. But if it possibly might be so with them sometimes, what shall we think of Millions of poor Illiterate and Ignorant Votaries, who commonly and daily perform this blind Devotion? Are they ready or able on all occasions thus to make and use this sublime Distinction, or judiciously and rightly to divide their Adoration betwixt the sensible Idea and the Exemplar; since both Confessedly (one way or other) must Participate of it?

This brings me to another Principal Invention of theirs, by which they think to make out this Participation of Worship. They have borrow'd two words from the old Greek Language, and coin'd a third from the same Mine; *Dositheus* in his Synod, (as some others of the modern Greek Authors before him) have greedily received all three as Authentick; I suppose counting it some Honour to their Tongue, as well as some seeming Solution of this Difficulty. The words are, *δουλία*, *Dulia*; *ὑπερδουλία*, *Hyperdulia*, *λατρεία*, *Latria*. I know not well how they can be rendred in any other Language, as the Latins distinguish them; yet according to the Sense of the Latin Inventors of them, I will thus attempt it in English; the first is plain Religious Service, paid to the Saints and Angels, the second is Superlative Religious Service, paid to the Virgin Mary alone; the third is the highest Service of Worship and Adoration, paid to Christ and God himself. The whole matter happen'd thus; having divided the whole Host of Heaven into three Classes, 1. Saints and Angels, 2. the Virgin Mary, 3. Christ or God; they thought a very different Worship was to be paid to these so different Objects; but seeing the first and the last words *Dulia* and *Latria* (as *Bellarmino* himself confesseth) in all the old Greek Authors, and even in the new Testament, signified one and the same thing, only Service; as the words from whence they are derived, *δούλος*, *Doulos* and *λάτρεω*, *Latris* signify both alike, only a Servant; and the Hebrew word *עָבַד* is rendred by the LXX. *δουλεύω*, *λατρεύω*, to serve; both alike being used to God and Man; they wanted three distinct words to express the three different Worships which they assigned to these different Classes, and using *Dulia* in its old signification gave that to the Saints and Angels; and made a new word, *Hyperdulia*, for the Virgin; and (by a cunning distinction, *σοφὴ τῆς διὰ χειρὸς*, as the Tubingers rightly call it) appropriated a new peculiar Sense to *Latria* as allowing it only to God. So there are but only these three Classes, or Degrees, among them; but surely there should be a great many more devised, according to the various Dignities and different Excellencies of the Objects; as in Perfuming the Images, the Temple, the People, the Patriarch, or Pope, the respect surely is not the same. They should have invented several words for the several distinct sorts of their Religious Worships, according to the several degrees of Excellence in the Objects, or Persons to whom they are given, as the other are own'd to be a meer Invention of the Schools, *ἡμισέβας*, *σέβας*, *προσέβας*, *ὑπερσέβας*, *πανσέβας*, *πανυπερσέβας*, half Venerable, Venerable, Prime-venerable, Over-venerable, All-venerable, All over venerable; and gone over all these again by the Positive, Comparative, and Superlative degrees of Comparison; and yet perhaps all these would have been far too few Terms to assign to every one his due. *Arcudius* ingenuously confesses that your ignorant Ideots do make all Adorations alike without distinction. And must think it utterly impossible, not only for an Ideot, but even for the wisest Man amongst them to distinguish all the sorts of Religious Worship and Reverence which the School-men reckon up; to the Virgin Mary is due a Worship intermediate between what is given to God, and what is given to Saints;

T. p. 389.

c. 20. p. 319.

A.

q. 4. p. 311.

De Sanct. Beat.

l. 1. c. 14. p.

290. D.

Act. 20. 19.

Rom. 12. 11.

1 Thes. 1. 9.

T. p. 390.

Bell. debent.

Sanct. p. 287.

G. T. 2.

l. 2. c. 23. c.

24. p. 337. a.

339. b.

Peir. a. s. 70.

seph. de 1. pra.

cept. art. 5.

T. p. 390. *Saints; and we must say, proportione servatâ, observing due proportion, the same of the Apostles and others of the more eminent Saints. I fear it would prove (as I have often said) an insuperable task nicely to pay to every one his just part, from the Supreme God to the meanest Saint. The Virgin Mary in both Churches is set above all Angels; and surely an Angel of the lowest Order ought not to be Reverenced equally with a Throne or Cherubim, and the same must be said of all the nine Orders respectively; yet the Schools level them all with the Saints in general; though for my part I must make a difference between them, and let the School-men determine it, and say where the Superiority lies. The Patriarch Jeremiah indeed gave it plainly to the Saints; the Saints, saith he, shall sit at the Table of the Father, and, σωεασιλεύσουσιν ἡ σωδοξαθήσονται, shall Reign with him, and be Glorified with him; but the Angels being only, λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα εἰς διακονίαν παραθήσονται, Ministring and Serving Spirits shall stand by; and so I leave it. Next as to the Saints, certainly there is a great difference between the Apostles, Prophets, Martyrs, Doctors, true Saints, Canonized Saints, all other Holy Men and Women in particular; for as there are many Mansions in Heaven, so undoubtedly there are many and far different, βασι, rich Portions and Degrees of Glory there. The Latins who make the Pope Christ's Vicar here on Earth, and Head of the whole Church here below, will surely allow St. Peter and all his Successors some exceeding Superiority and higher degree of Majesty there, and by Consequence a much more solemn Worship, then all the rest of the Patriarchs, Metropolitans, Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Priests and Deacons; and yet much more than any Laymen. Now for these several Degrees and Orders of Saints, and the whole Celestial Hierarchy, the School men ought to find us out (as I may so with Reverence say) some kind of Spiritual Heralds, duly to rank them all in just Order from the least of Saints up to the Blessed Virgin and to Christ himself. Truly in some of their common Legends, and in some Manuscripts of my own, I find some such attempts; This Saint is set in the tenth; that in the twelfth place, on the right Hand of the Virgin, and so on. Therefore for all these very different Excellencies amongst the Saints and Angels, these three sorts of Services only, (which the Latins have devised) will be above thought too few, and infinitely short of paying the just Reverence and Worship due to all the distinct Orders or Degrees, much more insufficient will they be to distinguish the respect which is proper for every Individual Saint or Person. The wisest and the wariest Doctor himself will be apt to give too much to one, and too little to another. It will be a nice Point indeed, first to divide this Worship, proportionably to every Degree and Person; and then to sub-divide it between (the Co-partners) the Picture and the Exemplar. As for this sub-division of Worship, the Cardinal positively allows of it as partly due to the Image or Picture it self; but he is put to the trouble of another Distinction to make it out; this Worshipping of the Image, saith he, is true, Cultus, Worship, but inferior to that of the Exemplar; and therefore varies according to the variety of the Images. Then he musters up these pretty Scholastick Terms, and thus determines the Point. Dulia, plain Service, is truly to be paid to the Exemplar and Picture; but to the latter only, secundum quid, Analogicè sive Reductivè, (I do not know well how it will sound in English) according to somewhat; Analogically, or Reductively; I suppose in a less or restrain'd Sense. And the same he saith of Hyperdulia, superlative Service to the Virgin; and of, Latria, the highest Service to Christ and God; that is, absolutely to the Exemplar, but only according to somewhat (a lower degree,) Analogically or Reductively to the Picture. Thus the Cardinal skillfully Gilt over the Rotten Nutmeg; true Worship is due to both; but one is very much Inferior to the other; Patriarch Jeremiah bluntly and very plainly tells us, that, χαρὴν, Respective (or Bel-larmine's Reductive) Worship of the Image differs from that of the Exemplar, as much as a right down lie doth from Truth; this brings the Wor-ship*

Resp. 2. c. 5. p. 250.

Joh. 14. 2.

2 Cor. 4. 17.

Vid. Ham.

Eph. 4. 8.

De Imag. l. 2. c. 25. p. 332. A.

T. p. 391.

Resp. 2. c. 5. p. 245.

ship of the Image down (not only far below *Bellarmino's* and the Latins Notions, but) even to nothing at all, or to a *meer cheat*. (How God Almighty may Interpret or Distinguish these *four-fold several*, Cultus, *Worships*, of himself, the Virgin, the Saints, and the Pictures, or allow of these nice, bold and dangerous Inventions of Men, in pretending to give to every one some part; since he hath most solemnly and plainly told us, *that he is a Jealous God*, I shall not dare to Judge; but I must again consider *the vulgar Votaries*, and I cannot but think that not one of a thousand of them either hath or can have that Capacity and Readiness of Mind to make any such subtle Distinctions in *their Worship*. It is Evident to all the World, that their outward Action is always one and the very same; there is no difference in their Bowing, Kneeling, Prostration, or Falling flat down to *Pictures or Images*, and in their doing it to *God himself*; and since they cannot have any of these Airy, Scholastick *Speculations* in them, the Action of their Mind (if they have any,) must needs also be the very same. I remember I had once a Funeral Escutcheon of *Sr. Dan. Harvey's Arms*, hanging over my Desk where I stood to read and write at *Constantinople*, and three Greek Papa's coming to see me, all Reverently bowed themselves before it, as they do to the Pictures of Christ and the Virgin Mary. I askt them what they thought it was; they said they could not tell but that it was some representation of the Trinity used amongst us, for they had none such. *The three Crescents Argent in the Sable Chief*, I suppose might mislead them. But my reflection upon it is this, if such Men as these, who are as the Greeks Guides, had such extravagant Conceptions, what must I think of the poor Dregs of their People? What Ejaculations they said or thought to themselves in the Action I know not, but if this may pass for their *true Worship of the Trinity*, by this supposed Type, I should think it might be admitted by the Latins for as good and as *likely* a Type, as theirs of *an old Man*, *a Crucifix*, and *a Dove*; or as that which of old was used as a common sign in *St. Paul's Church-yard London*; with three Faces so contrived flat-ways as four Eyes served them all; the middle Face was to represent *the Father*, that on the right hand of it, *the Son*, the other *the Holy Ghost*, and under all was placed a triangular device to signify that all three were distinct from one another, yet every one of them was God. The figure of all this yet remains in the Frontespiece of Books sold there; by which the Ideots in those days might be wonderfully amuzed, and confounded, but not one rittle enlightened. You will not wonder at these things, when you read what *Tristan* tells us; How the *Constantinopolitan* and afterwards the French Clergy had Reverenced and Worshipped *the Canonization or Apotheosis of Augustus Cesar*, graved in the Famous *Onyx* then preserved in *the Holy Chappel at Paris*. The ignorant Fathers (of those days) in both Churches having Religiously mistaken it for the Triumph of *Joseph* in the Court of *Pharaoh*. We find manifest Distinctions made in our civil Reverence to one another; to our meanest acquaintance a *little Nod is enough*; we move our Hat to another; so, to bow the Head, to incline the Body, to bow down to the Ground, to stand Bare-headed, to fall on our Knees; (and those Greetings, *How do you do*, *I am glad to see you*, *your Servant*, *your Dutifull Son*, *your Loyal Subject*) and such like, are several degrees of Respect to Persons of different Condition and Quality. And here I cannot omit a Passage in *Critopulus*, who saith, *that the Greeks kiss Christ's Feet, the Virgin Mary's Hand, the Saints Face*, in their Pictures, as a Distinction of their different Worship; I confess I never observed this as a constant Practice, yet if it was enjoin'd to Ideots to be duly observed, it might something mend the matter in that Point. Now if the School-men instead of their Fancifull Distinctions had Invented such different ways of their, Cultus, *Religious Worship*; and had appropriated such varieties of *outward Reverence*, to express every one of them; and had added to every one of them *proper and peculiar words*, to have been gotten by Heart, and to have been said or thought on by the Ideots upon every occasion, as they have order'd distinct Festivals and Offices (which these poor Crea-

T. p. 392. tures know nothing at all of, and thousands of Priests themselves do not use or fully understand,) some *common to All*, others *proper to some particular ones*, to Angels, Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, Doctors, Virgins, and the rest; I say if they had taken some such care of these poor Ignorant wretches as this, perhaps they might have been at least put in some better way, and might have been in some (though very little) manner reformed from these gross Errors to which they are now enslaved. But, *Hic labor hoc opus, this had been an endless trouble*; and so long as Images and Pictures are *Worshipped*, it would have been as Fruitless. How many of the, Canaglia, *base and common People* can but say their *Ave* and *Pater-noster* in Latin rightly, which is the first thing that they are to learn when they begin to speak; and of those that can say them, not one in ten thousand can give you any account of their sense and meaning. It is well with our own common People, if when grown up they can say their Catechism; but it is unreasonable to expect from them any tolerable Explication of what is counted Mysterious. The understandings of their common People is no higher then those in ours, and therefore *the Mysteries of their religious Worship*, as the School-men have now made it, are to them absolutely unintelligible. I know that in *Bellarmino*, and in their Catechism, The, Parochus, *parish Priest* is admonished to instruct, Rudes, *the Ignorant* (out of the Councils Nice and Trent,) *and teach them the Doctrine and use of Images*; whether every such Priest doth his Duty punctually herein or no, I cannot say; but by the common Practice daily used amongst them, it is every where most notoriously known that it hath had no Effect. God be Praised, we Honour the Angels by meditating of *their wonderfull Power and mighty Deeds*; one of them in one night slew a hundred fourscore and five thousand Assyrians; and sacred History tells us of many more such amazing Exploits. It is a noble and a true saying of *Augustin*; *The Saints are to be Honoured by our Imitation, not Adored out of Religion*, and thus we Honour them in remembring *their unshaken Faith*, and the Glorious effects which it wrought in them; *they subdued Kingdoms, wrought Righteousness, obtained Promises, stopped the Mouths of Lions, quenched the violence of Fire, escaped the edge of the Sword, out of Weakness were made Strong, waxed Valiant in Fight, turn'd to Flight the Armies of the Aliens; Women received their Dead raised to Life again, others were tortur'd not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better Resurrection; and others had Tryals of cruel Mockings and Scourgings, yea moreover of Bonds and Imprisonment; they were Stoned, they were Sawen asunder, were Tempted, were Slain with the Sword, they wandred about in Sheepskins and Goat-skins, being Destitute, Afflicted, Tormented; of whom the World was not Worthy, they wandred in Desarts and in Mountains, and in Dens and Caves of the Earth.* Having this cloud of Witnesses and recounting in our Mind upon every occasion the particular History of each Saint, we make it our most earnest desire and only endeavour to imitate their Virtues; *looking upon Jesus the, Ἀρχηγὸν, prime author and Finisher of our Faith, and laying aside every Weight, and the Sin which doth so easily beset us, and running with Patience the Race that is set before us.* If the Parish Priest did expound these Passages to their People, and teach them who were the particular Saints, whose Actions are there mention'd; and instruct them how to follow their holy Examples; I doubt not but it would be infinitely more beneficial to them, and far more acceptable to God himself, the Angels, and Saints, then all their subtle Glosses and Scholastick Trumpery.

We then sufficiently see at least the extream Danger, if not the unavoidable Practice of *plain Idolatry* in the Ideots *Worshipping* of Images and Pictures. The Iconoclasts thought that they had vety great Reason to cry out against, τὴν ἀπαταλὴν τῶν ὁμοιωμάτων, χρωματουργίαν, *the deceitfull making with Colours of any Representations or Similitudes, because it draws down the Minds of Men from the high and becoming Worship of God, to the base and material Wor-*

Part 3. precept.
1. §. 13. 14.

2 Reg. 19. 15.

De vera Relig.
c. 55.

Heb. 11. 1. 33.
6c.

T. p. 393.

c. 12. 1. 2.

Hammond in
locum.

Lab. conc. T. 7.
p. 416. E.

Worship of the Creature. If they called the very making of such things deceitfull (as I have proved those of the Invisible God to be Abominable,) what must they have said or thought of *Worshipping them*. Patriarch *Jeremi-*
ab, though he seem'd to allow, *ἄξιον*, the relative *Worship of the Saints*, yet he honestly owns that there is great fear lest thereby we should fall into *Latria*, that *Worship* which, *μὴν τῷ Θεῷ προσάγει*, belongs to God alone, (that is, gross Idolatry,) *ὃ μὴ γένοιτο*, which God forbid. I will therefore now see what the Cardinal says to secure his *Worshippers* from so great a Sin. He positively lays down this Proposition, the *Images* or *Pictures of Christ*
and the Saints, rectè coli, are rightly to be *Worshipped*; Then out of the Council of Trent he gives us these three Cautions, 1. That no, *Fiducia*, *Aff-*
fiance, or *Trust*, be placed in them; 2. That nothing, *petatur*, should be asked from them, 3. That no, *Divinitas*, vel *virtus*, *Divineness* or *Power* be
believed to be in them for which they are to be Worshipped. Now let us see what they in their Pontifical ascribe to them at their solemn *Consecrations*
of them. In that of the Virgin Mary, they pray God to *Bless and Sanctify* that *Image* fitted up to her Honour, so that whoever, coram hac *Effigie* sup-

plicitèr, before this *Figure* shall with *Supplications*, or *Prayers*, Honour her, may be delivered from all eminent *Dangers*, and obtain *Forgiveness* of their *Sins*. If no *Divineness* and *Virtue*, or *Power*, be in the *Figure*, nor *Affiance* to be placed in it, why must they *Pray* before it? Why would not their *Supplications* and *Prayers* to her, be altogether as *Effectual* without it? It is plainly made a, *Medium*, *Mean*, at least, towards the obtaining of their *Desires*; and let that be what it will, it must necessarily denote some *Divineness* and *Virtue* in it, and by *Consequence* must require from the *Votaries* some *Trust* and *Affiance* in it. Give me leave to give you the *Consecra-*
tion of her *Figure* with *Christ* in her *Arms* out of an old Pontifical; *Deus Om-*
nipotens — hanc *Formulam* ejus, quæ incarnati unici tui, *Domini nostri Jesu*
Christi speciem gerit, *Sanctifica* ut *Benedicta* permaneat, O *Almighty God* — *san-*
ctify this Figure of Her (the Virgin) which bears the *Resemblance* of our *Lord Jesus Christ* thy only *Incarnate*, that it may remain *Blessed*, and may bring the *Assistance* of thy healthfull *Help* to the *Faithfull*; that if *Thunders* and *Lightnings* and any hurtfull *Flame*, or *Blast*, prevail, they may be more speedily exploded, or dispersed; that also the *Floods* of *Rains*, the *Interruption* of fair *Weather*, or the *Commotion* of civil *Wars*, or the *Devastation* of *Pagans*, at it's *Presence* may be suppress'd; that where the *Pre-*
sence of this *Image* shall be, *Abundance* of *Peace* and of all *safety*, and of the *Fruits* of the *Earth* may be *Multiplied*; moreover that at thy *Com-*
mand, O *Lord*, the *Mortality* of *Men* and *Beasts* may cease by the *Pre-*
sence of this *Figure*; and that all those may be satisfied by thee, who shall do *Reverence* to it, and pray to thee before it. Here I think was lodged a very great *Power*, and from thence as great an *Affiance* in the meer *Presence* of the *Figure*, let who will be lookt upon as the giver of it. So in the *La-*
tins present *Consecration* of the *Saints Images*, we beseech thee, O *Almighty*
God, vouchsafe to *Bless* and *Sanctify* this *Image*, or *Sculpture*, fitted up in Honour of N. N. (such or such a Saint) that whoever before it, *supplicitèr*, by *Supplications* or *Prayers*, shall do Honour (to Him or Her) may by their *Prayers* and *Assistance* obtain from thee *Grace* at present and *Glory* hereafter. Doth the *Figure* thus blest now avail nothing? Doth it contribute nothing to the placing of an *Affiance* in it? In the old Pontifical in the *Consecra-*
tion of the *Image* of *St. John* the *Apostle* and *Evangelist*, (for I find no other Saint's *Image* mention'd there) we meet with this larger *Explication* of this matter. O *Lord Jesus Christ*, who art believed to perfect the *Consecrations* and *Benedictions* of thy *Priests* by thy invisible *Virtue* or *Power*, do thou by the *Imposition* of our hands *Sanctify*, hanc *Formulam*, this *Figure* of *St. John*; let it be, *Sancta*, *Holy*, huic, to it, or by it, *eliminans*, *filling* of (or purging or taking away) all sorts of *Diseases* and *Pestilences* and *Tempests*;

A a a 2

T. p. 395. the burnings of Flames, or Fire, or Lightning, the furious contrivances, Machinamenta, of Wars, the dangers of Thunders, which may avail us, and the various Scourges of hurtfull Airs; tu propter eam, do thou for it, or, by it, keep to us the Flowers and Fruits of our Trees and Woods; Preserve the Corn and all other necessary things that Grow; remove all sudden Plagues, or Diseases, of our Cattle; Increase the plenty of Wine, Fowls, and Fishes, multiply the Fruitfulness of the Valleys, Hills and Mountains; that we may give to thee, the giver of all Good, Thanks, &c. Did they not in those days think that all these things should be done propter eam, for (or through) that Image? Did they not pray and Believe that the invisible Power of Christ should rest upon it? Thus they pray'd that the Virtue, or Power, of his Spirit might descend upon their Consecrated Books and other holy Things. Now I perceive these old Consecrations are left off, and I hope the Latins may be grown in this Point something better. Thus Goar mentions this matter; Præ incuria antiquato, the use, saith he, of these by too much Carelessness is grown out of Fashion, and they remain only in our Books. There in him we have the Greeks Consecration of a Picture which is still Practised by them. The Picture is first smear'd in four places of it, with the holy Ointment. Then the Prelate prays God, to send down, τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος καὶ τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἐπὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ταύτην ἁγίαν, the Grace of his Holy Spirit and his Angel upon that holy Picture, that, εἰς αὐτὴν εἰ τὸς δεήσῃ, if any one Prays before it, it might be made, εἰς ἐκπλήρωσιν τῆς δεήσεως αὐτοῦ, for, or to, the fulfilling of his Prayer. Is there no Divineness nor Virtue, or Power, there where the Grace of the Holy Spirit is thought to reside? And where an Angel always attend? Or in that before which they pray as a Medium, Mean, (or a kind of Co-mediator) for obtaining their Desires? These things (as the Trent Fathers own expressions, in my poor Apprehension, seem necessarily to insinuate) must rankly favour of Idolatry. And Bellarmine is forced to own the very same Truth. He saith, that the Prelates and Preachers, according to that Council, can and ought to instruct the Ideots, alio qui fateor, otherwise I confess that such Pictures (as are made of God; I say the same of the Saints;) cannot be exposed to the Ignorant without danger. Can the wisest Prelate or Preacher amongst them ever make their Distinctions sink into the Minds of Ideots, so as they may any ways apprehend them? I would have them expound but one Chapter of the Cardinal, and teach them that they may thoroughly understand how and when they should Worship a thing, propter se aut propter aliud, for it self or for another thing; per se & propriè vel non, by it self and properly, or improperly; Prostratione voluntatis vel corporis vel utriusque, by the Prostration of the Will, or of the Body or of both; Majori cultu or Minori, with the greater Worship or with the lesser; (and what is really the one or the other) uno motu Intellectus & voluntatis in Imaginem & Exemplar, vel diviso, with one Motion of the Understanding and Will to the Image and to the Exemplar, or by dividing them; objectivè vel in obliquo, as the Object, or by the by; in se vel participatione, in it self, or wholly by it self, or by Participation; and I would have the Ideots also perfectly taught (what I have mention'd before) what is Analogically, Reductively, and, κατὰ μέρος, Respectively, and when they are to be used rightly. The Synod orders all Superstition in the Invocation of Saints to be taken away; and that, debitam Venerationem, the Worship which is due to them, should be given them; and I suppose the Ideots must be also taught fully and plainly what that is; I assure you when they have thoroughly learned all this sublime Lesson they shall pass with me for most admirable School-men. But now when there are such great Varieties of Opinions amongst the topping School-men about this matter; whose Doctrine must the poor, Parochus, Parish Priest (or Preacher, or even the Prelate himself,) follow? Thus saith Durandus and his followers; another thing saith Peresius and Biel; so saith the glorious Thomas and all his numerous Tribe; Bellarmine (as is above-

Pontif. Rom.
Lloyd MS. ut
supr. b.

Euchol. p. 854.

De Relig. Sanct.
l. 2. c. 8. p. 313.
H.

Lib. 2. de Imag.
c. 24.

T. p. 396.

p. 896. B.

p. 895. D.

abovesaid) likes none of them, but hath a Notion of his own; and since by the Jesuits common Doctrine *one Doctors opinion alone is sufficient to make it probable*, truly the Preachers have a very large field to ramble in; they can never go wrong though every one takes a quite different way; the poor blind Ideot in the mean time, who follows them, must needs often most desperately stumble at least, if not *quite fall into the ditch*. The Synod allows the *Votaries*, *procumbere*, *to lie down flat*, and *Bellarmino* (out of *Gregory the Great*) *prosterni, to fall on their Faces* before their Images and Pictures; and they think all is safe by that distinction, *it is Adoration indeed, but it is not, propria Deo, that which is proper to God himself; so the poor Ideot* must make his meaning out by this and the other distinctions as well as he can; for all the outward Acts of *Bowing and Prostration* are always the very same, whether they be made to God, Angels, dead Saints, or living Men. And though the Learned *R. Simon* hath offered at this weighty Distinction between the *Greeks Worshipping of the unconsecrated Elements*, and that of the same after their Consecration; and tells us that the first is only a *simple Veneration*, but the latter is *what is proper and due to God Almighty alone*; yet when the very same outward Reverence, Bowing, and Prostration is used in both of them; some few Greeks, (who perhaps may be as nice and acute Criticks as himself) may possibly make some such little mental difference in their Worship; yet I am confident, that that Judicious Author cannot think that one of ten thousand of the vulgar illiterate Greeks think any thing in the least of any such Distinction. Nay, if we may judge by their common Practice, their Adoration, given to the *unconsecrated Elements*, must be, *Latria, the proper Worship due to God*, it being very very profound and devout; whereas that paid to the *Consecrated ones* is very rare, little, and generally none at all. The Synod acknowledge that the *Gentils*, in *Idolis spem suam collocabant*, *did place their Hope in their Idols*; and notwithstanding all these subtilties the Ideots do, and will do, the very same thing to these Figures; for I must say and think of them, what the Learned *Petavius* says of the Heathen. *The wiser sort of them knew very well that the material Images were no Gods; but many, & quidem majore numero, and those the far greater number thought them so, and Adored them as such*. Thus I really have that great Charity for the Wiser sort, both of Greeks and Latins; nay, I have known many of them, and I heartily believe that there are many and many more, who lookt upon Pictures and Images (as they are truly in themselves) as meer *dead Gays and senseless Statues*; but notwithstanding thought them still, not only very decent Ornaments of *holy Places*, but also a Respect and Honour to the Saints themselves, and good Marks and Memorials of their glorious Deeds to those that knew their Histories; yet they have been so Ingenuous and free withall, as to Confess that they believed indeed that the numerous Vulgar and Ignorant Worshippers had very Gross and Stupid apprehensions of them, if they had any at all. When I have softly askt them, why then were they suffered, and not either quite taken away, or their Worship absolutely forbidden; the chief and indeed the general answer that I could meet withall was this; that it was better to keep the Vulgar in some Religious Aw, and Obedience and Fear though false, then that they should have none at all, as they mistook the Case to be with us; Nay, I have been told that they doubted not but that God would be more Mercifull to one, who Worshipped *St. Christopher*, or *St. Michael*, or *St. George*, and would not tell a lie, or steal, or do any such ill thing for fear that the great Colass of the first should crush him to pieces, or that the Spear of either of the two others should thrust him through, as once it did the Devil, and the Dragon; they said God would be certainly more Mercifull to such a one, then to one (meaning a Protestant) who doth pretend to more Light and Knowledge of the Scriptures, and think he is able to Teach his very Teachers; and yet at the same time not stick to Dissemble, Cozin, Lie, Chear, and secretly to do the Falsest and Vilest and most

T. p. 396.

Mat. 15. 14.

p. 895. E.

p. 320. H.

p. 321. B.

In Gabr. Sever.

p. 130.

p. 895. D.

Op. Theol. T.

6. l. 15. c. 17.

5. 4.

T. p. 397.

T. p. 397. most Knavish Actions imaginable. I never thought it safe in those Countries to be too warm a Disputant; my own thoughts were kept to God and my self, which I have now here at large set down, if not to the Satisfaction of any other Man, I bless God it is to my own.

De civit. Dei l. 4. c. 31. Varro in St. Augustin saith, that the old Heathen Romans Worshipped their Gods a hundred and seventy Years without, Simulachro, any Image or Representation of them; and that if it had so continued, the Gods would have been observed, castius, more chastly or uncorruptedly; and the same, acutissimus & doctissimus most discerning and most learned Author (as the Saint worthily called him) most oppositely mention'd the Jews in confirmation of what he said; and in his Conclusion adds, that those who first set up Images for the People, took away from the Cities their Fear and encreased their Error, prudently thinking that the Gods might be easily brought into Contempt by the doltishness of Images. I say the very same not only of the Latins Images and Pictures of the great God himself, (which I have before exposed and refuted,) but of those of the Angels and Saints also; of which as the Ideots must needs have very dull or absurd thoughts, so the wiser sort must have very contemptible ones. See how Bellarmine poorly shuffles off this pressing Argument; viz. If the Heathen had been taught his distinction between proper Images and Analogical ones, all had been well. He there saith as little to what Seneca complain'd of, viz. The Heathens representing the Immortal and Inviolable Gods by vile and immoveable Matter; Their fault it seems was to the Cardinal, because the very Images were thought to be the very Gods, or, certè, certainly the Gods were judged to be like those Images. who will secure Christian Ideots from the same Error? Some at least may as easily take the Image of God to be he himself, (for the Heathen were not at all Duller then our common Christians) and most of them must think the Images like him; and the same I say of Angels and Saints. Some will, and do, verily think that there are as many several Virgin Maries as there are several different Images and Pictures of her in several places; A Pilgrimage to this Lady, or a Mass before her, certainly helps or cures this Infirmary; another Lady, hath a peculiar property of effecting ease in some other particular Disease or Calamity; and all may think the Angel or Saint as like the Figures which are before their Eyes, as, certè, certainly, as the Cardinal saith the Heathens judged of their Gods. Thus there are as many several and distinct and particular Shrines of the Virgin and of the Saints amongst them now, as there were of Venus and Jupiter and the rest of old; and the several Pilgrimages to them, and Adorations of them, are thought to have as various Effects as were attributed to those in those days. But to all this we have these

De Imag. l. 2. c. 8. p. 314. H.

August. de civ. D. l. 6. c. 10.

T. p. 398.

De Imag. l. 2. c. 18.

1.

doughty Answers. 1. God works Miracles by one and not by the other, but if it be but one and the same Virgin or Saint in every place, they always must certainly have the very same Merit in every place alike, and the same Mediation and Interest in God; whose Infinite Goodness they have been so bold as to limit, and to stint the Saints Power with him as they please; for he hath no where declared or order'd any such thing, but it is purely Man's Invention; but they wave this Argument with, nostrum non est discutere, we will meddle no farther with it. Therefore as for these particular local Miracles which they pretend to, I shall consider them more by and by. 2dly. Some of these Pictures say they of the Saints were made by Saints or Holy Men, as by St. Luke, Nicodemus, and others; and therefore they deserve our peculiar Devotion both for what they signify and for the Author's sake; I cannot tell what Painters of old were Saints, but I fear that very few of our Modern ones are such. Truly I should gladly see an Original or Primitive Copy of some of those Saints work; surely they must be sixteen or near seventeen hundred years old at least, and deserve almost as much esteem for their Antiquity, as for the sake of the Author. What signifies it, if the Nose be broken or the Face disfigured, it may still (for all what

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any one knows) be as like the Prototype or first Exemplar as it was before; T. p. 398.
or if it be quite decayed and not discernable, yet under the very name of
the Saint which it goes by, it might serve the Ideots Devotion better, or with
less harm then if it was Visible; though Patriarch *Jeremiah* thought *that such* Resp. 2. p. 253.
a Figure, *λαυθέντος*, being grown too smooth, or quite worn out, should best
be burnt as they burn a useless log of Wood; and truly, as I remember, the
Greek Lady *Portaitetis* (mention'd above) is much such a one. 3dly. Some 3.
Pictures say they, may excite Men to Piety more then others, being more
moving, Pious and Religious and the like; that is, the Features (as I have
said) being more choicely gathered from their Minions and Acquaintance, and
put together more artfully and more suitably to their design. Besides it is said,
they go to Images to pray, not to call upon them, but to rub up their Me-
mory of him to whom they pray. But alas! Poor Ideots know nothing of
this matter, and therefore cannot be thought to remember any thing of the Sto-
ry. I wish the Cardinal had read that Chapter in *Augustin* quite thorough, and De civ. Dei li. 6. c. 10.
well considered it from the beginning to the end; where *Seneca* inveighing
against the *Ægyptian Figures of the Gods, some of them being very Myste-*
riously compounded, faith, they, sensu mixto, in a mixt meaning put them
on divers Bodies (join'd together, as in *Anubis*, and *Canopus*) and called
them, *Numina, Gods, which if, accepto Spiritu, taking Life they should ap-*
pear would be counted Monsters. The first Inventors of them had no doubt
some secret Speculations reserved to themselves thereby, whereof these were
outward Symbols or Characters, but they served well to amuse the poor Ig-
norant People; we find the same Hieroglyphick Interpretations made, of many Casech. Rom. part 3. in 1. precept. §. 13.
Figures of God and the Saints made by the Romanists; yet *Bellarmino* him-
self is justly ashamed of many lewd Representations made of the Trinity; though De Imag. l. 2. c. 8. p. 314. E. T. p. 399.
I cannot see how he can excuse the common one made of it (which he allows)
as I have mention'd above. *Gretser* and others tell us of several, *ἀχειροποίητοι*,
Pictures not made with mortal Hands, and without doubt they think that
their followers may as well believe them so, or perhaps that they came down
from Heaven, as well as that Image of old fell down from Jupiter. Se. Act. 19. 35. Ut supr.
Seneca tells us in *Augustin*, That the Heathen Adored the Ignobler Gods so, as
to remember that their Worship, *magis ad morem quam ad rem pertinere,*
was more for Fashion sake then out of any Reality; we there read that
this great Man, though he was an *Illustrious Philosopher*, yet he was a *Se-*
nator (or as we may say a Courtier) and therefore for Fashion sake, *colebat*
quod reprehendebat, agebat quod arguebat, quod culpabat, adorabat, he Wor-
shipped what he reprehended; did what he disliked or argued against; A-
dored what he blamed; Philosophy had taught him not to be Superstiti-
ous, yet, propter leges civium moresque hominum, according to the Laws of
the Citizens and the Customs of Men he was Conformable in the Temple,
which Augustin says, was, eo damnabilis, so much the more damnable, be-
cause his dissembling cheated the People, who thought him in earnest, and
committed down right Idolatry, being deceived and carried away with his dis- Gal. 2. 13.
simulation. I have met with many and many both Greeks and Latins, who, as
to their Posts or Station in the World, were much in *Seneca's* Condition; and
as to the outward part of Religion, they were absolutely of his Mind; and
I verily believe that most of all the rest of the *Wiser* sort amongst them are so
too; I could name many of good note both in the East and in the West, who
would own that they should very hardly hazard their Preferments, or quiet, for
not following the common stream; for not paying the fashionable outward
Compliments to God, to the Saints, and to Men; or by talking against *Te-*
nets which neither they, nor perhaps any one else can well understand; they
own'd a threefold Religion, *Poetical, Civil, Real*, (after the old Heathen
way) but least of the last. They did not stick to say and own the common
Maxim, (as well as the great Cardinal himself did, *nostrum non est discutere,*
I will not trouble my self about these matters) for my part I believe as
the

T. p. 399. *the Church believes, and do as the Church doth.* And truly if they meant by the Church, not this or that particular sect or People, or Congregation, or Nation, but what is the Belief and Practice of all Christians, every where, and was so always, I think they are so far much in the right.

Vincent. Lirin.
c. 3.

The Greeks of all Christians in the World seem to me, φιλοθεοτοκάτοι, *the most zealous Adorers of the Mother of God*; The Latins in this matter are extravagant enough, but truly the Greeks far out do them. In many many instances, which I could give, they ascribe unto her almost as great a Providence as to God himself. Taking my leave in the Monasteries at Mount Athos, their last Farewell to me was commonly this, Να σὰς φιλάγη ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ἡ Παρὰ-γία, *may God keep you and the all-holy Lady*; Infinitely more Prayers are made particularly to her then to Christ; and that not only in their private Devotions, but in their Euchologion or Common Prayer Book it self, and in particular Offices appointed to her Worship. On the walls of many of their Cities is this Inscription, Θεοτόκε παρθένε βοήθει τὴν πόλιν, *O Virgin, Mother of God, help this City*; and you will find, not only in Temples, but every where in private Families, (that are of any Note,) and in publick Passages (especially at Mount Athos) Lamps continually burning before her Picture, far oftner then before Christ himself or any one of the Saints. I cannot but think that this Custom was first brought into the Church by some Gentile Profelites, in Imitation of what they had done, to Isis, Minerva, Fesla, Saturn, and other of their Idols; of which you may see enough, in the Learned Dallee.

De cult. Lat. l.

8. c. 32.

T. p. 400.

In Alex. Mar-

chus. p. 364.

d. 9. 1.

T. O.

Goar p. 629.

Idem dicit, de

virgine Nico-

poeninde dicta.

The Virgin Mary is often called by the Greeks, ὁδὴγία, *the Guide*, (or convey) in their way, and had a Church in Constantinople Dedicated to Her under that name; and that according to them very justly, for Nicetas tells us plainly that the Greek Emperors used to make the Picture of the Mother of God, Στρατήγον, *their fellow Soldier* in their Wars, yet it was taken from them in the Fight with the Latins. Poor Lady, it seems she could not save her self much less their Army. This puts me in mind of a very remarkable,

but very true Story; and I think it is pity that it should be lost. A worthy Sea Captain, who carried me to Malaga, and at an honourable Spanish Merchant's House there, (where we Lodged, and with whom he had many times been concern'd as he past and repast the Streights) before the whole Company, in presence of the Merchant himself, speaking of the mighty Deeds which the Spainards attribute to the Virgin Mary, recounted what had happen'd there, at his last Voyage, and told us, that in that House another Spainard (a zealous Worshipper of Her) apply'd himself mightily to him (my Captain) to make him a Convert; and told him that the next day there would be a solemn Procession in honour of Her, and said if he (the Captain) would see it, there would certainly be such Miracles wrought by her, as would convince him and convert him. The Captain being to go out of Town that Day about other business did not see it. As the Priests, or Bearers, were carrying her Image upon a kind of Bier on their Shoulders, by an odd chance, it fell off and pitcht upon its Face on the stones, which had much disfigur'd and spoil'd it. At his Friend's house at night he again met the Devoto, who immediately told him, that if he had been there, he would have seen so many wonderfull works done as would have certainly made him a good Catholick; one thing said he, is most remarkable and to my own knowledge is very true. A poor Woman, my neighbour, who hath crept upon Crutches these several years, and her Legs and Ankles were grown so weak and distorted that she could not stand; she, as the Image past by, earnestly praying to the Virgin for her help, was immediately made whole, and throwing away her Crutches she briskly walked and leaped before them all. Truly said my Captain, I wonder how she so Miraculously helpt the Woman; but I heard that she her self fell down and broke her Nose, I pray did she cure that. This smart touch so incensed the zealous Don, as his Friend and the rest of the Company had much ado to appease

appease him and save the Captain from the Inquisition. This Story may teach Protestant Travellers Wisdom and Caution in passing through Bigotted Countries, as well as to expose the Folly (to say no worse) of these Practices when they come home. Give me leave to add a few Instances of the Greeks, *Fiducia*, *Confidence* placed in the Virgin's Picture, when they went to fight. *John Comnenus*, when he was engaging and sore prest with the Scythians, looking upon, εἰκόνα, the Picture of the Virgin with Sighs and pitifull Gestures, wept drops of Tears as warm as those of Sweat in the heat of War; and it was not in vain, saith my Author, for he suddainly routed his Enemies, as Moses did the Amelechites, ἐκτάσει, by spreading out his Hands; This Victory is as much attributed to his Devotion to this Picture, as that was to Moses. So when Manuel Comnenus had overcome the Panonians, in his Tri-umphal Procession, there went before him a Silver Chariot all gilt over with Gold, drawn by Snow-white Horses, in which was set, εἰκόνα, the Picture of the Mother of God, ἀντιστάχου συμμάχου καὶ ἀνταγωνίστου σὺν πατρὶν τῷ βασιλεῖ, the Inconquerable Ally (or joint Concomitant) and the insuperable Fellow-soldier of the Emperor; and that you may see that they placed their Confidence in the very Picture, or Figure it self, is added, the Axel-tree of the Chariot did not creak much, because it carried not, δεινὴ, the terrible Goddess, the false Virgin Minerva, but the true Virgin who, διὰ λόγου, ὡς λόγος, τὸν λόγον, by the Word, above all Word, brought forth the Word. Surely these Men as verily thought this Figure to be the very Virgin Mary, as ever the Athenians or others could think that of Minerva to be her herself; and attributed the Victory in like manner wholly to it. There is a very good Latin Note remaining there on the side, which I perceive happen'd to pass the Paris Press, but seems not to have been minded by the Latins, nor understood by Greeks; At Soli Deo, but the Glory was to be attributed, not to the Image of the Virgin, but to God alone. Romanus Lacapenus, when he went to treat of Peace with Simeon Prince of Bulgaria, took out, ὡς φέρον, the Cloak, or short Vest, of the Virgin (which was Religiously kept in a Box) and put it on, ὡς περὶ πλάγιον ἀδιάρηκτον, as an Infrangible, or Impenetrable Breast Plate; and making his Faith in her his Helmet, he went out defended by these Infallible Arms. So he plainly made the Virgin's Vest one. What can I think of the Words of that Famous Religious Monk, who came to Michael's General as he was going against the Saracens, and said, go, for you will have God to deliver you and go before you, if only you shall carry his beloved Disciple John Painted or Design'd upon all your shields, instead of any other φυλακτήριον, Amulet or Preservative. The General had the Victory indeed, and perhaps he himself might give God the Glory as his chief helper; but can any one think that the common Soldiers had such purely abstracted thoughts, as not to attribute it in the least unto the bare Pictures on their Shields, in which they had so plainly put their, *Fiducia*, Trust, and Confidence? It is notoriously known how *Heraclius* carried the Picture of Christ, ἀχειροποίητον, not made with Hands, with him to his Wars, and great Success was often attributed to it; yet once the People threw stones at it, and would have knockt his Commander Priscus, who brought it, on the Head, if he had not fled away. This Picture, not made with Hands, might be one of such Miraculous Copies as *Gretzer* speaks of, perhaps made from the famous Handkerchief at *Edessa*; for the Original was brought to Constantinople after *Heraclius* was dead.

What must we say of the Virgin's Image (sometimes Crown'd with Stars, or with the Moon under her Feet) commonly set at the Stern of their Ships by Latins now, as it was formerly by the Greeks? Or what must we judge of the Greeks, παναγία, or ὑψωμα, a piece of Bread Consecrated solemnly to the Virgin, and carried by Sea-faring Men and Travellers, and Infirm People, as a sure, φυλακτήριον, Amulet or Preservative? I have also seen it again and again in a Silver Case hang'd about Childrens, and Sick and Infirm Persons Necks; is their no, *Fiducia*, Confidence, or Trust placed, (especially by the Vulgar,) in

T. p. 401.
Supr. p. 393.

in the thing it self? Now if according to what is above noted out of *Bellar- mine* and the Council, *any, Fiducia, Divinitas vel Virtus, Affiance or Trust, Divinity or Virtue to be put or placed in the Images or Pictures, or other Representations of the Virgin or Saints, so quite contrary to their Cautions and Directions,* (as I think the few instances which I have given (omitting many many more which I could add) sufficiently prove and shew the matter of Fact, that both the Greeks and Latins, especially the Ideots, (have been and still are herein notoriously Guilty) *how can they with all their Tricks and Sophistry ever clear themselves from gross Idolatry?* And though we should allow that Ideots could be made so discreet, as nicely to divide *their Worship,* giving the greatest part to the *Prototype,* and some lesser part to the *Type or Representative,* yet since they own even that little, (whatever it is,) to be, *verus Cultus, true Worship,* how can they ever answer their giving of it to a *Stock or a Stone, or a Gay,* or any other senseless thing? Yet *Bellar- mine* positively asserts, *Imagines per se & propriè colendas, that Images are to be Worshipped properly and by, or for, themselves;* but if he or any other high-flying Speculator can satisfy themselves with his sublime and intricate Explications there offer'd for this Assertion, they can no ways reach the Apprehensions of the Ideots, so as to Justify or Excuse their blind Practice, as I have above noted; but the Patriarch *Jeremiah* is quite of another mind, and puts a manifest difference between *true Worship,* and that which is only *Relative;* as I have noted before.

T. p. 402.
l. 2. c. 21. de
Imag. p. 329.

Resp. 2. p. 245.

Supra. p. 393.

But there is yet another Caution given by the Council and revised by the Cardinal; *In the Worshipping of Images, nihil petatur, nothing should be asked from them.* Though they allow *some part only of their true Worship,* as due to their Picture or Image, yet their Prayer is wholly and intirely directed to them. They are the *Principal and Immediate Objects of it;* though, in *Obliquo, by the by, or, reductivè, reductively and in some remote Sense,* they also stretch it to God himself, *he being,* as they say, *Glorified in this Honour thus paid to his Saints.* But I have already noted that we have neither Command nor Example of making *any such Prayer* to them; and it seems in it self a thing utterly Impossible, whereever the deceased Saints are, that they should hear us and understand our Petitions. We pray only to Persons who are *present* and can hear us; as for the Picture or Image, it is before their Eyes, but where the departed Saint is, no Soul alive can know; or assuredly can say that he hears their Prayers any more then the senseless Statue or Picture it self. Therefore Seraphick Schoolmen may pretend to pray to some Invisible Phantom or Imaginary Prototype, which is they know not where, and they may fancy that he may possibly hear them they know not how or when; but a poor Ideot must needs make the Painted or Carved Image that is present before his Eyes, the only Object of his Prayers; and I could give many notorious Instances of several poor deluded Souls who to my certain knowledge have many times thus misplaced their blind, but well intended Devotions; but out of meer Pity and Compassion of my Soul, I shall not farther expose, much less (as some do,) *ridicule* these sad and most lamentable Practices, which are crept into *so great parts of the Catholick Church.* The Object of our Prayers must be believed to be *always present to them, and able to hear them;* and hence only it is that with humble Confidence and Assurance we can address our selves in Prayers to the *One, only Wise and Almighty God;* nay, we are commanded by him so to do; to say *Abba Father* to him, who alone is *always Present;* in Private, *with every humble and Contrite Heart;* and in Publick also, *where two or three are gathered together in his Name, he is in the midst of them.* Prayers and Praises and Thanksgivings are the highest Acts of Religious Worship and Adoration, and are without all dispute God's *due and property alone;* how then, without his plain Command or expresse Permissi- on, shall any Man dare to give them to any Invisible Creature, of whose *Pre- sence and Capacity of hearing and helping him,* he is altogether Ignorant,

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or at the best Uncertain and absolutely Doubting? And therefore I cannot but think that Prayer, in *Goar*, to *Chrysostom*, a very plain piece of Modern Forge-ry, there foisted in by some Latinizing Prelates, Πάτερ Ιωάννη χρυσόστομος, πρόσθετε χρίστω τῷ θεῷ σὺλῶσαι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν, *O Father John Chrysostom interceed with Christ our God, that our Souls may be saved.* It is indeed in some Copies Printed at *Venice*, but it is not in any of my MSS. nor in *Leo Turcus* his Latin Edition; I am sure it is no part of *Chrysostom's* own Liturgy.

I shall now Examine how well these three Cautions abovesaid are observed by them, in that single Instance of *their Adoring and Worshipping the Cross*. First, *if there be no Divineness, or Power, or Virtue to be believed in it*, how comes those *Glorious and Marvelous Effects* ascribed to it by the Cardinal? *It affrights, saith he, and chases away Devils; it drives away all Diseases and all Evils; it sanctifies all things upon which it is imprest or made; by it all Magick is dissolved, or made ineffectual.* What greater Power can be ascribed to the Mightiest Angel of Light? For all this he gives us this threefold account. I. *When the Devil, saith he, sees the Cross, he remembers that by the Cross of Christ (or by Christ's suffering upon it) he was overcome, spoil'd, bound, and weakned, and therefore he is afraid, and flieth from it as a Dog doth from a Stone or a Stick with which he is smitten.* But does not the Devil know all this before and remember it, unless we put him in Mind of it by our imprinting the Cross or making the sign of it with our Finger? When we have renounced the Devil and all his Works at our Baptism, and solemnly renewed our Promise and Vow at our Confirmation, and have been piously recommended to the Lord's Defence by the Bishop, and by laying his holy Hands upon us are certified of God's Favour and Goodness towards us, and publick Prayers have been made, that his Fatherly hand should be ever over us, and that his mighty Protection should ever preserve us in Body and Soul; can the bare Mark or Sign of the Cross add any thing more to my safe-guard or farther security? Methinks it looks like too airy a Conceit, that we can fright or scare away Devils, by pelting them with our Crosses, as we chase away Dogs or Birds with Stones. The wise *Erasmus* pleasantly, but very justly, Ridicules, the Circle, and the Crosses, and Holy Water, and *Agnus Dei's*, and all the other Trumpery, quibus olim se muniebant adversus noxios Dæmones, which of old, in those days, were used as Arms and Ammunition against mischievous Devils; under the Person of *Faunus* and the Parish Priest, he there represents to the Life the Sottish belief and Practice of poor, silly, credulous Ideots concerning the wonderfull Power of the Cross.

The Cardinal's second reason is, *that the sign of the Cross hath its effect against the Devil, ex opere operantis, from the Work, or Inward Intention, of the Worker, or of him that makes it.* It is, saith he, *Invocatio quædam, a kind of Invocation or calling upon the Merits of Christ Crucified, and opposing them against the Devil; so that the Effect proceeds more from the Faith and Affiance and inward Devotion of the Person, then from the Character of the Cross it self; as when we pray, the Effect is to be attributed to our inward Faith, rather then to the outward sound of the Voice.* When any Temptation from the Devil offers it self to me, or when Troubles and Adversities oppress me, or when any Evil either to my Body or my Soul seems to arise or come from him, if I seriously think of this Victory of Christ, and immediately with all Humility and Steadiness of Faith, I do Ferently in Prayer or Meditation recommend my self to God's most gracious Protection and Deliverance, and heartily beg of him that all those Evils which the Craft and Subtilty of the Devil or Man worketh against me, may be brought to nought, and by the Providence of his Goodness may be utterly dispersed; I shall ever think my self infinitely more safe then a thousand signs of the Cross made upon my Breast or Forehead can make me. Such a pious Address as this to the All-

T. p. 403. mercifull and Almighty God, *without any Sign of the Cross*, shall assuredly terrify and Confound the Devil, and disappoint both him and all his wicked Accomplices; whereas, *that sign alone without this*, will as little *Fright or Affect* the Devil himself, as it doth those wicked Men who are his Instruments and Ministers.

But suppose, *the Sign of the Cross*, when join'd with Faith and Prayer, may from them obtain a Glorious effect; how will poor Idots be benefited by making, *this bare sign*, without being able to make any such inward Reflections of the Merits of Christ, or thinking of them in the least? They have perhaps been told that it is a good thing *to Cross themselves upon all occasions*; but how many is there of them who understand *this Invocation*, or Calling upon the Merits of Christ, or think one Jot of thus applying them, when they heedlessly make *this Sign* meerly according to Custom, or the common Fashion. In the Houses of some Worthy Papists of my Acquaintance here in England, when a mixt Company of them, and us Protestants were sitting down to Eat at the Table, I have seen (instead of Grace or openly blessing the Food) their Priest covertly with his Finger to make a Cross, and perhaps he may add, in nomine Patris, *in the name of the Father*, or some such other short Suffrage to himself; A Priest or Man of some Knowledge may perhaps join an Ejaculation with *the Sign* when he makes it; but a poor ignorant Creature, when he Crosseth himself, or his Table, or any thing else, hath no more inward pious Reflection then when he makes his Leg, or moves his Hat to his Superior, or to any one else as they meet or pass by him.

Give me leave here to take notice of a Custom which I have often observed amongst the Greeks; when we have been Discoursing in the Evening, or otherwise, if one of them being sleepy begins *to Yawn or Gape*, (especially if he be a *Devoto*,) he will certainly with his right Thumb make upon his Mouth a little *sign of the Cross*. I once took an occasion to ask a Person of some good sense (but a very Religious Man) what was the meaning of it; He told me very seriously, that when a Man is thus drowsy, and his Mouth is thus often open, the Devil hath a great opportunity to enter him being in this careless posture, or (as our waggish Proverb hath it) *to take him napping*; but having, said he, set this powerfull Sign before our Mouth, *the Devil immediately flies away and hath not power to possess us*. I askt, if they used to add any words to this Sign, he answer'd, sometimes some will say, *ἔξω τὸν κακόν*, or, *ἔξω τὸν κακὸν ἀγατῶ*, (as we say to a Dog, *get you out*) *out wicked one*, or *be gone thrice Accursed*, or the like. When any one mumbles over the Lord's Prayer, or any other, not minding what he saith, or quite thinking of something else, and speaks or repeats it to himself purely (as I may so say) *Mechanically*, or like a Parrot; at this time, I cannot but think, that there is neither *true Faith nor Affiance nor Devotion in him*; and how can we think otherwise of a *Drowsy Tawning Greek*; (perhaps then *well drenched with Wine*?) The Jews have in an Inscription (set upon the walls of the Chamber where one of their Women lies in,) these words, *חַטְז לִלִּית*, Chutz Lilith, *Out*, or a way, *Lilith*; by which they think that they *fright away a she Devil*, which Destroys or (as old Women with us say *of the Fairies*) changes their Children; and some of our Criticks will have these Latin words, *Lilla, abi, abi*, made from thence; and say our Nursses common Song to their Children when they rock them in their Cradle, *Lullaby Baby*, was jumbled from thence; but let this be as it will, I am satisfied that not one Greek of a thousand mind the meaning of *his Crossing his Mouth* when he does it, more then the Nurse or Maid mind what she saith, when she Sings *her Lulla-by Baby*. So this shift will not do, for there is *no real Faith or Affiance* in the matter. Nothing is more common with Greeks (and many Latins use the same Formality) when they write a Letter then to fix a Cross before the first word; and in our Horn-books for little Children, there is a Cross (after the old Fashion) set before the Alphabet which is thence commonly call'd by us to this very day,

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the Christ Cross row. It is possible that he who first set up this Fashion might then have some inward Reflection upon it; but afterwards every one did it as a thing meerly in course, or fashionable, or gentile; as it is now counted to write in our Letters, *Sir*, at some distance at the Top from the following words, and *your Servant*, as much beneath; and the Compositor of the Press, when he sets the Cross before the Child's Alphabet, hath no more any Religious thought in it, then when he adds, *the &c. And per se And* at the end, which the Country School-dames commonly pronounce, *Anpasian*.

The wise Cardinal seeing plainly that in thus *making or marking* the Cross, the inward *thought* goeth not with it once in ten thousand times, especially amongst Ideots, and Mechanicks, and meer formal Men, he at last confidently advanceth this singular Notion as a finishing stroke, *that this very Sign hath its Power, ex opere operato, purely from it self only by its being made*; and tells us, *that the Devil is chased away not by the Devotion or Faith of the Worker*, or of him that makes it, *but only by the sign it self*; The Iconoclasters in the seventh Synod say the same, *the meer Sign* $\chi\rho\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\nu\chi\eta\varsigma$, *without Prayer will do all*. If so, then first how can this consist with his former caution; *In Worshipping Images, Pictures and Religious representations, no Divinity or Power is to be believed to be in them*? Thus to believe that a meer material Cross, or its Mark, or its bare Sign, in the Air, hath this Power in it self to drive away the Devil, must be a great and dangerous Sin at least, if not plain Idolatry, by his own Rule. But to excuse all this, he appeals to matter of fact. *The Jews and Heathens, meer Infidels, faith he, have driven away the Devils by the Sign of the Cross*; But his Instances of this are so mean, that I may not say trifling, as they by no means come up to his purpose. I will begin with Pope Gregory's Tale of a Converted Jew; you may read it fully and most ingeniously (after his usual way) described by *Angel. Gazæus*, and, in my Opinion, more cleanly and modestly; for what the other calls *the Nuns, Terga, Backside, and her, Posteriora, hinder parts*, he calls, *dexterum humerum, her right Shoulder*. Consider it well, if the Legend do not make you heartily laugh, I am confident the Poetical Paraphrase upon it will. It is wonderfull indeed that the Devil knew nothing of the Jews being all the while under the same roof, till some of the little puny Imps were sent by him to seek who was there; as also that they could not smell out any thing of that dreadful Cross, formerly made on the Jews Forehead, till the stink of his Body (which was now much encreased by his Fear) had brought the Devilins to him.

As to the first Story in Nazianzen, of a crowned Cross appearing in the Entrails of the Beast to Julian as he was Sacrificing, he faith indeed, that it was, $\theta\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu\ \theta\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\mu\alpha$, commonly reported as a Wonder; but for his part he was in dispense, whether he should write it, or disbelieve it, there being such a mixture of Credible and Incredible things in it. Give me leave to make this short Reflection before I go any farther; a wise and a good Man may doubt of a strange report, though it is, $\theta\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$, common in every bodies Mouth; but the Story in him, which the Cardinal chiefly aims at, is this in short. "Julian being at last addicted to Magical or, what we call, black Arts, went down into a dismal horrid Cave, with a pretended Conjurer or Sophister, to confer with Subterraneous Devils about future Events; and there perceiving strange Noises, filthy Smells, and fiery Apparitions, and being struck with these surprising Things, he betook himself to the Cross, $\tau\omicron\ \pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\omicron\nu\ \phi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\mu\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu$, the old Remedy; and being sign'd with it, the sign prevailed, the Devils were worsted, his Fears were dissolved. All this might be, as the former was, $\theta\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu\ \theta\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\mu\alpha$, only a common wonderfull Report; For Nazianzen tells it not upon his own Knowledge; nay, he calls all these Appearances above mention'd, $\psi\theta\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota\ \lambda\acute{\eta}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, old Wives Fables, mad, juggling Tricks of the Conjuring Impostures, as indeed many such Stories prove to be but meer Knavish contrivances of cheating or designing Villains. Next it is plain that

Julian

T. p. 405. *Julian* was then, ὁφειλόμενος ταῖς τοιαύταις, but *late*ly or newly instructed in, or given to, *these vile Practices*; he had not quite thrown off his old Belief, but still thought that there was much in it; and therefore sign'd himself with the sign of the Cross, which is there call'd his *old Remedy*; i. e. that to which he had been used whilst he was a *profest Christian*; and it is very probable that he then used with it, *in the name of God, or of Christ, or Jesus, or such like words* (as I can easily prove that it was the Custom in those days, as it is now with us to say on such occasions, *in the name of the Father, and of the Son, &c.*) so that here were many manifest tokens of *great Relicks of his former true Faith* still resting in him; so that it was not *the bare Crossing himself alone* (which the Cardinal pretends to,) that did the Effect. Now for my part I must freely confess, that what the Devils are said to Act in this Tragi-comedy, *in making noises and the rest, and then at last yielding*, seems to me as meer a

T. p. 406. trick of some that had a desire to bring *Julian* back to his old Religion again, (whom they saw begin to dote upon Conjurers and Magicians,) as what *Polus* put upon *Credulous Faunus* in *Erasmus*; when he Acted the Devil's part most nicely, *in terrifying him and then fleeing from him* as occasion served. But I offer this only as *my own Conjecture*, and leave the candid Reader to judge for himself. It is enough that this Passage doth not in the least favour the pretended Power of the bare Cross alone. *Julian* was indeed *Learned and of great Parts*, but when he began to Dote, and was inclin'd to believe these wild Fancies and Stories, he might be, for all that, as well imposed upon in these matters, as many *learned Men*, amongst us (to my Knowledge) have been, when they too easily listen and believe every Tale of *Witches and Apparitions of Spirits*; That learned Mathematician *J. Dee*, I think is generally lookt upon as a notorious Example, of Wise-men's being deceived.

Haref. 30. §. 7, 8. Thus in *Epiphanius* the young brutish Lover, who endeavour'd by Courtship and Magical and Diabolical Charms and Practices to Debauch a Beautifull Woman, with all the Craft and Subtilty of the Devil and himself could not indeed in the least prevail against her; for she was not an Infidel, or Jew, but a *Christian*; she signed her self, εἰς ὄνομα χριστοῦ, *In the name of Christ, and by this sign, καὶ πίστεως ἐβόηθη, and by Faith she was delivered*; there is nothing there attributed to the bare Cross alone, but to her Faith. And the next Story there of *Josepus*, a Jew, is altogether as far from his design; For Christ himself had appear'd to him several times, and exhorted him to believe in him; and when twice or thrice he was Sick, ἐπαγγελάμενος ἀνέσθαι, he promising to believe did recover. At last Christ appearing to him told him, εἰς πληροφροσύνην πίστεως, for the Confirmation of his Faith, that, if he desir'd that in his name any divine Token should be wrought, ἐπεκάλειαι καὶ γὰρ ποιήσω, he should call upon him and it should be done; he said, call upon me, not make a Cross. He had Faith enough at least to try it upon a Mad-man,

p. 131. D. p. 132. D. §. 9, 10. Met. 14. 31. c. 28. 17. yet doubting (as *Peter*, and some other of the Apostles even after the Resurrection did,) and taking Water and signing it (not signing the Man) he said in the name of *Jesus the Nazarene, who was Crucified, come out of him, Devil, and let him be whole*; which within an hour came to pass; he also wrought another Miracle by making Fire burn which Magicians had hindred or quite put out. He was healed and evilly Treated by the other Jews, but at last when his Faith was compleated he was Baptized and was highly favour'd by *Constantine*, to whom he related how the Lord had invited him by several repeated Visions to embrace his Gospel. Now I must think this Story far enough from proving that the Sign or Mark of the Cross alone in it self drives away the Devil; it is plain that this Jew had some Faith from the very beginning, though it was weak and but little as a grain of Mustard-seed, which by degrees sprang up and daily increased. But suppose that in *Primitive or Elder times*, God had gratified some Jews or Heathens so far as by the name of *Jesus*, or the meer sign of the Cross, they had done Miracles (as I have already taken notice that he did,) will any one dare

p. 333. Mat. 7. 22. Rom. 11. 33

dare so far positively to expound the *unsearchable Judgments and ways of God* past finding out, as to say it was only to give such Power to that *meer name or sign*, as whoever he was that used them should do these Wonders? Is it not more plain that God by permitting these Practices did often use them as *pure Seeds of Faith*, both to the Practiser (as it was in this *Jafepus*) and to the Observer or stander by? When the Disciples told Christ of one that cast out Devils in his name, he said, *forbid them not, for there is no Man which shall do a Miracle in my name that can lightly speak evil of me; he that is not against us is on our part*; as if he had said, he at least gives occasion to others to think and believe on me. It is plain that the *Sans of Seera*, *Vagabond Jews*, and the Men of curious Arts at *Ephesus*, did not so much mind the common good of Mankind, or the Glory of God by their Exorcisms, as they did their own Profit and vain Reputation; they only desired (as *Simon Magus* did) *ἐνδύ τινος μεγάλης*, to be, or be accounted, great Men, or the Power of God; you see therefore that God suffer'd not, *opus operatum*, their meer naming of the Lord Jesus to have their desired Effect, but quite the contrary; and so to any drowsy Greek or other Ideot, that only formally makes a Cross, or Signs himself with it; the Devil may justly say, *the Crucified Jesus I know, and his Victory over me I know, but who art thou?*

The case amongst us, who are already professed Christians, is quite different from what it was then amongst the Jews and Heathens; Ideots, and Wizards, and old Wives amongst us, who make the sign of the Cross, or write it, or the name of Jesus, or the first or fourteenth verse of St. John's Gospel; or the like, to fright away the Devil, or to cure or defend any one; perhaps understand it not, or however Then think no more of the true God, then they understand or think of *Apollo*, when they hang *Abracadabra* about ones Neck to cure an *Ague*; or *Cardan's Amulets* for the falling Sickness and pain in the Head; they make them all meer Charms and nothing else. The Jews to this day have the name of God, *יהוה*, *Schadday*, *Bountifull* or (as we render it) *Almighty*, written on their *Mesusah*, or little Parchment Rowl, which is put in a little hole in the left Hand post of their doors going out, which the Religious touch with their Finger going out and coming in, saying withall, *may God preserve my going out and my coming in, from hence forth and forever*. I am confident no Jew of Sense will deny that the virtue of this performance lies in the Prayer; or will say, that it is wholly in the formal Touch; though I believe many careless unthinking Jews may only use the latter; so when any Christian Cross himself, in a Morning, or at any other time, with lifting up his Soul to God in some short Prayer or Ejaculation, I must ascribe the Power to the Action of his Soul, and not to the outward Complement of the Body; There is some Devotion in such a Jew and such a Christian; but if a Christian Mechanically or only Formally Crosses himself, and thinks no farther of the matter, (as thousands do,) I must think that he hath much less Devotion, and is far less secure or recommended to God's Protection, then the poor Spainard, who (they say) used every Morning only to spread abroad the whole Alphabet, and desired God to compose a Prayer out of it which would be acceptable, and to it he promised heartily to say, Amen; or then a wretch that should only say, *God thou knowest my wants and my mind better then I do; so good Morning, good Night*. Thus vain and ridiculous must I think the implicate Faith in Ideots, (which the School-men so much boast of,) and their tacite Application of Christ's Sufferings and Victory, by the bare Sign or Mark of the Cross.

But the Cardinal still urgeth, *opus operatum*, the meer making of the Sign of the Cross, and saith, *It is effectual, ex instituto Dei, from the very Institution of God himself*. This I would very fain see; God's word for it, would put the matter quite out of all Dispute. I am sure that Prayer without the sign of the Cross, is commanded by him; and if it be accompanied with unshaken Faith,

T. p. 407. *Faith*, it is acceptable to him; but that *the Sign of the Cross* without that is available and acceptable, I am still to learn. Yet he and his *Partegians* think it enough still to say of *the Cross*, what they say of *Images and Pictures*; the very *Miracles* which have been wrought by it and them sufficiently prove *God's Approbation of them* at least, which to them is Equivalent to his *plain Institution*. But *God's Permission* of a thing, and his *Approbation* of it, are very very different; much more his *plain Institution and Command*. He permits all Murders and Robberies; he permitted all the deluding Oracles and Idolatry of the Heathens; did he therefore Approve, Institute or Command them? God gave them up, *as a Reprobate* extravagant Mind, because they did not like to retain him in their Knowledge. Because his own Chosen People the Jews, had chosen their own ways and delighted in their Abominations, God chose their Delusions, their Tricks or Devices; as he had threatned to deceive their Prophets; and he made their Sins their Punishments. And it is as plain in St. Paul, that there should come amongst Christians a falling away; and that the Mystery of Iniquity should work; and that God should send amongst them strong Delusions that they should believe a lie. Now we know no other way to judge of the Tree, but by its Fruits; If therefore he pretended Miraculous Effects, with which we find the Monkish Legends and Books so plentifully stored, did come to pass really upon the Worshipping of this or that Image or Picture, or upon making this or that bare Sign, or Mark only of the Cross, (as these Iconoclasts vainly boast,) should we not rather suspect (if not believe,) that they were wrought by that subtle deceiver of Mankind, on purpose to withdraw these wretched Devoto's from their firm Affiance in the true God, and to confirm them in a blind trust to these dark and dangerous Ceremonies? I doubt not but all Impostors, cheating Jugglers, and, fallaces Thaumaturgi, pretended Miracle-Mongers were chiefly forbidden by Moses upon this very account, least the Hearts of that plain and wavering People, should by their Wiles and Tricks be perverted from their sole dependance upon their God. It is confess, that the Idols of the Heathen were moved, and did speak, and foretell future Events, or rather the Devil moved them and spake in them; or, most likely, the crafty Juggling Varlets who managed these matters contrived and acted all themselves; and Nicephorus Collistus shews us very admirably, how many of these Tricks were done, and we had a most notorious discovery made of such Cheats here in England, in the Images of St. Rumwald and the Rood of Grace, by the Bishop of Rochester. The Scripture makes it plain that the Idols spake, or answer'd by Signs. I would allow it as probable, that a Crucifix spake at the Synod of Winchester, or that the Image of Christ saluted Th. Aquinas, with bene scripsisti de me Thomas, well hast thou written of me. O Thomas, I say I will allow this and much more amongst the new Romans, as that the Statues of Juno and Fortune spake amongst the old ones; yet I am very apt to believe, if these matters of Fact be true, that either the great Deceiver himself, or his Monkish Deputies had the only hand in them. It is too common a Tale amongst us, of the Virgin Mary's Image weeping drops of Blood, to be disown'd; and several notorious Impostures of the like nature I could add of my own Knowledge; but when I have thoroughly examin'd them, and plainly seen the drift and end of them to be, not the promoting of the true Fear of God, or of Man's relying wholly upon him, but either to advance, perhaps, the Glory of some new Canonized Saint; or Quantum lucri facit hæc Fabula, for the Interest and Profit of some place, or Body of Men; or to keep up the empty Vaunt, of still having frequent Miracles in their Church; and above all, to amuse the Credulous Ideots, and to create perhaps a favourable opinion of these Miracles even in some Men of Sense, but of too much blind Devotion, I must confess the whole Practice to me Savours very rankly of the strong delusions which I have mention'd above as foretold by St. Paul.

I shall

I shall in the next place a little consider *the Sign or Mark of the Cross*, as it is this day made both by Greeks and Latins. As for the true Shape or Pattern of that upon which Christ died, we have but little satisfaction from the Celebrated Vision of *Constantine*, which *Eusebius* relates to us as taken from his own Mouth. He calls what appear'd, only, *σταυρὸν τρέπον ἐκ φωτός συνιστάμενον*, *the Trophy of a Cross made of Light*; *Zonaras*, *τύπος σταυρικός δ' ἀστέρων*, *A Figure made by Stars crosswise*, or of a Cross, *Cedrenus*, *τίμιος σταυρός*, *an honourable Cross*, and only *the Inscription was made by Stars*; and Christ is said to have order'd *Constantine*, in a Dream, to make *that sign his*, *Labarum*, *Ensign in the Wars*, *σταυρὸν σχήματι πεποιημένον*, *shaped after the fashion of a Cross*; as the, *Labarum*, or *Ensign* was in that Form before his time, and so no new thing as *Bellarmino* acknowledges. But there were added, *δύο στοιχεῖα* *De Im. Sanct.* *τὸ χρίσθ παρὰ δὲ λέντα ὄνομα*, *two letters which as a Cypher intimated the name of Christ*. They were a Greek P and a X cut by it perpendicularly, as is to be seen in many Medals of *Valens*, *Decentius*, *Magnentius* and others, which I have by me. But I must here Mark one thing; suppose *the Ensign* made cross-wise was appointed as a *Phylactery* to his Army; It is plain that *this Monogram or Cypher* of the name of Christ alone, was worn in the Emperors Helmet as a choice *preservative of himself*. We are told that this Character (made with X and P struck downwards through it) was before *Constantine's* time used by Heathens in their Coins; and particularly in those of some of the *Ptolomeys*. For both the *Ægyptians* and others as well as the Jews counted their Kings *χρίστῃς*, *Christ*, that is, *Anointed*. And thus the *Ægyptians* and other Heathen Rulers might use that Character on their Prince's Coins, and in their Banners to signify no more then that *their Majesty was Sacred*. And Christian Soldiers might pay a Reverence to this Character, as a Memorial to themselves, *of the true Christ*; and not in respect to the Heathen Emperor's *Sanctity* under whom they served; and it is not unlikely that *Constantine*, who without doubt might have seen this Character in other Coins or Banners before him, might afterwards by God's Providence apply it to a better purpose; that is, *as a Memorial of the true Christ, the real Anointed of God*. As the word *Σωτὴρ*, *Saviour*, was frequently used by the Heathen and given to every Bountifull Prince, or Hero, or Benefactor; but is most properly and peculiarly now applied by Christians to *the blessed Jesus* only. And I find some Skillfull Medallists think that the Monogram in *Constantine's* Banner, might have been used long before in Medals, as the *Monetarius* his Mark, for *Crestus*, *Chrysogonus*, *Chremes*, *Chrysippus*. Now the *Devout* *Lipsius* himself tells us, *Viros graves & sacrorum peritos, that very grave Men and well Skill'd in sacred matters*, have notwithstanding all this doubted of the real shape of the true Cross of Christ. Some made it with two lines or stroaks cutting one another at right Angles, which Opinion, he saith, he likes best; others thought it was like a plain T or like the Head of one of our Spades or Shovels, or our Stilts or Crutches; and he is so Ingenuous as to say, *non damno et si dissideo, I do not condemn this Opinion though I dissent from it*. Now I would fain know in the first place, whether the Sign and Mark of every one of all these have the same Power and Virtue to drive away the Devil; or which of them is to be prefer'd, whether a Cross of one long line and a short one, or of two equal lines, or as a plain T, and whether the Monogram or Cypher of Christ's name, which alone *Constantine* is said to have used in his Helmet, would not now be at least as effectual as any of the rest, if not of more Authority then any of them, it being warranted by his example. Concerning the Crosses of two lines cutting each other at right Angles, we see a wonderfull Vanity and Variety which the Heralds have devised of them. I would fain know whether all those sorts are alike Effectual? And whether he that hath but one of them in his Shield or Coat of Armor might not think himself very secure against the Devil, even by wearing his Seal so cut in his Pocket? But if the Devil would flee from one, surely he that hath five or six or more in his

T. p. 409.

Buxtorf. Synag.
jud. c. 49.

Coar, would be able to chase away a whole Legion. There is a very odd difference observed by Prelates in giving their Blessing cross-wise in the Air; the Greek Patriarch or Bishop lays the Thumb of his right Hand cross-wise upon his third Finger and something bends his little Finger; the fore-finger stands upright, the second Finger bends a little; so that to one who looks towards the back of his hand the first and second Finger may make a blind kind of Mark of these two Letters, IC. and the Thumb cross the third Finger, and the little Finger bending, may be as nice a mark of these two Letters, XC. both Cyphering, IHCOYC XPICTOC, *Jesus Christ*; the Pope or Latin Bishop hold up his Thumb and first and second Finger straight, and doubles in the two other Fingers into his Hand; if the Cross hath such *Power* the Greeks may plead for their way, but Latins tell you, that their way represents the whole Trinity; I do not question but some of either side may perhaps be so hardy as to say (as of other Ceremonies) that *even this is an Apostolical Tradition*. Pardon me if I think it as meer a whimsical Mystery as that of the *Jews*, who makes the name of God, יְהוָה, *Shaddai*, on the Hand of every dead Person; by crumpling the Thumb and two first Fingers a little together they make a silly shadow of the first letter, ו. and by buckling down the upper joint of the third Finger, and bending a little that of the little Finger, they make the other two, ה. Some of the Greeks manual Crosses are made of Silver or Gold, and are often very richly and very variously adorn'd with Jewels, which to my Knowledge begets ten Thousand times *more Wonder and Amazement than Devotion*, in the common or curious Spectators; the little wooden Crosses, made at Mount *Athos* and in other Monasteries, have usually these four Letters upon them, T.K.I.I. but are sometimes mistaken by the Ignorant Graver or Carver; they were first made to signify, τὸ πρὸς κεφαλὴν παραδείσος γίνεται, *the place of a Scull is made the place of Paradise*; I suppose these words are also thought to add much *Power* to every Crosse, especially if there be a musty reputed Relick or two put into some hollow place in them; but the Latins far exceed them in such Trinkets publickly sold at *Loretto*, *is xs ιησὺς, Jesus Christ over-cometh*, a Relick of *Constantine's* Vision is over the door, and in other places of the Greeks Chambers, as IHS. XPS. taken and deform'd from thence is amongst the Latins; the Jesuits make the first of these their common Badge of their Society, and expound it (by making every Letter to note a whole word) *Jesus hominum Salvator, Jesus the Saviour of Men*; and at last it came not to be abbreviated in Greek Letters IHC. but IHS. and in old Monkish Prints or Inscriptions we find it *jhs*. I have many times seen the *Armenians* Prayer to *St. George* stuffed into their Bales of Silk, and interspersed with numbers of Crosses; one would think that, according to this Doctrine, one Cross (as at the beginning of Greeks common Letters) had been enough to guard them; and I must say the same of the Latins Mass, where, in the very *Canon alone* there are above twenty Crosses made; and the Greeks are not behind them in saying their Liturgies. I have elsewhere noted their numerous repeatings of, κύριε ἐλέησον, *Lord have Mercy*; sometimes it is hurried over forty times together; this certainly may justly be called βαττολογία, *the running over the very same words again and again*, what must we call these *vain repetitions of the Cross*, many times it is done in one single Sentence? I must here remark that different way of making the Sign of the Cross upon the Breast in the East and West; all begin it, at those words, *in the name of the Father*, from the top of the Forehead downwards; then the Greeks, at those, *and of the Son*, go on to the right side first, and then at those, *and of the Holy Ghost*, they Cross over to the left; the Latins touch the left side first, and end it on the right. I have heard them many times ridicule and blame one anothers way; I cannot but smile at these conceits, and I am apt to think that the Devil, *instead of flying away*, doth so too.

T. p. 410.

Now let the Fathers who contend for the Form of *Christ's Cross* being like a plain T. and the others who are for the common Form, end their Controversy as well as they can; what would they say if Christ really suffer'd neither upon one sort of these, nor upon the other? Then give me leave in this point, which

is

is no Article of Faith, to produce some things which may (to me at least) seem to make this a probable Opinion; But, (that I may all along use *Lipsius* his own words) sit cum lege resipiendo & resiliendo si quis meliora, it shall be with this Condition, to change my Mind and recant if any one shews better. It is very well known that σταυρός, which we render a Cross, in its original signification is no more then σκόλος, a plain Stake or Post, and hath been taken at last for any thing else on which one is publickly put to Death; so Mount Caucasus was called, to which *Prometheus* is said to be nailed, ἐκπεταθεὶς τῷ χεῖρει, *Lucian in Prom.* with his Hands stretcht out, one this way the other that way; and σταυροῦσθαι, and ἀνασταυροῦσθαι, which we translate to be Crucified, are commonly the same with ἀνασκολοπιῶσθαι, προσοπαταλεῦσθαι, to be nailed or fastened to a Stake, or Tree, or the like; nay, sometimes it is taken for Impailing or Spitting upon a Stake; as Malefactors (upon very Heinous Offences,) are yet Executed in Turkey, they call it *Kazyk*, or as our Merchants pronounce it, *Gazook*. I will add, to what the learned and accurate *Lipsius* hath observed, but one pregnant example more out of the Epitome of *Dion*; where it is said that *Severus* sent the Heads of *Niger* and *Albinus* to *Byzantium*, and ἀνασταύρωσε, *p. 315. a.* Crucified them there, that is set them on Poles, as we serve Traitors Heads in England. At last these words *Crux*, *Furca*, *Patibulum*, a Cross, a Fork, a Crotched Tree, or Rafter, (on which Men were put to Death,) were promiscuously used for one another. My learned Author observes several sorts of these Crosses; some are Carpenters or Joiners work, wherein two or more pieces of Wood are tacked or Joined together; But he owns also a plain Crotch or Fork-ed Pale to have been used in Fashion of the Capital letter, Y. Now he puts the question, upon which sort of the joined Crosses did Christ die? Give me leave to put it thus, was it an Artificial, Compacted, Joined Cross; or a plain Crotch-ed piece of a Tree or Timber? First he truly takes notice that Crucifying was counted, Vile, Infame Supplicium, a very Vile and Infamous Punishment; only Thieves and Robbers and such like wretched Offenders suffer'd it. Whether Christ suffer'd for Sedition (as forbidding to give Tribute to *Cæsar*, and saying that he himself was a King; and the Title over his Head seems to point at that, the King of the Jews; and *Barabbas* was under the same Accusation; and this Offence by the Roman Law was to be punish'd with Death upon the Cross;) or whether he suffer'd as being accounted a Blasphemer, (and as such was guilty of Death, though the Jewish Law commanded Stoning in that case;) or rather whether *Pilate*, when he saw he could not prevail any thing with the clamorous People, who still cryed out Crucify him, Crucify him, and being willing to content the People, he caused him to be Executed after the Roman way; as Governors in such cases did often make their Will the Law; I say whatever the Accusation or pretended Crime was, Christ was plainly numbred with the vilest Transgressors; He was chastised, not with Rods, but φραγ-γελίοις, with Thongs or Scourges, (which my Author truly makes another mark of more disgrace, and of a more base and abject Offender;) and at last he was Crucified between two Thieves. Now to those who are for an Artificial or Elaborate Cross, some one perhaps may be ready to say, what *Lipsius* saith of the Crucified Lions, mention'd in *Pliny*, quis credat tam operosam & Compositam fuisse (Christi) Crucifixionem, who can think that a well wrought and nicely contrived Cross was made for one, who was counted so mean, so despicable, so much hated a Person? My Author rationally owns that Crosses were commonly made, ex obvio & prompto ligno, of any ordinary Wood that was ready at hand, and he himself thought Christ's Cross was made of Oak. Yet there hath been some so weak, though well meaning Christians, who though they were not ashamed to own a Crucified Saviour, yet thought it too mean a thing to think that he died upon an ordinary Cross, and therefore have devised nobler Forms and Compoled it of more precious Materials; Cedar, and Palm, and Cypress, and Olive; more out of Curiosity, saith *Lipsius*, then Truth. *Bede* said it was made of Cedar, and Pine, and Cypress, and Box, which the Cardinal counts altogether Improbable, yet confesseth that the An-

T. p. 411. *tients did add some things, Myfterij Gratiâ, to make the matter more Myfteri-*
 Labb. notes on *ous.* See a groſs Tale of theſe Trees growing out of Fire-brands planted
 Glycaſ. p. 358. by Abraham. Some made the Croſs fifteen foot long and eight Broad;
 A Lapide. in which might well be counted too great a Burden for a Feeble, Weaken'd Tor-
 Mat. 27. 32. mented Perſon to bear. Some added Ropes to bear up the Body, others added
 l. 2. c. 10. a prop to bear up the Feet; which my Author calls, nimis accurata fabrica;
 Luk. 23. 26. imo delicata; too nice, nay, too delicate a contrivance; As Scaliger learned-
 ly adds, τὸ ἐξέχον πῆγμα, a ſeat in the middle for the Body to ſet on, as his
 Not. in Euseb. own peculiar obſervation. Some will have Chriſt faſtened with three Nails
 Chron. p. 118. only, others with four; which Lipſius ſaith, arbitrium fuit & fruſtrâ litige-
 l. 2. c. 9. mus, was determin'd by the choice of the Judge or fancy of the Work-man,
 and affords but a vain Diſpute. Indeed of the whole Hiſtory or Narrative of
 the Form of the Croſs, and manner of the Crucifixion, you may allow that,
 which Lipſius ſaith of the Fathers different Opinions, to be true; non ſine
 l. 1. c. 9. laſcivia quadam Ingeniorum & ſtili eam deſcribunt; they have ſomething too
 wantonly employ'd both their Wits and Pens in deſcribing it. From all this
 it muſt ſeem to ſome very unlikely that Chriſt died upon an Artificial Croſs, eſpe-
 cially ſuch a one as ſome of the Antients, out of a too much overacted Devotion,
 have deviſed. Therefore the Cardinal freely acknowledges that Chriſt, as a
 De Imag. l. 2. common Malefactor, as well as the Thieves, were all faſtened with Nails, and
 c. 27. p. 333. carried their Croſs, and all were Scourged alike. And therefore this by ſome
 C. may well be added, that when Helena found the three Croſſes at Jeruſalem,
 Socrat. l. 1. c. they were all ſo exactly like one another, as they could not be diſtinguiſhed,
 17. Sozom. l. 1. till by a Miracle, or two, the true Croſs was diſcovered. Now ſince they
 2. c. 1. Bellar. ut ſupr. all died upon the very ſame faſhion'd Croſſes, one would hardly believe that the
 l. 2. c. 27. vile Thieves had Artificially and Elaborately compacted ones made for them;
 Ruffin. l. 10. c. 8. and therefore it is very ſuſpicious that all three of them were but common,
 Lipſ. l. 2. c. 8. plain, Crotched Poles or Rafters; and if the Antient devout Fathers had but
 Sozomen. ut ſu- thought on, and well conſidered Pythagoras his Symbol, they might have
 pra p. 442. B. found as ſolid a Myſtery in the plain Crotch, as in the Egyptian T. which
 Socrat. 5. c. 17. was found at the Deſtruction of Serapis's Temple. It is ſaid that the E-
 gyptians declared that the ſecret meaning of that Hieroglyphick was, vita ven-
 tura, the Life to come; which the Chriſtians ſnatching at, as being thought
 more ſuitable to their Religion, ἀλαζονικάτερον διετέθησαν, vaunted or gloried
 the more. But the Y was a Symbol of the preſent ways of human Life; the
 left Horn of it, being broad, repreſented an eaſy Voluptuous one; the right
 Horn, being very narrow, ſignified a Virtuous one. A meer Heathen Poet
 underſtood this very well;

Perſ. Sat. 3. Et tibi quæ Samios diduxit litera ramos,
 Surgentem dextro monſtravit limite callem.
 In Pythagore's Crotch't Letters we may view
 The false way, to the Left, to th' Right the true.

Virgil de litera. Another Prince of Poets, largely deſcribes the very ſame Myſtery of the let-
 ter Y but ſuccinctly thus firſt ſets it down.

Humanæ vita ſpēciem præferre videtur.

Or ſeems to ſhew the Courſe of Human Life.

Mat. 7. 13, 14. And this moſt wonderfully agrees with the very words of our Saviour himſelf;
 Wide is the gate and broad is the way that leadeth to Deſtruction, and many
 there be which go in thereat; But ſtrait is the gate and narrow is the
 way which leadeth unto Life, and few there be that find it. And conform-
 able to this will his Sentence be at the laſt day, as Judge he will ſay to the
 Mat. 25. 34. Good and Righteous on his right hand, come ye Bleſſed of my Father, inhe-
 41. rit the Kingdom prepared for you from the Foundation of the World; then
 will he ſay to the Wicked on his left hand, depart from me ye Curſed in-
 to Everlaſting Fire prepared for the Devil and his Angels. The account
 which we have in Scripture of the Title and the placing of it, ſeems much to
 favour a Crotched Pole rather than an Artificial Croſs. Pilate, ſaith St.
 John

John, ἐθηκε ἐπὶ τῷ σταυρῷ, we Translate it, *put it on the Cross*. Now considering the length or largeness of that Title written in Greek, Latin and Hebrew, if it was Written or Engraved upon the very Cross, it must make the top of the long Cross very very broad; and if it was on the T Christ's Head would certainly have covered or hidden a great part of it. But if ἐπὶ σταυρῷ, be rendred *over the Cross*, as certainly it ought to be, (for so it is exactly agreeable to all the rest, ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς, *over his Head*, and, ἐπ' αὐτῷ, *over him*, or *over it*, if you will have it mean the Cross) then it suits as well if not better with the *Crotch*, then with the formal Cross; whether the Title was only a written Schedule hang'd over his Head, (as our Custom in such Cases is,) or, στίλβων ξύλον ἐν ταίξει λευκώματι, *whether it was a Board Painted white and then written within* or Carved, (as some will have it,) it is all one in this point; we are told, that when the three Crosses were found, that this Title lay separated by it self, and it could not be discovered to which of them it belonged, and therefore was as capable to have been fixt over any one of them. We may also consider that in those words apply'd to our Saviour's Crucifixion in the Scripture, *Cursed is every one that hangeth on a Tree*, the Hebrew word נץ, gnetz, is not only taken for a *Gibbet, or Gallows, or Tree, or dry Wood* in general; but is by the Septuagint once remarkably rendred, ἐπὶ ξύλῳ διδύμῳ, and by the vulgar Latin, in patibulo, *on a crotched Stake, or upon an open rafter of Wood*, as *Causabon* hath made it good. I might add that I have observed that many of the oldest Crosses, as *Charing, Geddington, Northampton, Coventry*, and several others in England, as well as elsewhere, are placed in what we call, a *three way Leet*, that is, where only three ways meet like, Y which may give some colour to this conceit; and there seem to have been great notice of old taken of such a place, by that Passage in *Ezechiel*; where the King of *Babylon* using Devination, stood at the parting of the way (Heb. *עַל הַמֶּתֶן הַמֵּתֵן*, the Mother of the way) at the Head of the two ways; The LXX, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ ὁδῷ ἐπ' ἀρχῇ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν, super antiquam viam in Principio duarum viarum, *on the old way at the beginning of two ways*. But I remember that I have read it somewhere, that an *Anathema* was once solemnly pronounced (as against Hereticks) τοῖς τίμιον σταυρὸν φέλλαν ἀποκαλεῖσι, *against all those who call the Honourable Cross, a Fork, or Crotched Stake*; and therefore I will meddle no farther in this Point, being in these matters perfectly of *St. Augustine's* mind, errare possum, Hæreticus esse nolo, *I may be mistaken, in my conceits, but I will not be a Heretick*, by urging them to the Offence and Disturbance of good Men who think otherwise.

Now my whole design in all this long Digression is only this, to know, if the Devil, as they tell us, flees from the bare sign or mark of the Cross, which Cross or Mark is most Effectual? Or whether all these Signs and Marks barely and purely in themselves will do this business alike? Again the Cardinal tells us that *Christ redeem'd us not by the Golden or Silver or Stony Cross, or the Cross painted or sign'd in the Air*, sed illâ unâ lignea cujus est Imago quam veneramur; but by that one Wooden Cross of which this we now Worship is only the Image; and again, we Worship all Crosses, because they are all Images of the true Cross; and again, all are made to express that first Cross; and so are Images of it; thus then every common Cross is but a Type of the true Cross which it self (according to him) is but a Type of Christ's Suffering; so that in fine it is but a Type of a Type of the Prototype. But now if Christ really died upon an ordinary crotched Stake like Y all the common Crosses, or any one of those numerous ones which the Heralds have invented, or the T it self, would be very absurd and improper Images or Types of it. Yet for my part I shall freely profess, that I can by no means blame our Custom in England of setting up the Figure of the common Cross upon our Churches and in other publick places; for I shall by the Grace of God pay this Reverence to it, and to all the rest of those other Marks and Signs, †. T. Y. IHC. XPC. IC. XC. NIKA. and the like, (and I question not but that every

- T. p. 412. every Pious, Understanding, Thinking, good Christian in our Church will allow the same as *the true use* of them) wherever I see any one of them I shall look upon them as constant *Memorials*, designed only to put me in Mind of *Christ's Sealing the Covenant of Grace and Remission of Sins, by shedding his Blood for me, and for every true Penitent Believer*. I should not scruple to use, with this alteration, the very words which are in the Roman Pontifical, at the Consecration of a Cross, *I beseech thee Mercifull Father, that as often as I shall see any of these Marks of the Humility of Christ Crucified, I may reflect upon it, and obtain greater Affiance in thee, and more Courage against the Enemy, and ever Practice all humbleness of Mind from his most glorious Example*. And I hope by God's help that all our Hearts upon every such *Memorial* will, (as time will give leave,) ever break forth *into a serious and hearty Sacrifice* of Thanks and Praise to our most mercifull God, who hath vouchsafed to us such Gracious and Wonderfull means of obtaining our Salvation. Such pious Meditations and Reflections, as these, upon the sight of any one of these *Memorials*, will indeed be able to *drive away the Devil from us*, and chase away (*his whole Black guard,*) all evil Thoughts which are always ready to assault us. *Resist the Devil and he will flee from you*, saith St. James; is any so void of common Sense as to think this will be done by a slight Mark, or by a quick stroak or two of my Fingers? Or can any one think literally, that it is by struggling with him as with a Man? No, it is only by such an inward Couragious thought as this, *this, our only Shield of Faith, will enable us to quench all the fiery Darts of the Devil*. What can guard us more safely from the Devil or his Abettors in all Temptations, then a ready *Faithfull Thought of Christ, and him Crucified for us*? O Christian, *In hac Fide non in hoc signo vinces, by this Faith and inward steady Reflection, not by this or that poor outward Cypher; thou wilt be more then Conqueror over the Flesh and the World, as well as over the Devil himself*. As I have said of the Pictures of Saints, we may rightly use them not only as Ornaments of our Churches, but as *Memorials* to put the Intelligent Persons in mind of their glorious Deeds, and encourage them to imitate them; so I say all *these Marks and Signs* may be rightly used as notes, very significant to every skillfull Christian, to raise in his Mind *Humility, Patience, Forgiveness*, by that most Ravishing and Triumphant thought, *that Christ died to deliver him from the Power of the Devil, and Sin and everlasting Death*. Had I a good Picture of any Modern notorious Traitor, or a true one of even Judas himself, I should never cast my Eye upon them but I should be inwardly fiered with Indignation and abhorrence of all *Treason and Rebellion*, and all such *abominable and accursed Ingratitude*. Should a Romish Bigot shew me a bloody Stone, and say it was one of those killed St. Stephen, I should pity his credulity, but certainly magnify that Captain of the Martyrs. I shall rejoice at any *Memorial* which shall remind me of my Christian Profession, of my Condition, and of my Duty; and must heartily commend, any sensible way-faring Man, who as he passes by a Gibbet or Gallows, should bless God who hath so far preserved him from all such Wicked ways, such unrighteous Courses, such wretched Companions as usually bring Men to so lamentable an End, and most earnestly beseech God to be still his Keeper. Were I a Country Farmer I should be glad whenever I took a Fork in my Hand, *not that I should Worship or Adore it*, but that God should then immediately touch my Heart with an *Humble and Thankful Meditation* in Memory of the Innocent Jesus, *who for my Sins was made Sin and hanged upon a Tree*. Should I see a Red Cross upon the Door of an Infected House, I should (as pious Bishop Hall once did,) certainly make some serious Reflection upon it; *bewailing our grievous Sins which justly brings down these heavy Judgments upon us, and humbly beseeching God, for the Crucified Jesus sake to remove them from us*; This I am sure would be acceptable in his sight, but whether my slight bowing down to it, or a faint stroke
- c. 4. 7.
- Eph. 6. 16.
- 1 Cor. 2. 2.
- Rom. 8. 37.
- T. p. 413.
- Gnl. 5. 16. 17.
- 1 John 5. 4.
- 1 Cor. 15. 57.
- Mat. 27. 5.
- 2 Cor. 5. 21.
- αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου.
- 72.

stroke or two upon my Forehead or Breast, would chase away the destroying Angel, I very much must doubt. I am very well satisfied that the Original and Primitive use of the Sign of the plain Cross, when it was taken first into Practice, was merely to distinguish a Christian from an Unbeliever; and therefore it was in many Places, and upon many occasions, branded or marked upon the Forehead, or some visible part of the Face, to shew that that Person so markt was a Professed Christian. When I was in Africa to view the Ruins of Carthage, in a Valley some little way distant, we found a Colony or Company of People who live like the Antient Nomades; (they call them, as I remember, now Beduines, or Beguines) they were Arabs who live only in Tents, and move up and down with their Herds, (of almost all sorts of Cattle) as they find Forage; we had the Curiosity to go amongst them; all I shall now rehearse, is this; Every one of their Women had (amongst other marks) a plain blew Cross, (made as the notes upon the Pilgrims Arms at Jerusalem) either on their Cheeks, or on the side of their Nose, or Mouth, or Chin, but most commonly upon their Forehead; the Occasion I learn'd to have been this. Some Africans formerly, who first were Professed Christians, did afterwards Apostatize to Mahometanism; afterwards they, who Professed themselves to be Christians amongst them, had a Cross set on their Face, by which they thought them secured from turning Mahometans again, or leaving their Religion for any other. However in process of time Mahometanism prevailing, and Christianity by degrees being quite extinct, the Women notwithstanding kept up this blew Cross upon their Faces still, as a fashionable Beauty-Spot, though the Original of it is quite forgotten amongst them; I have at large discoursed of this Practice in another place; and shall here only add, that the Jacobites in Mesopotamia, and elsewhere in the East, not only Baptize their Infants but Burn their Foreheads with a hot Iron in the mark or Form of a Cross.

This use then of the Cross at that time was not to drive away the Devil from them, (as if he fled from it,) but to drive them from him; to keep them by Fear and Shame from leaving their first Love. But I am fully perswaded that at first there was yet this more general and common use amongst Christians of Signing themselves with the Cross, viz. To signify to one another privately or publickly, (even before the Heathen on occasion) by this outward Action that they were Christians; It was (as I may so say) as a kind of Shibboleth, (as it is to this very day all over the East, to profess ones self a Christian; when you can by no other Language be understood this very Crossing your self expresses to every one what you are; no Turk, or Jew, or Heathen will do it. Many and many times, as poor Russian Slaves and others, came Begging and Singing by in the Streets, and I could speak no Language to their understanding, if looking out of my Window upon them, I Cross my Breast, they would certainly do so too to shew me that they were my fellow Christians; and often Travelling in Turkish Habit (as we are Privileged to do in that Countrey) when we came to a great Village or Town they should be afraid to give us any Entertainment, or say that they had any thing to sell, especially Wine (a very necessary comfort upon the Road) for fear we should take and destroy all they had as being forbidden ware; But when I Cross my self and said, *εις το νομα τα πατρως, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*, and thereby only own'd my self to be a Christian, they would bring forth what they had, and freely let us have any thing which they had for our Money. I shall here briefly recount part of a remarkable thing which happen'd when I was at Constantinople. I have largely set it down in my Travels, and you have much of it out of a letter of mine to my most Worthy and most Reverend friend Dr. Womock, afterward Bishop of St. David's, which he made use of in his excellent Treatise against *Alsop's Melius Inquirendum*, in Vindication of the sign of the Cross used by our Church in Baptism. A poor Greek was by some Bigotted Turks craftily ensnared and

T. p. 413.
2 Sam. 24. 16.

Smet. Antiq.
Neomag. p. 49.
My Travels.
Vol. 1. p. 32.
33. out of Leo
Afric. Victor.
Utric. Crucius.
Zonaras &c.
Revel. 2. 4.

T. p. 414.

Verdict upon
the Dissenters
Plea. a. p. 244.
to 247.

drawn

T. p. 414.

drawn in to read in one of their Books those words, which are commonly looked upon as *their solemn confession*; *God is but one God, and Mahomet is his Prophet*; upon this by force they immediately circumcised him; and then because he would not absolutely renounce his Christianity and turn *Turk*, he was, after much barbarous usage, at last beheaded before his own door. I saw him when he was led to his Execution; (as I had often done before;) and all the way as he went through the Streets, when we could not hear any thing which he said in the throng which prest about him, he almost continually *Croft himself* after the Greeks manner; publickly and stedfastly thereby professing himself to live and die a Christian. Thus according to the very words of our Church in Baptism, *he was not ashamed to confess the Faith of Christ Crucified, and manfully to fight under his Banner, as his Faithfull Soldier and Servant to his Lives end*. This shews the *Grand and Primitive use of this Sign of the Cross*; and every one of us, at our Confirmation, taking upon us what was stipulated for us by our God-fathers at our Baptism, is bound to give at least this publick outward Testimony of his Faith, when he cannot otherwise express it. I know that many weak People amongst us here at home, think *that the Cross* in Baptism, and this solemn declaration upon it, is at least *an insignificant, if not a scandalous thing*; but they who go abroad amongst Barbarians and Infidels will find it much otherwise upon occasion, *if they be not ashamed of their Christian Profession*. Thus with Christians this Signing of themselves *with the Sign of the Cross*, was at first a very Innocent, Pious, and Laudable usage; but it is now made a meer formal thing, I may say, *a plain Charm or Scarecrow to fright away the Devil*. Bellarmine counts all *Magical Characters and Figures superstitious and unlawfull*, quia non sunt operativæ naturaliter, *because they can work nothing by their own Nature*; And thus much he expressly confesseth of the *Sign of the Cross*, non operatur ex virtute sua naturali, *it doth not work by its own natural Virtue, or Power*; Then *Magical characters*, saith he, *have not their Effects from God*, cum nulla talis Dei promissio reperiatur, *for there is no such Promise of God to be found for them*; and I would fain see such a Promise for the *Sign of the Cross* as to make it a *Phylactory*, lastly, nec Deus invocatur, *neither doth the Magicians*, saith he, (neither need the Staurolaters or *Cross-makers*, say I, according to him) *invoke God*; for according to his Doctrine the *bare Sign of the Cross* alone is sufficient to guard us, as I have out of him shewn above; wherefore I must say of the Latins *use of the Cross* what *Walafridus Strabo* saith of Images and Pictures, *there may be devout use made of (both it and) them*, sed superstitionem & Hebetudinem, *but the Superstition and sottish Dullness of Worshipping them*, (or it) *must be condemned, by which mistaken or deluded Men endeavor to traduce, or bring down, Spiritual Worship, to meer corporeal or bodily Performances*. If then the *Sign of the Cross*, used or made as a *Phylactory*, hath no *Institution or Promise of God* for its Effect; *nor can work any thing naturally of it self*, neither is God called upon in its application, (as is manifest in most of the *Devoto's*, especially the *Ideots*,) it is as plain *Magick*, according to the Cardinal's Declaration, as any thing else. If any devout Person wears a Cross or Crucifix about his Neck, or in his bosom only, as a *Memorial*, to put him in Mind of his belief and trust in Christ Crucified, I shall blame him no more then I would do for his wearing a Ring in remembrance of his departed or absent Friends; both of these may often stir him up to pray for himself and them, or to imitate the Virtues of the Dead; but if it is worn as a *Phylactory to keep him from the Devil*, I must think it is as gross Superstition and Folly, as what is said of the Turks once striving for, and wearing, pieces of Scanderbegh's bones in their Pockets, or *Jewsdans*, to make them as *Bold and Couragious* as he was. The Jews in Turkey are obliged to wear a Cap (like the deep crown of a Hat without any brims) to distinguish them from all other People; and if any devout Christian should

De cultu Imag.

l. 3. c. 30. p.

338. E. H.

T. p. 415.

De rebus Eccle-

siasticis. c. 8.

In his Life

versus finem.

should wear a Cross or Crucifix (either voluntarily or by Command) only to shew what he was, I know no harm in it; but if he should wear, *Agnus Dei, the Lamb of God in wax, or the little Gospels, or his hours of Prayer, or a Cross, or Crucifix, of Wood or any other matter, only as a Philactery*, as some superstitious Women even in St. Jerom's days did; I should with him condemn him, and say, *væ nobis miseris, we be to us wretches to whom the vices of the Pharisees are come; such as these have a Zeal of God but not according to knowledge; their Presses and Cabinets, saith he, have Godly Books (and perhaps Crosses, Crucifixes and Pictures too,) but they have not the Knowledge of God; no more have these poor deluded Souls.*

I shall in the last place consider but one caution more above mentioned, as given by the Cardinal according to the Synod, about *the Worshipping of Pictures and Images*; and the case must be the same in *Worshipping the Cross or Crucifix*. Ab eis non aliquid petatur, *nothing must be asked from them.* I know their common shift in this Point is, *that they pray not to the Image or Picture it self, but to the Prototype, to the Saint or Person which is represented by it; and that their Prayer is only this, ora pro nobis, pray for us.* But how can they Justify even that? *They must believe, or at least suppose, that the Saints are, Omniscientes & Omnipresentes, able (let that be, as I have noted, made out by them as well as they can) to know all our Wants and Necessities and Conditions at all times whatever they are; that they are present with us, and hear us in all the most secret and distant places over the whole World; they hear us here, and all those also at the same time, who call upon them in the utmost Indies and the Antipodes.* But even this will not yet do their Business; for it is most notoriously known, and Evident by their publick Books of Devotion, Printed and allow'd by the Authority of their Popes and Inquisitors, *that Petunt, they ask of them, or pray to them, to do such great and mighty Deeds for them, and grant such Blessings to them, as are only in the Power of God himself to give, and belong to him alone to bestow upon them; asking such mighty and wonderfull Blessings as these must make the Saints also, Omnipotentes, Almighty and Al-sufficient.* I should be extravagantly tedious should I recite all those amazing Petitions which are daily offer'd up to the Virgin Mary alone; I will touch only an Office or two which by chance I have now by me, there amongst others we have these; they pray her, *to deliver them from their Enemies, to receive them at the hour of Death, to loose the bonds of the Guilty, to give Light to the blind (bodily or spiritually) to drive away all evils; (these are to be said in all her Festivals;) to come with all the Saints to their help and Counsel in their Prayers and Petitions, in all their streights and necessities, in all things which they are to do, or to speak, or think, all the days and nights and hours and moments of their Life.* But then as being conscious of her not being any ways able to do this for them of her self, *they pray her to obtain it of her Son.* So again, *to make their Heart flame with the love of Christ; to make them lament and sympathize with him, to be defended in the day of Judgment, to be glorified in Paradise, to take into her Custody their Soul and Body daily and in the hour of Death, committing to her all their Hope and Comfort in all their Streights and Miseries throughout their whole Life; that by her Intercession and Merits all their works may be directed and disposed according to Her Will and the will of her Son; (her Will and her Merits are not only to have their equal share in this work, but they are put before those of her Son) that by her they may escape eternal Damnation.* You have something to the same purpose in her Litany there. *Pope Gregory the XIII. Established a Confraternity of her Rosary and Corona, (the use of their Beads,) and Prayers were appointed for every particular division of their Chapplet, which are almost all of the very same nature with these.* You have the like in *the Office of the Virgin's Immaculate conception* approved by *Paul v. 1615.* Yet one thing I cannot but note there, we are

T. p. 415

In Mat. 23. 9.

P. 393

T. p. 416

Offic. B. Mariæ
confirm. Bulla.
Pij. V. Edit.
Ven. 16. 1677.

p. 53.

85.

P. 277.

P. 352, 353.

P. 358, 9. 601.

1. 2.

461.

P. 422.

Edit. Antwerp.
1661.

T. p. 416. rightly told there, *that their Prayers*, in irritum abeunt nisi ex intimis visceribus prodeunt, *are in vain, unless they proceed from the very bottom of their Souls; and that without this inward Affection, their Beads are but as so many Worm-eaten or empty Nuts, which though they make a rattling noise have really neither Kernel nor Moisture in them; and though it is there boastingly pretended that the veriest Ideot may be easily cured of his wandering thoughts, and brought to understand them and attend them, yet for my part I fear, (let them say what they please, and do what they can as to this Point,) that not only the Ideots, but even the greatest part of all the rest of their Beads-men, will herein be found amongst, parum pias mentes, the careless Votaries there complain'd of.* The Rosary of the Virgin Mary alone hath Prayers many to her, which if they were directed to God Almighty himself (to whom alone all the things there requested do peculiarly belong) they would well become the most pious and devoutest Christian alive. I am sure that Christ taught us and commanded us, *to pray to the Father, to deliver us from all evil*, both Ghostly and Bodily, both of Sin and of Punishment; *from Temptation, from the Devil*, (as the Papists themselves interpret it) nihil remanet quod ultra adhuc debeat postulari, *there is nothing more remains for which we ought to pray; Then, to pray for any thing more, either to the Virgin Mary, or to any other Creature whatsoever, I have no warrant; and therefore in doing so I rob him of his Honour who is a Jealous God. I shall say nothing of that Monstrous piece of Iniquity, the Mary Psalter; he that desires to see more of such extravagant Addresses to her, may find enough carefully and faithfully set down by the Learned Chemnicus; where he will also find altogether as enormous Prayers to particular Saints. Take this one at present, to St. Catharine, instead of all the rest. Hail O worthy Virgin of God, consign me to Christ by thy Prayer; hear thou my Prayers, grant thou, vota, my desires or wishes; give me a contrite Heart and fix it in Goodness, govern all my Senses, my Seeing, Hearing, Tasting, Smelling, Touching; that in all things, thee ruling me, I may live to God with a pure Mind; O Blessed Catharine safely lead me from the sink of Babylon, and appease my maker; be thou my Comfortress, be thou my Solicitress, sollicite Christ for me; save me from the storm of Death; make me overcome the World; let me not be plunged in the deep; suffer me not to be Shipwrackt in this Sea of Sins; visit me who am Infirm, confirm me in that which is good; O valliant Champion of God be present with me in the hour of Death; when I lie down cherish me, lift me up, and free me from cruel Death, that I may rise a new Man, a Citizen of Heaven; let not a two-fold Death annoy me; may Jesus Christ perform this, being entreated by thy Prayer; may the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, do the same, who Live and Reign, Amen.* It must be a most extravagant conceit in any one to think, that these Petitions are not made plainly or purely to her, but are said only as directions to her for what she should pray for them to Christ. If the Votaries believe that she is so Omnipresent and Omniscient as to hear them and know their wants, it must be the highest Insolence in them to offer thus to teach her what she should say for them; and this Prayer is still primarily and directly made to her. St. Catharine of Sienna died at three and thirty years of Age anno 1380. and about eighty years after was Canonized by P. Pius the second. I suppose none before that time were Authorized to make any such Addresses to her, nor was she thought qualified for receiving them; I protest I never well consider'd till now the wonderfull Power of the Pope; he made her a regular Saint, I wonder what he could have done more to have made her a perfect Goddess; for she is now plainly declared by him, to be an All-present, an All-knowing and an Almighty Being; she is every where, knows every one, and can help every one in all conditions. To burn Incense, and light up Candles, and make Presents, (before her Image, or Picture, or Altar,) for benefits received or expected, may be slubber'd over with that deceitfull

p. 16.

p. 27.

p. 17.

p. 27.

 A Lap. in Mat.
6. 13.

 Exam. conc.
Trid. part 3.
p. 134. &c.
p. 142.

T. p. 417.

deceitfull *Popish Varnish*, of being by some counted *only very high civil respects*; but to add at the same time such Prayers as these to her, or to any other Saint, I cannot see how it can any ways be distinguished from the Idolatry of the Antient Heathens, who paid the very same Religious Worship, *Dæmonibus & Divis, to their reputed Gods or dead Hero's*. I have the Life and Miracles of St. Catharine now by me, where I confess amongst the rest are two very wonderfull things recorded; one *that she prayed to Christ* (her reputed Spouse) *a great while that he would give her a new and clean Heart*; and so he did, for we are told *that he appear'd and actually open'd her very Breast, and took out her old Material Heart, and put in another entire new one in its place; and the scar where the Incision was made (through which all this was bodily and really done,) remain'd in her Breast to her dying day*. The other is the infallible Testimony of *Thom Penna, the Pope's Prothonotar*, and of a good Widow at *Sienna*, who both saw Her ascending in a *Choir of Angels to Heaven, at the very hour of her Death*. I remember I have read some such things of *Romulus* and *Arifteus* and *Cleomedes* and *Numerius Atticus* of old; and there is this grave remark made upon it, *ἀπὸ γυναικὸς τῆς Σεότιναι τῆς ἀγερῆς*, as it is a wicked and disingenuous thing to disown the Divinity of Virtue, so it is meer Folly or Stupidity, to mix Earth with Heaven. Truly they who can believe but only these two Stories of St. Catharine, can by no means blame the good Pope for making her something far above the common nature of a Woman. Had this famous Saint been Canonized before the second Council of Nice, her Miracles would undoubtedly have been very highly esteem'd and vouched for as good Evidence to justify their *Iconomania*, their mad zeal for the Adoration of Images, as any other Legend there; I must call it *Iconomania, perfect Madness for Image Worship*. I cannot excuse the Cruelty of the Emperors who were against it, especially of *Capronymus* (yet I suspect the Sincerity of the Writers which we have of those matters, they being all, or most of them, either Monkish Clerks, or bigotted Courtiers,) but any one that shall unbyas'dly read, and candidly judge of what past on both sides by their own Books, must say that the Fathers in that Council were far more *Spiritually outrageous* in Anathematizing, and without Mercy damning all the contrary party, and calling them all along, *Jews, Saracens, Heathens, Samaritans*, and what not. One thing (to shew the temper of those inspired Fathers) I cannot omit; it was allow'd as good Catholick Doctrine, that a Man may better go to all the Bawdy-houses in the City, then refuse to Worship the Image of Christ and the Virgin Mary. Nay, there was a poor stupid Monk, who had Sworn to the Devil to keep a Secret, but he brake his Oath. This wretch was indeed rightly blamed for his rash Oath, but it past (with *Tarasius* Patriarch of Constantinople; President of the Council, and with the most reverend Proxy of the other three Patriarchs, and all the Synod, *nemine contra dicente*,) without any contradiction, quod expedit magis pejurare quam omnino servare Jusjurandum in destructionem venerabilium Imaginum, that it was much better, or more expedient, *ὁμολογῆσαι ἐπινοήσασθαι*, for one that hath sworn to be perjur'd, then strictly to keep his Oath to the Destruction of venerable Images.

Let any judicious Man cast his Eyes upon only the Hymns appointed to be sung or said upon all the Festivals of the Virgin, the Apostles, and all the Saints throughout the year, and he will find far higher matters pray'd for, from them there, then only, *ora pro nobis, that they should pray for us*. But if thus to pray to them, be such a gross Indignity and Affront (to say no worse) put upon, *δωτῆρα ἑαυτῶν*, the only giver of every good and perfect gift, who hath commanded us to call upon him in the day of trouble, and upon him only; who is the only Potentate, Almighty, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, whom no Man hath seen nor can see; and will admit of no sensible Image to represent him, and deprave our Thoughts who is a Jealous God; who knows our wants and can hear all our Petitions, and is able to fulfill all

T. p. 417.

Edit. Antwerp, Quart. 1603.

Fig. XVI.

Fig. 32.

Plutar. Romul. p. 35. C. Trifstan. T. 1. p. 102.

Theophan. in ejus vita. 359. c. 6.

T. p. 418.

Lab. conc. T. 7. p. 347. C. & c.

Ibid. p. 252. F. 382. B. 949. C.

Ibid. p. 253. B. C. D. E.

Hes. Theog. v. 46.

Jam. 1. 17. Pl. 50. 15.

Mat. 4. 10.

1 Tim. 6. 15, 16.

Deut. 4. 12.

1 Joh. 5. 14, 15.

our desires; I say, if such Prayers as these to the Saints, are such Prophana-
 tions, and plain Robbings of the high and mighty one of his Honour, (who
 inhabiteth Eternity yet dwells with every contrite and humble Spirit) if
 they so manifestly invade his Property, to whom alone belongeth Power and
 Mercy, as due to him only; how can the Iconoclasters justify their praying to
 a Cross or Crucifix, or their asking or expecting any thing from it, (that is
 a meet Image and a senseless Creature) according to this caution of the Sy-
 nod? In the Hymn to it we have this Salutation and Petition, O Crux, ave
 spes Unica, hoc passionis tempore Pij adauge Gratiam, reisque dele crimina;
 Hail, O Cross, thou only Hope in this time of Trouble, increase in the pious
 Grace, and blot out the Sins in the guilty. I know the common trifling an-
 swer is this, that this is only a Figurative expression, by the Cross is meant
 only Christ Crucified upon it; But the two Stanzas immediately going before,
 plainly shew that the words are directed to the very Cross it self, the Graceful
 and shining Tree adorn'd with the purple of a King, being (or was) chosen
 by its worthy stock to touch such holy Members; Being blessed, on whose
 Arms or Branches hang'd the price of the Age, or of the World, was made
 the balance (or was made the blessed balance) of a Body; and hath born,
 or taken away, the spoil of Hell. This, if I understand any thing, must be
 said of the very material Cross it self in contradistinction to the Body which
 it did bear. Then immediately follows, Hail, O Cross, which surely must
 still signify the very same thing. And in the Stanza immediately fol-
 lowing, te, fons salutis Trinitas, thee O Trinity, fountain of Salvation,
 there cannot be any the least shadow of a Figure, but it must be taken literally
 and in its proper sense. But Bellarmine is not satisfied with a Metonymy, (the
 common pretended Figure of the School-men in this place; but hath devised
 another of his own, and calls it, a Prosopopœia, or a feigning a senseless
 thing to understand, and so speaking to it; as in that of Moses, give ear O
 Heavens and I will speak, and hear O Earth the Words of my Mouth.
 That is no more then, let Heaven and Earth be witnesses to what I shall
 say; as a heap of Stones and a Pillar were witnesses or Monuments of the League
 between Laban and Jacob. I will add another or two, Praise the Lord, O
 Sun and Moon, Stars, Deeps, Fire, Hail, Snow, Vapours, and the rest of
 God's Creatures; that is, manifest and so declare the Praise and Power of
 the Lord to rational Man that he may Praise him, for he Commanded and
 they were made; this is a figurative speech indeed, but it would be quite ano-
 ther thing even Madness or right down Idolatry to say, O Sun and Moon smite
 me not by Day or Night; O ye Stars fight for me against mine Enemies;
 O ye Deeps swallow me not up; O Fire singe not so much as the hair of
 my Head or in the least change my Coat; O Vapours fill not my Head with
 dew; O Hail and Snow hang not my Locks with the Drops of the Night.
 In these expressions the Power and Glory of the great Creator alone, are
 changed and ascribed to the corruptible and senseless Creature. So David like
 a divine Poet indeed said to his Instruments, awake O Psaltery and Harp;
 but he would not dare to say to them preserve me, give me good Courage and
 strengthen my Heart; or cover my Head in the Day of Battle.
 Thus much for the Cardinals solution but their Angelical Doctor Tho. Aquinas
 without any farther scruple plainly tells us, in Cruce Christi ponimus spem
 solutis, that they place their hopes of Salvation in the Cross of Christ, and
 therefore Worship it, Latrâ, with the highest Worship, that is due to God him-
 self; and he cites this very Hymn, O Crux ave, Hail O Cross, to prove it.
 Now let us see his sublime Sophistry by which he would Justify it. There is
 no Honour, saith he, or Reverence due to an insensible Creature but, ratione,
 in reason or respect of a rational Nature; and that two ways, first as it
 represents a rational Nature; secondly, as it is, quocunque modo, by any
 way or means join'd to it. The Cross is to be Worshipped upon both these
 accounts, first as it represents the Figure of Christ extended, or hanging, up-
 on it; Next as it touched his Members and was, perfusa, besmeared or dyed
 with

with his Blood; and this Adoration, must be, Latria, the very same with that which is given to Christ; and for this, saith he, we Speak to the Cross, and Pray to it as to Christ himself Crucified. And thus we Worship the, Effigies, Images or likeness of the Cross of Christ, in any matter of Stone or Wood, or Silver or Gold, as his Image, Latria, with divine or the highest Worship. Give me leave to make a Reflection or two upon this Angelical Doctrine. First this cannot be meant here of the Original Cross of Christ, for they cannot now speak or pray to that, which is no where to be found entire to represent him to them; and it is very doubtfull (by what I have remarked above) what was the real Figure of it. So then all this must be apply'd now to only the very material Crosses, or Crucifixes, or Pictures devised and made to represent that first Cross, (let it have been in what Figure it would,) or Christ upon it. Then it is plain that they must thus Worship an uncertain imaginary Type, of an invisible Prototype with Divine Worship. Now indeed if a material Cross, or Crucifix, or Image, or Picture of Christ, should speak to their Votaries, (as it is said, one of them once did to this Angelical Doctor) they might have some encouragement to speak to it again, and pray to it too; otherwise, truly to me, they seem to Worship they know not what. He hath concluded in the Article just beforegoing, that as Christ is to be Adored, Latria, with divine Worship, so is the Image also with the very same; But the Arguments there first framed against it, will not one of them in the least be refuted by his shuffling Scholastick answers; neither can he with all his Wit excuse his Votaries, who are all Careless, Formal, meerly Fashionable Worshipers, and most of them Illiterate or perfect Ideots.

1. For first, when he owns that there is the very same, *Motus, Motion* (or Action of the Will and Understanding) towards the Image as it is, *Res quædam, a certain thing*; and towards the thing it self represented by it; (one thing being a material sensible Object, the other purely Intellectual or Spiritual;) do the first of these, or can the latter of them distinguish between these two? They will always be led rather by their Senses than by their understanding. And what he saith of the Commandment; that by it only the Adoration of the Gentiles, by which they Worshipped their Dæmons or Hero's (Saints departed) is there forbidden, is a meer Notional or Scholastick shift; seeing the blind Adoration of their Worshipers is in effect the very same with that of the Gentiles, as hath been shewed.
2. Will they not all think that there is something Divine in the Images and Figures themselves, when they believe that the Cross and its very sign, will fright away Devils, Consecrate every thing that is but markt with it, and cure Diseases, and work many other such like Divine Effects; that the Saints are every where present with their Pictures and Images and, dant Responſa, can answer them, either in real words, or in granting their Desires?
3. Will not this Adoration of a Crucifix, or Image or Saint, rest in the visible Object or Figure of a meer Man, which is before the Eyes of the Votaries, especially the Illiterate and Ideots? He owns, potest esse erroris occasio, that it may be the occasion of a mistake, and yet peremptorily in the conclusion of the Answer, saith, non potest contingere, it cannot happen in a graven or painted Image.
4. The Argument is thus proposed very full, nothing is to be allowed in Adoration or Divine Worship, but what is Instituted or prescribed by God, or received from the Lord. Here he would put us off only with their old Song (when they have nothing else to say,) Tradition. Now will any Man go about to perswade me that the Apostles and the first Christian Profelites, who were all Jews, and by their Law were as Zealous and Violent abhorers of Images and all sensible Objects in their divine Worship, as the present Turks are, (who took from them and still retain the very same abominable Contempt and Hatred of either Pictures or Images) and therefore the second Council of Nice, amongst other opprobrious Language, called the Iconoclasts Jews; I say can I believe that they admitted of them in their Primitive, Pure, and Spiritual Worship? Such a Practice

T. p. 419.

3.

1. Concluſi

Exod. 20. 5.
T. p. 420.

2.

3.

4.

Acts 2. 5. 10.
41.

T. p. 420. Practice would have deter'd those, as much then, as it doth both the Present Jews and Turks, from being made Converts now. I know it is the common boasting Pretence both of the Latins and Greeks *that Image Worship*, and even all other of their *Modern Superstitions*, are derived down to us from the Apostles practice *by Tradition*; whereas they have been again and again manifestly proved to have been brought into the Church by degrees in the following corrupted Ages of it. His instance of *St. Luke's painting the Image of Christ* (which was once at *Rome*) is no small Argument to me, that Pictures at first were only (as they are now with us,) used as the Memorials of Friends or Brave Men; (as *Tiberius* is said to have honoured the Hero's of his Age,) they were also made Ornaments of their best Rooms; next by degrees of Churches and holy Places; but at last by doting Devoto's *they were Worshipped and Adored*. *Nicephorus Callistus*, was sufficiently addicted to Imagery, yet he bluntly, but truly, gives us this fair Intimation of the whole Matter. *St. Luke*, saith he, (who understood and Practised *both Medicine and Painting* whilst he was an Unbeliever,) and several others, ἐθνικῇ τινὶ σωτηρίᾳ δαλεῖοντες, *observing the Heathen fashion, were accustomed to paint, σωτήρας, their Benefactors, or Patrons, and by their Pictures to Honour them; and they delivered or left, to others the Practice of doing or working the very same, ἀπαφύλακτως, without regard, or ἀπαγλάκτως, without distinction, (I suppose between Sacred and Prophane or common Pictures;)* But the Church receiving this Practice from thence, εἰς μέγα τι ἠύξετο καὶ ἐπέδωκε, *both improved it and raised it to a great height*. Now suppose that it was very true that *St. Luke did draw* (as it was his first Profession) *the Pictures of Christ himself* (whom notwithstanding he never saw in the Flesh, no more then his Christian Master *St. Paul* did,) and of some Saints after he was himself a Christian; I know no harm in it at all to our cause, nor any advantage in it to theirs; if it could be clearly proved that *St. Luke Worshipped and Pray'd to those Pictures*, (which were the meer work of his own Hands and Fancy) or that his Christian Doctor, *St. Paul, did do so*, this would indeed be very much to their purpose. I wish with all my Heart that I had some of them; I should most highly value them not only as very great Rarities and choice pieces of wonderfull Antiquity, but as singular Memorials of those respective holy Persons, and whenever I saw them I should desire God to enflame my Heart with a pious Meditation of their Merits and Glorious Actions, and with a most earnest desire of Imitating their grand Examples; but I should not dare to bow down to these Pictures, or to Worship and Adore them, least I should rob my God of his Honour due to him alone; neither should I venture to pray to him before them, lest the sensible Objects then before my Eyes should debase and defile; or any ways quench the Intellectual and purely Spiritual Reflections of my Soul.

Art. 4. §. 3. But I shall in the next place note his third Argument against the Worshipping of the Cross and his answer to it. The Argument is very obvious and it is this. *If the Cross is to be Worshipped, Latria, with the highest divine Worship because it was the Instrument of Christ's Passion and Death, then all the other Instruments are so to be Worshipped likewise, as the Nails, the Crown of Thorns and the Lance*. The Angelical Doctor denies the Consequence, *Although*, saith he, *all these were Sanctified alike by the touch of Christ's Body and Blood, yet they do not represent his Image as the Cross doth; therefore we Worship the Cross of Christ in any matter, but not the rest*. This will appear as trifling an Answer as any of the former. First all these touched the Body of Christ as well as the Cross; and these much more then it; for these every one of them pierced it, and so by consequence according to him, were all more intimately or properly united to it; for by the Nails alone the Body was fasten'd to it; so by this contract they were all more peculiarly Consecrated, especially the Nails, then it. Secondly, as I have shewed, the real Figure of the true Cross is very doubtfull, and therefore if Christ died upon one like

like a *T* a *Nail* with its Head and Body will represent the true Cross more exactly than the common Figure which they use for it. Thirdly, they were all alike, perfusa, dipped or besmeared with the same Blood. Now the true Cross is no where to be seen, but all these are now (pretended at least) still to be every one of them preserved. I have my self seen a *Nail*, and a *Thorn* with their Points all coloured with red, which they confidently told us, is yet the very true Blood of Christ, and I doubt not but wherever the Iron of the Lance is publickly exposed, (perhaps over the Chappel in St. Peters,) it is colour'd so too. But if this be, as they say, the very Blood of Christ, why is it not to be Worshipped with the very same, *Latria*, divine Worship as the Blood pretended to be in the Eucharist is? For by their quaint Device of Concomitancy, the Body of Christ must be there too with it. Fourthly, Pope Innocent the sixth appointed a solemn Festival for these very three Instruments of Christ's Passion, the Lance, the Nails, and the Crown of Thorns; and this abominable Idolatrous Prayer was used that day to the Lance (and might as well have been made to the other two,) *Hail, O Triumphal Iron; thou entering the Vital Breast, (of Christ) openest the gates of Heaven; O happy Spear, do thou, being made fruitfull by (his) Blood, wound us with the love of him, who was wounded by thee.* They thus plainly Adored the Lance as highly, (in those days at least) as they still Adore the Cross. And therefore I wonder that this great Doctor should conclude that an ordinary Cross or Crucifix, (which is but a piece of dry Wood or Stone, or such like senseless Matter, and is own'd by him to be but a meer Type of a Type,) deserve more to be Worshipped and Adored than any of these three other Relicks, which according to them do still visibly preserve the very Blood of Christ himself; whereas the advantage lies so manifestly on their Side.

The Church of England, as I have said, doth still retain the common Figure of a plain Cross upon many of their Churches, and in many publick places, as well as in their little Childrens Books, counting it a grand Memorial of Christ's Passion, that all pious Christians, upon the sight of it, might often have serious Meditations, and make due Reflections upon the Death and infinite Love of Christ, who died for the ungodly while they were yet Sinners, and even Babes may thus be early instructed and taught, that in their whole Life they must not live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them; but she hath Wisely, Piously, and most Justly taken away all Images of God himself and the Trinity, and all publick Crucifixes; all, Delubra, Rood-lofts and Statues of the Virgin Mary either alone or with Christ in her Arms, and of all other Saints or Angels; thereby to abolish the Execrable abuse of them which had been here made in former times. For if the brazen Serpent it self, which (as is noted above) was first appointed by God's own order, and was really a Type of Christ himself Crucified, yet was broken to pieces by good Hezekiah (who was therefore said to do that which was right in the sight of the Lord) meerly because it was misused and turn'd to perfect Idolatrous Worship; our Church did as righteous a thing (after his pious Example,) in quite destroying these gross Representations, which (as I have shewed) gave, and in Popish Countries do yet give, such dangerous, and, in a manner, unavoidable, occasions of the like abominable Idolatrous Practices; I am sure the whole Eastern Church (as well as both Turks and Jews) upon all occasions applaud that her glorious Reformation.

As for Pictures we are absolutely of the same Mind, as Sirmondus confesses, that the French once were, (I suppose at the Synod of Paris under Ludovicus Pius, or before) these are also still retain'd by us as Ornaments of our Churches, and Memoria tantum causa & Instructionis, only as Memorials of the Saints and of their glorious Deeds, and as occasional Motives to Men of Understanding to follow their great Examples. He there also owns, that P. Gregory expressly forbade that, *Latria*, Divine Worship and Adoration should

T. p. 422. should be given to them; and the Cardinal could not deny that *Michael Bal-*
bus and the Greeks *did positively declare against any such Worship*, not-
 in Append. ad tract. de Imag. withstanding all the Calumny and Reproach with which he brands them. And
 T. 2. p. 433. all the School-men and Patrons of *Iconolatri* profess *the very same Doctrine*,
 but their common Practice quite contradict it; for I must still say that I would
 fain know, *how Ideots and*, even the greatest part of, *their other Votaries* will
 be able so nicely to distinguish, *that Worship* (which is due to God alone)

Bell. de cultu. from what they call, aliquam, & congruentem Venerationem, some kind of
 Sanct. l. 2. c. Veneration, or what is only fitting for a Saint, or, cultum inferiorem, an
 30. p. 338. a. inferior or something lesser, though true Worship still? As for my self I
 Sirmond. ut su- shall willingly conform to what I find set down in the very *Invective* it self
 pra. C. against the *Iconoclasts*, making this small alteration in it; ὅταν ἴδω τὴν εἰκόνα
 Bell. de Imag. 332. A. τῆ χειρὸς εὐθείας καὶ παρὰ τὸν νῆν ἀνάγω, when I see the Picture of Christ Cru-
 Inter Scriptores cified, I immediately lift up my Mind to his extream poor Condition and
 post Theopha- Condescension; and not suffering my sensible Eyes to rest intense upon the
 nem. T. R. p. Picture, ἀνορίζω, I dart the intellectual Eye of my Heart with my Mind
 309. c. d. Hist to the Mystery of his Incarnation; and for my many Sins which deserve
 Byzant. no Pardon, I beseech his Goodness and Compassion, saying, Glory be to thee
 O God; O my Saviour be Mercifull to me a Sinner. For I put that sound
 Sense upon those words, λιπὼν τὸ αἰσθητὸν ὄμμα πρὸς τὴν εἰκόνα ἀπειρῶς βλέπων, for
 should they be rendred, leaving my sensible Eye intensely looking upon the
 Picture, I dart up my intellectual Eye to Christ himself in Heaven, it would
 be a greater Absurdity then that of the Actor in a Tragedy, who when he
 cry'd, ὦ Ζεῦ, O Jupiter, he pointed to the Earth, when he said, ὦ γῆ, O
 Earth, he lifted up his Hands to Heaven; It is the very same thing for a
 Man to keep his bodily Eyes intense upon the Picture or Image, which sure-
 ly ought to be lifted up with his Soul to Heaven when he prays to the in-
 visible God or Christ who is there. It seems to me utterly impossible for a
 Man to keep his Eyes steadfastly upon a Picture, and yet at the same time
 fully to Abstract the Spiritual Eyes of his Mind to God or Christ, which
 ought to be a Pure, Simple, Elevated, seraphick Action of his Soul alone.

Eras. Adag.
 Solæcus p. 7, 8.

p. 310. b.

8 d. 2. mo. 7

21 2. 400

Moreover I shall heartily observe what is directed in the same *Invective*; when
 I see the Picture of any reputed Saint, I shall from my Heart say; Δόξα
 σοι ὁ Θεὸς τῆδε Ἀποστόλου ἢ τῆδε Ἀγίου, καὶ ταῦτα ἕως λέγων, εἰς Θεὸν τὴν δόξαν ἀνα-
 πέμπω. Glory be to thee O God of this Apostle, or of this Saint, for say-
 ing so I refer the Glory to God.

T. p. 423.

41. 6. do. 1

82. 8. 2

43. 81. 3. 2

Apoc. 2. 4.

11. 48. 11.

Jer. 2. 13.

Rom. 14. 4.

Pf. 98. 9.

Rom. 14. 10.

Pf. 115. 1.

And Now I have done, for it would be an Infinite task for me to persue all
 the other Particulars which have been started and bended backwards and for-
 wards in this Controversy about Images and Pictures; the differing parties often
 differing even amongst themselves; and it would be as tedious and irksome a
 thing for any one to read them when I had done. I have sincerely and impar-
 tially, and I hope candidly, set down only my own private thoughts, and I
 would not willingly be judged an absolute slave to any Party, but, as I really
 am, a Compassionate lover of every good Christian who heartily desires to
 serve our God in Spirit and in Truth. I must verily think with my self that
 those great Churches, which perfectly differ from us, have in many things left
 their first Love, and have hewn out unto themselves many broken Cisterns
 that can hold no Water. But God forbid that I should rashly return upon them
 their extravagant Anathemas, or peremptorily damn them, that is, deliver them
 unto Satan and adjudge them all to Hell Fire, as they serve us; who am I
 (poor, private, obscure Creature,) that I should judge anothers Servant? For
 my part I will leave them to the righteous Judge of all the World, before
 whose Judgment Seat we shall all one day stand. But if what I have done
 may any ways contribute to the promoting of true Piety and Devotion, and to
 the establishing of the true Inward, Spiritual Worship and Adoration of
 the one Invisible, Omniscient, Omnipotent, Omnipresent, and most Mercifull
 God; not unto me, not unto me, but unto his most Holy name alone be always
 given all Glory and Praise for his Mercy and for his Truth sake, Amen.

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